‘WELCOME TO THIS COUNTRE, CAN YOU SPEKE ITALIAN’: ENCOUNTERS, BOOKS AND PRACTICES FOR ITALIAN LANGUAGE-LEARNING IN THE TUDOR PERIOD (1509–1558)

by

MICHELE PISCITELLI

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates Italian language-learning in the pre-Elizabethan Tudor period (1509–1558), despite the tendency in the literature to set the beginning of this phenomenon during Elizabeth I's reign (1558–1603) with Thomas Hoby's translation from Italian of *The Courtier* (1561) and the English-Italian manual *First Fruits* (1578) by the tutor John Florio. This project expands our knowledge of the history of the Italian and English languages, the history of language teaching, the history of linguistics, the history of education, Italian religious reformers and the English Reformation, and, more generally, Anglo–Italian cultural history.

The methodological challenge of this research concerns the scarcity of printed books specifically developed for English learners of Italian (with the exception of *Principal Rules* (1550) by William Thomas), curricula, manuals for language tutors, and lesson reports. Investigating English students of Italian and deducing their motivations allows me to propose and discuss a collection of personal and textual encounters that favoured learning practices in a multilingual and highly mobile Europe. Chapters in this thesis consider in their inquiry books printed in London, Venice, Rome, and Antwerp of different genres, such as treatises on spelling and pronunciation, a treatise on the Italian *questione della lingua* (Chapter II), a manuscript Tuscan grammar written in England (Chapter II), polyglot dictionaries (Chapter III), a polyglot religious text (Chapter IV), and an Italian vocabulary (Chapter V).

The results show that English students of the Italian language in the pre-Elizabethan Tudor period had various backgrounds, including women and non-aristocratic individuals. In the absence of formal curricula, individuals relied on self-study and peer-learning that was functional to their professional, social, and private aspirations. Language tutors were both Italians and non-

Italians, and sometimes unofficially appointed for this role. Learning practices stemmed from comparative and contrastive approaches coherent with the presence of a prevalent multilingualism in Europe and from the necessity of using the language for effective communication.

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NOTE ON SCHOLARLY CONVENTIONS

All spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation in quotations are given as they appear in the original documents, except that I have expanded abbreviations. I have also standardised the use of 'ſ', which becomes 's', and 'u', which becomes consonant 'v'.

All translations from Italian, Spanish, Latin, and French into English are my own unless otherwise indicated.

I have standardised the title of sixteenth-century books in the body text whilst I have maintained the USTC title in footnotes and bibliography.

Footnotes conform to the 3rd edition of the *MHRA Style Guide*.

Gender

In this thesis, I will approach my arguments within a framework based mainly on a 'gender binary view', because this view reflects what I, and most of the scholarship to my knowledge, found interpreting early modern primary sources. That is, I use gender binary terms of the historical period whilst recognising that these may not have reflected the lived experience of individuals. Furthermore, this does not exclude that new primary sources, and/or reassessment of the ones already known, will shed light on a reality that surely had to be more diverse than what we can see at the moment.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the phenomenon of English individuals learning Italian language covering the period from Henry VIII Tudor's reign (from 1509 to 1547) to Mary I's reign (from 1553 to 1558), also considering the reigns of Edward VI (from 1547 to 1553) and Jane Grey (July 1553).[1] In selecting this period, I aim to complement a scholarship that tends to place the beginning of the interest in Italian language during Elizabeth I Tudor's reign (1558–1603), and to cite as primary evidence Thomas Hoby's *The Courtier* (1561) – an English translation of Baldassare Castiglione's dialogue on the perfect man and woman of court *Il Cortegiano* (1528) – and John Florio's English-Italian dialogue manuals *First Fruits* (1578).[2] In reality, Anglo–Italian linguistic

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[1] For Italian learning and teaching in England, see Francis A. Yates, 'Italian Teachers in Elizabethan England', Journal of the Warburg Institute, 1 (1937), 103–116; idem, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934); idem; 'An Italian in Restoration England', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), pp. 216–220; idem, 'Italian teachers in England', in *Renaissance and Reform: the Italian Contribution* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), pp. 161–179; Simonini, Rinaldo C., 'The Genesis of Modern Foreign Language Teaching', The Modern Language Journal, 35 (1951), 179–186; idem, 'The Italian Pedagogy of Claudius Hollyband', Studies in Philology, 49.2 (1952), 144–154; idem, *Italian Scholarship in Renaissance* England (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature, 1952); Spartaco Gamberini 'I primi strumenti dell'Italianistica in Inghilterra' *Belafagor*, 24 (1969), 446–470; idem, *Lo studio dell'Italiano in Inghilterra nel '500 e nel '600* (Messina & Florence: G. D'Annna, 1570); Sergio Rossi, 'Un 'Italianista' nel Cinquecento inglese: William Thomas', *Aevum*, 40. 3/4 (1966), 281–314*;* idem, *Ricerche sull'Umanesimo e sul Rinascimento in Inghilterra* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1969); idem, *I Documenti della cultura italiana in Inghilterra: Il Rinascimento* (Milan: Unicopli, 1986); Jason Lawrence, *'Who the devil taught thee so much Italian?' Italian Language–learning and Literary Imitation in Early Modern England* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2005); Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Lucilla Pizzoli, *Le Grammatiche di italiano per Inglesi (1550–1776): Un'analisi linguistica* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 2004); Brian Richardson, "Varie maniere di parlare': Aspects of Learning Italian in Renaissance Italy and Britain', *The Italianist*, 30.2 (2010), 78–94: John Gallagher, "Ungratefull Tuscans': Teaching Italian in Early Modern England', *The Italianist*, 36.3 (2016), 392–413; idem, 'The Italian London of John North: Cultural Contact and Linguistic Encounter in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 70.1 (2017), 88–131; idem, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019). For a comparative and contrastive history of Italian and English lexicography from William Thomas' *Principal Rules* (1550) and John Florio's *A Worlde of Worde* (1598) to the 20th century see Desmond O' Connor, *A History of Italian and English Bilingual Dictionaries*. For an updated bibliography of Italian teaching as second or foreign language starting from the sixteenth century see Massimo Vedovelli, 'Verso una storia dell'insegnamento dell'italiano L2: maestri di lingua, materiali didattici, istituzioni', *Geschichte des Fremdsprachenstudiums in der Romania: Romanistisches Kolloquium XXXI*, ed. by Lidia Becker and others (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2020), pp. 163–190.

[2] Thomas Hoby, *The courtyer divided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place* (London, William Seres, 1561); Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano del conte Baldesar*

relationships were active long before these printing phenomena in correlation with intense European mobility, and commercial and financial interactions in the late medieval period.[3] By investigating the personal and textual encounters of well-known Tudor students of the Italian language, I will discuss their motivations for learning it as well as the interconnected learning practices that characterised a multilingual Europe in which the English language was 'woorth nothing' beyond Dover.[4]

In 1544, the ten-year-old princess Elizabeth Tudor wrote a letter in Italian to Queen Katherine Parr – before the official appointment of an Italian tutor.[5] This would suggest previous generations of English adults around her, such as Katherine Parr and Anne Boleyn, had already established that learning Italian offered advantages, or 'cultural capital', to justify the development of learning and teaching practices.[6] Throughout her lifetime, Elizabeth read widely in Italian, particularly on religious matters, which required assiduous language-learning and a

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Castiglione (Venice: in aedibus haer. Aldo I Manuzio & Andrea I Torresano, 1528); John Florio, *Florio His firste Fruites which yeelde familiar speech, merie proverbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings. Also a perfect induction to the Italian, and English tongues* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, 1578).

[3] Giovanni Iamartino, 'La contrastività italiano–inglese in prospettiva storica', *Rassegna italiana di linguistica applicata*, 33.2–3 (2001), 7–130 (pp. 18–19).

[4] John Florio, *Florio His firste Fruites which yeelde familiar speech, merie proverbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings. Also a perfect induction to the Italian, and English tongues* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, 1578), fol. 50^{r}. See also Yates, 'Italian Teachers', p. 103; Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, p. 1.

[5] The holograph of Elizabeth's first letter (BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, fol.235) was damaged in a fire in 1731; a copy is at Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Smith 68, fol. 50 (Sm68). Transcripts and comments on Elizabeth's first letter are in Carlo M. Bajetta, *Elizabeth I's Italian Letters* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 1–7; and in Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 5–6. Maria Perry, *The Word of a Prince: A Life of Elizabeth I from Contemporary Documents* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 26–28. On Elizabeth and Italian language, see Alessandra Petrina, "Perfit readiness": Elizabeth Learning and Using Italian', in *Elizabeth I's Foreign Correspondence: letters, rhetoric, and politics*, ed. by Carlo Bajetta, Guillame Coatalen, Jonathan Gibson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 93–113; Danielle Clarke, *The Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), p. 13. Also, on how Elisabeth used 'the power of the pen and the written word as tools with which to protect herself in the unstable world of the court' Brenda M. Hosington, 'The Young Princess Elizabeth, Neo–Latin, and the Power of the Written Word', in *Elizabeth I in Writing: Language, Power and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. by Donatella Montini and Iolanda Pescia (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2018), pp. 11–36.

[6] For 'cultural capital' I mean intangible social assets (i.e. knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions) that people could use to increase their social status (i.e. improved social mobility and access to professional, economic, and personal opportunities) according to Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and symbolic power* (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1991). See also Geoff Danaher, Tony Schirato, and Jenn Webb, *Understanding Bourdieu* (London: Sage 2002), pp. 22–23; Bridget Fowler, *Pierre Bourdieu and Cultural Theory* (London, Sage, 1997), pp. 28, 31.

linguistic competence that we can observe in her translations.[7] The princess left records of her Italian learning and was likely an above average student, but she was not an exceptional case within the royal household. Henry VIII could speak 'a little Italian', and King Edward VI spoke Italian as well as French, Latin, and Greek, according to Girolamo Cardano's and Martin Bucer's reports.[8] Mary Tudor also was 'instructed' in Italian (as well as in English, Latin, French, and Spanish) and 'she understood it [Italian], but she was afraid to speak it' according to the Venetian Ambassador in England Giovanni Michieli.[9] Unlike her half-sister, Elizabeth as a princess and as a queen employed her Italian speaking skills whenever possible. How Elizabeth became so proficient in Italian is not clear. Wyatt and Lawrence attributed the main merit for Elizabeth's Italian language-learning to the Protestant refugee Giovanni Battista Castiglione.[10] However, a contemporary description of Castiglione suggests that he could not be Elizabeth Tudor's 'sole teacher'.[11] Alessandra Petrina expresses similar doubts about Castiglione's solitary role and, instead, points out to 'a network of books and readers around' Elizabeth Tudor favouring her

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[7] Elizabeth translated into Italian, French, and Latin Catherin Parr's *Prayer or Meditation* (1545,) and from Italian into Latin Bernardo Ochino' sermon *Che cosa è Christo*? (1547). See Roger Ellis, 'The 'The Juvenile Translations of Elizabeth Tudor', *Translation and Literature*, 18.2 (2009), 157–180; Alessandra Petrina, 'Translation and Language–learning: The English Version of Petrarch's Triumph of Eternity Attributed to Elizabeth I', in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues between nations and cultures*, ed. by Helen Hackett (London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 55–72.

[8] The Venetian envoy Sebastiano Giustiniani reported in April 1515 that Henry VIII could speak Latin and French very well, and a little Italian, see *Four Years at the court of Henry VIII: selection of despatches written by the Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, and addressed to the Signory of Venice*, 2 vols, ed. by Rawdon Brown (London: Smith & Elder, 1854), I, p. 86. For Edward VI use of Italian, see *Literary Remains of King Edward VI. Edited from his autograph manuscripts. With historical notes, and a biographical memoir*, ed. by John Gough Nichols (London: Roxburghe Club, 1857), I, pp. ccix, cxliiv, cccxxvi.

[9] Giovanni Michieli, 'Relazione d'Inghilterra del clarissimo Giovanni Micheli' (1557), in *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, *Serie I*, 6 vols, ed. by Eugenio Albèri (Florence: Clio, 1840) II, p. 289–380 (p. 323).

[10] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 125–126, 306; Lawrence, *Who the Devil*, pp. 4, 6, 13. On Giovanni Battista Castiglione who fought in the English army as other Italians at Boulogne and Calais, see Massimo Firpo, 'Castiglione, Giovanni Battista', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 22 (1979); Yates, 'Italian Teachers', p. 106; Vittorio Gabrieli, 'Bernardino Ochino, 'Sermo di Christo': un inedito di Elisabetta Tudor', *La cultura*, 21.1 (1983), 151–174; Mariagrazia Bellorini, 'Giovan Battista Castiglione consigliere di Elisabetta I', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di filologia moderna: Serie inglese* ed. by Sergio Rossi (Milan: Universit del Sacro Cuore, 1974), 113–132.

[11] Carlo M. Bajetta doubts that Giovanni Battista Castiglione could have been the only Italian tutor of Elizabeth Tudor by quoting Pietro Bizarri's *Della Guerra fatta in Ungheria dall'inuittissimo Imperatore de Christiani, contra quello de Turchi* (Lyon, 1568) in his *Elizabeth I's Italian letters*, p. xxvi.

Italian language-learning.[12] Building on Petrina's observation, this thesis aims to unveil several interconnected networks of books and readers that allowed English people to learn and use Italian.

Therefore, if you were an English speaker keen to learn and use Italian – such as Elizabeth Tudor or Thomas Hoby – which books, practices, and people could help you through your language acquisition process? And if you had to teach the Italian language which resources, approaches, methods, and techniques you would use or suggest? English people who had their formative years before Elizabeth I's reign could not rely on some standard options available nowadays when approaching Italian language-learning. There were no courses of Italian as a foreign language at English universities or other official educational institutions. Nor were there Italian books printed in the original language in England – until Michelangelo Florio's *Catechismo* (1553), or specific Italian-English grammars and dictionaries in print – until William Thomas's *Principal Rules* (1550).[13] Historical contexts and textual sources are, therefore, essential to understanding why and how English individuals learned Italian given the absence of official syllabus for the study of this language, reports from lessons, and audio recordings of the sonic landscapes.

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[12] Petrina, 'Elizabeth Learning and Using Italian,', pp. 108–9. Moreover, considering that Castiglione became her Italian tutor officially in November 1544, he might not have helped Elisabeth with her Italian letter to Katherine Parr on 31st July 1544.

[13] Michelangelo Florio, *Cathechismo cioè forma breve per amaestrare i fanciulli* (London: Steven Mierdman, 1553); Thomas, William, *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar with a Dictionarie for the better understandyng of Boccace Petrarcha, and Dante, gathered into this tongue* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1550). Moreover, it is not clear if Italian language was taught during the short experience of Cardinal Wolsey's College in Ipswich (1528–1531). The source for this claim is a Latin letter from the College schoolmaster William Goldwin to Cardinal Wolsey 10 January 1529 at London, The National Archives, SP 1/52, fol. 127. According to an English summary of the original Latin letter Goldwin 'Sends specimens of the handwriting of some of the boys, who, he hopes, will soon be able to speak Italian' in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 1, 1509–1514*, ed. by J. S. Brewer (London, 1920), *British History Online* http://www.british–history.ac.uk/letters–papers–hen8/vol1 [accessed 9 October 2023]. Maria Dowling reports an almost identical sentence in her *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 122. However, James Willoughby after reading the original Letter explains that Goldwin 'reported that they were learning to speak Latin in the 'Italian' (i.e. modern) style.' in 'Thomas Wolsey and the Books of Cardinal College, Oxford', *Bodleian Library Record*, 28 (2015), 114–34 (p. 116).

Exploring English individuals' biographies, writings and readings through some research questions helps to rebuild their motivations to learn the Italian language and therefore their learning practice. What were their interactions with Italians, or other nationalities, and what was the role of the Italian language in this sense? Did having a command of Italian open up new job positions or increase social status? Did learners have a formal education and/or interest in other subjects (such as grammar, rhetoric, philosophy or theology) that encouraged and aided their Italian learning? Did they learn other languages (like Latin, Greek, French) with the help of the same, or similar, texts and practices?

Other specific questions arise in regard to tutors of Italian language: what was their role in Italian and English society? Were they English, Italian or from elsewhere? Did they have a specific education and professional training? What were their ideas about teaching languages in general, and specifically Italian? Did their pedagogical theories influence their ideas on the development of Italian language (*questione della lingua*)*?* How did they apply these ideas in practice for formal and/or informal linguistic teaching? Otherwise, did practices anticipate or completely substitute theories? How, and to which degree, did tutors help learners to overcome students' intercultural communication issues? Did tutors collaborate with other tutors? Did other people contribute to the transmission of the Italian vernacular without any specific pedagogical position as 'informal language tutor'?

By answering the previous questions in my case studies, I can answer my central and most challenging research question: how did English people learn and use Italian in pre-Elizabethan England? Finding out 'who' learned Italian and deducing 'why', this thesis will unravel 'how' and present a picture of tutors, texts, and learning practices. The claim is that English individuals ('who') performing a social and professional identity that included the learning and use of Italian ('why') used books and employed methods for acquiring Italian

linguistic knowledge ('how') that reflected their identities and motivations. Learning Italian was, therefore, a tool available to individuals of different social classes to accumulate specific and transferable skills and cultural capital required in their professional and social position, and private life.

The initial challenge for my investigation is to identify the sources apt for Italian language-learning by English people in Tudor England. This is problematic due to the paucity of material specifically designed for English learners (until the afore-mentioned *Principal Rules* (1550) by William Thomas), Italian curricula, teaching manuals or lesson reports. I will consider as potential pedagogical books for English students a manuscript grammar (1553) written in London in Tuscan with a few Latin translations; a polyglot religious text (1545) printed in London displaying Latin, English, Italian, and French translations in parallel columns; two polyglot dictionaries printed in London and Venice (1537 and 1541) from a mutual European tradition with parallel columns in Latin, Flemish/Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, English; and an Italian monolingual dictionary (1543) printed in Venice. Thanks to these sources I will argue that Tudor individuals studied the Italian language in several European locations (such as London, Antwerp, and Venice) using various kinds of sources like other Europeans, Italians included. All these books, although different in their genres and coming from several centres of publishing, imply a similar contrastive/comparative approach to language-learning that favoured the use of similar practices for any language, either vernacular or classical.

This thesis also contributes to the history of language-learning and teaching as its case studies reveal a range of learning approaches and methods as well as a diverse group of language learners.[14] In agreement with Corvo Sánchez, I 'refute the belief presented in many academic

[14] 'History of language pedagogy' is 'essential to the development of a satisfactory theory of language teaching' alongside language sciences, the social sciences, psychology, end educational theory according to Hans Heinrich Stern and Hilde Stern in their *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983), p.

forums by those who still assume that the History of Foreign Language Teaching and Learning begins with the GTM (Grammar- Translation method) and summarise it as a history of the methods used to teach mainly grammatical contents'.[15] GTM is described as the method where the target language is scarcely used for effective communication, especially orally, privileging morphosyntactic analysis and translation of difficult 'classical or canonical books'.[16] The effectiveness of GTM for modern languages pedagogy is nowadays highly criticised whilst at the same time it is still sometimes imprecisely considered the preeminent method of a monolithic 'past', implying also the early modern period.[17] Even certain recent manuals on language teaching still consider modern language-learning only from the eighteenth century onward depicting a previous period characterised by deficient language teaching theories and practices and limited international mobility and communication. Julieta Arjona Sumague offers one such study, claiming that the: 'Evolution of language teaching techniques over the course of time are an evidence to changes in the proficiency language learners need […] Speaking a foreign language was not the main objective, rather it was limited to reading comprehension aloud'.[18] This thesis

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517. For a volume discussing the methodological approaches of the field of history of language–learning and teaching and collecting articles that consider the parallel overall histories of French, German, Spanish and English learning and teaching is Nicola McLelland and Richard Smith, 'Introduction: Building the history of language–learning and teaching (HoLLT)', *Language & History*, 57.1 (2014), 1–9. For a volume discussing language–learning and teaching in several geographical areas (Britain included with minimal reference to Italian) is Richard Smith and Nicola McLelland 'Histories of language–learning and teaching in Europe', *The Language–learning Journal*, 46.1 (2018), 1–5.

[15] María José Corvo Sánchez, 'Grammar–translation Method? Why a History of the Methods? Considerations from a Spanish Perspective', *Language & History*, 64.3 (2021), 204–220.

[16] A.P.R. Howatt, *A History of English Language Teaching*, 2nd edition *with* H.G. Widdowson, (Oxford: OUP, 2004), pp. 132, 151–152; Paolo Balboni, *Elementi di glottodidattica* (Brescia: La Scuola, 1994), p. 18.

[17] For an example of description and refusal of the Grammar Translation followed by the suggestion that this was the 'preeminent' method of a past characterised by scarce international communications in person, see Pierangela Diadori, *Insegnare Italiano a stranieri* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2001), p. 38. Stern critiques this kind of methodological introductions 'the historical antecedents are often no more than a backdrop to set off with bold strokes those aspect the writer wishes to emphasize, and the historical treatment is necessary brief and often reveals a definite bias', *Fundamental concepts*, pp. 77. See also Hunter and Smith that denounce how 'Past methods are presented as fixed sets of procedures and principles, with little attention being paid to the contexts in which these developed, the way alternatives were debated at the time, or indeed the extent to which there was continuity with previous periods' in English Language Teaching, see Duncan Hunter and Richard Smith 'Unpackaging the past: 'CLT' through *ELTJ* keywords', *ELT journal*, 66.4 (2012), 430–439.

[18] Julieta Arjona Sumague, *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching*, (Ashland: Society 2020), pp. 4–5.

questions such positivistic and progressivist approaches to the history of language-learning and teaching, producing data that suggests a different view. It questions, too, the over-statement in previous studies both of the role played by national borders in preventing languages from circulating between countries; and of the boundaries of class that limited language-learning to a narrow elite. Challenging Balboni's view that 'for centuries the knowledge of at least one foreign language (Italian in the Renaissance, French in the eighteenth century) has been the prerogative of the elites', my thesis examines individuals from diverse backgrounds with clear and compelling motivations for learning or teaching Italian who approached the task using a range of approaches that were not merely limited to GTM.[19] My thesis aims to give more food for thought to the field of History of Language-learning and Teaching by expanding our knowledge on early modern English people learning Italian, their diverse backgrounds and learning motivations and approaches beyond GTM.

Previous scholarship: reassessing 'the canon' of Italian language-learning in early modern England and the role of *The Courtier* (1561) by Thomas Hoby and *First Fruits* (1578) by John Florio

In contradiction with his proposed late starting point of the interest in Italian language in England, Simonini listed people that learned the language before Thomas' *Principal Rules* (1550) and the phenomenon of religious refugee tutors. By mentioning some of these characters – 'Henry VIII, Lord Rochford [George Boleyn (*c.* 1504–1536)], Lord Morley [Henry Parker (1476/1481–1553/1556)], the Earl of Surrey [Henry Howard (*c.* 1516–1547)], the Earl of Wiltshire [Thomas Boleyn, (*c.* 1477–1539)], Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503–1542) and the Princesses

[19] 'Per secoli la conoscenza di almeno una lingua straniera (l'italiano nel Rinascimento, il francese dal Settecento in poi) era stata propria delle élites' in Balboni, *Le sfide di Babele* (Turin: UTET Libreria, 2002), p. 9.

Mary [Tudor] and Elizabeth [Tudor]' - Simonini concludes that Italian was a subject for the 'English court [that] became a centre of culture'.[20] To partially adjust this discrepancy regarding periodisation and the presence of Italian learners in pre-Elizabethan England, another long-lasting overgeneralisation on a classist basis suggests that Italian language-learning was solely a pastime for rich people and nobility. They were the only ones that could allegedly learn Italian thanks to advanced literacy, private tutors, travel for pleasure and 'refined lifestyle'.[21] This connects with the idea of an Italian language as a fanciful accessory for the elites far from being useful for daily life professional, social and personal interactions.

The idea that interest in Italian language and sources could only have started as a fashionable trend within the aristocrats of the Tudor court to 'percolate down' to the 'gentlemen' of the second part of the sixteenth century with Florio's manuals is still alive. For example, Braden argues that Henry VIII's enthusiasm for sophisticated Italian fashion – and specifically musicians such as the Brescian Zuan Piero performing lyrics by Petrarch at court – allowed Wyatt to learn Italian even if he was not aristocratic.[22] The presence of pre-Elizabethan learners of Italian of different backgrounds puzzles academics such as Rossiter who, quoting Braden, concludes that 'Wyatt's *imitatio* of Italian sources is then somewhat anomalous but also […] 'almost inevitable".[23] Indeed, Wyatt revived English poetry earning a great status at court as a refined maker of Petrarchan verses but this was thanks to learning and using Italian in contexts beyond the entertainment of the Tudor court.[24] For example, Wyatt built a tight relationship with

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[20] Simoni, *Italian Scholarship*, pp. 18–19.
[21] Rossi, *Ricerche sull'Umanesimo,* p. 98. Pizzoli, *Le Grammatiche*, p. 57.
[22] Gordon Braden, 'Wyatt and Petrarch: Italian Fashion at the Court of Henry VIII', *Annali d'Italianistica* (2004), 237–265 (p. 239).
[23] Ibid.; William T. Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad: Tudor Diplomacy and the Translation of Power*, Studies in Renaissance Literature, 32 (Boydell & Brewer, 2014), p. 56.
[24] The only traces of Thomas Wyatt writing in Italian are few ironic verses dedicated to George Boleyn in 1526 for his wedding with Jane Parker, daughter of the translator from Italian Henry Parker. See Susan Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt: The Heart's Forest* (London: Faber & Faber, 2012), pp. 99–100. George Boleyn probably knew the language considering that he received an Italian letter from Gregorio Casali, see 'Henry VIII: October 1534, 11–15', in *Letters*

Italian merchants and bankers in London from whom he received a considerable number of favours and credits;[25] he visited several cities of Italy (e.g. Rome, Venice, Ferrara, Mantua) during a diplomatic mission and was kidnapped by the Imperial army; [26] and he plotted with Italian ambassadors at the court of the Charles V in Spain.[27] Overall the multicultural Tudor court undoubtedly embodied a centre promoting and irradiating culture, but it also reflected what diverse English people and foreign visitors were bringing in from outside the court and England. What probably differentiates Wyatt from other English individuals who learned and used Italian in more contexts than the Tudor court was not a peculiar taste for Italianate fashion, but his superior results in writing memorable literary imitations of Italian models in English.

As in the case of Wyatt, certain historiography considers any pre-Elizabethan individuals with knowledge of Italian as a peculiar specimen, but certain professional and social groups like soldiers, merchants, diplomats and authors generally had some Italian skills for practical reasons. For example, Park compared 'the pioneer contact of Thomas Wyatt with Italian poetry' to Thomas Cromwell's 'unusual' experience in Italy as a soldier during the Italian Wars and apprentice merchant in Florence and Venice, with consequent Italian learning as a result.[28] Cromwell's experience as an English soldier and merchant abroad was again far from extraordinary because other Tudor Englishmen followed these paths. What is remarkable was how Cromwell was able to use this experience – bringing for instance a network of Italian collaborators, such as Gregorio Casali and Guido Giannetti da Fano, that provided intelligence and lobbied for him around Europe – to reach an amount of power second only to Henry VIII

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and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 7, 1534, ed. by James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1883), 482–487 (1263). British History Online http://www.british–history.ac.uk/letters–papers–hen8/vol7/pp482–487 [accessed 12 October 2023].

[25] Susan Brigden, 'Thomas Wyatt among the Florentines', *The English Historical Review*, 134.571 (2019), 1406–1439.

[26] Susan Brigden and Jonathan Woolfson, 'Thomas Wyatt in Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58.2 (2005), 464–511.

[27] For example, Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, p. 428.

[28] Park, 'The Genesis of Tudor', pp. 530, 531.

in England.[29] Besides Cromwell, Park discusses in his essay other protagonists of the Anglo–Italian cultural relationships such as Thomas Elyot (*c.* 1496–1546), John Leland (*c.* 1503–1552), Edmund Bonner (*c.* 1500–1569), Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), Henry Howard, Richard Morison (*c.* 1513–1556), and Thomas Starkey (*c.* 1498–1538) by disregarding their direct access to Italian personal and textual encounters, and the possible practical application of their linguistic skills beyond writing literature.[30] Park's assumptions finally pushed him to define Henry Parker, as 'the most surprising spokesman for Italian in 1530s', due to his old age and the fact that he probably never visited Italy. Perhaps this would be less surprising if we consider that all these English pioneers using Italian demonstrate that the frontier was not so far and desolate. Indeed, for many diverse English individuals the interest in Italian in the second part of the sixteenth century was not a novelty.

Scholarship shows that diverse English individuals read, translated and owned Italian books before Thomas Hoby's *The Courtier* (1561) and William Thomas' *Principal Rules* (1550).[31] These authors, therefore, entered a conversation already started. The earliest reference to *Il Cortegiano* (1528) in England appeared in 1530 and when Hoby started to translate *The Courtier* in

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[29] For Cromwell receiving Italian letters, Ibid., p. 530; also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell: A Life* (London: Penguin Books, 2018), pp. 27–28.

[30] Park's conclusions seem definitive leaving scarce room for counterarguments. For example, in the case of Thomas Elyot's biography, Parks overlooked Lehemberg's argument that Elyot knew Italian and likely read *Il Cortegiano* (Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Sir Thomas Elyot Tudor Humanist* (Austin: University of Texas, 1960), pp. 88, 74) and John M. Major's discussion on Italian sources for Elyot's works (John M. Major, *Sir Thomas Elyot: Studies in Early Tudor Humanism* (unpublished dissertation, Harvard University, 1954), pp. 80–81). Instead, Parks selectively draws on Lehemberg's and Major's works to attack Pearl Hogrefe's hypothesis that Elyot engaged with Italian language and sources in her 'Elyot and the 'Boke Called Cortegiano in Ytalion", *Modern Philology*, 27.3 (1930), 303–309.

[31] Michaela Valente stresses the value of Wyatt's, Morley's, and others's manuscripts translations before 1550s, in 'Italia the dreamland of the English fancy: scambi culturali anglo–italiani all'epoca dei Tudor', in *Tramiti. Figure e strumenti della mediazione culturale nella prima età moderna*, ed. by Elisa Andretta and others (Roma: Viella, 2015), 243–262 (p. 254). For a review of English translations from Italian from the Medieval period to 1550, see Karla Taylor 'Writers of the Italian Renaissance' in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: To 1550*, 5 vols, ed. by Roger Ellis (Oxford: OUP, 2008), I, p. 390.

May 1550 an intellectual conversation about the book was already in place.[32] Also, it can be noted that Hoby wrote the main parts of the paratext of his *The Courtier* (Hoby's dedication to Henry Hastings 1556, John Cheke's letter to Hoby 1557) before Elizabeth I's reign. Machiavelli represented another popular sixteenth-century Italian author in England that scholarship already discussed in depth.[33] The translator Henry Parker sent Thomas Cromwell copies of Machiavelli's *Istorie Fiorentine* and *Il Principe* accompanied by a letter stating the intent to draw a parallel between the Florentines' and Henry's struggles against the Pope.[34]

In addition to Castiglione and Machiavelli, scholarship generally focused on earlier reception of Italian literature in England involving the three canonical fourteenth century Florentine authors so-called *Tre Corone* ['Three Crowns']: Dante Alighieri, Francesco Petrarch, and Giovanni Boccaccio.[35] For example, Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1387–1400) referred to Dante as 'the grete poete of Ytaille. That highte Dant, for he kan al devyse. Fro point to point; nat o word wol he faille'.[36] During the Tudor period the diplomat Richard Morison quoted Dante in Italian in 1536, Thomas Hoby bought an Italian edition of Dante's *Divina Commedia* in Venice in 1550, and William Thomas explained the mythological origins of Mantua referred to Dante.[37] Around 1535, Henry Parker translated Petrarch's *Trionfi* (1351–1374) into

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[32] Thomas Hoby, *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt. of Bisham Abbey, Written by Himself, 1547–1564*, ed. by Edgar Powell (London: Office of the Society, 1902), p. 61. See also, Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), p. 60.

[33] Mario Praz, *Machiavelli in Inghilterra e altri saggi* (Rome: Tumminelli, 1942); Alessandra Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles: Two Early Modern Translations of the Prince* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Alessandro Arienzo and Alessandra Petrina, *Machiavellian Encounters in Tudor and Stuart England: Literary and Political Influences from the Reformation to the Restoration* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016).

[34] MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Thomas Cromwell: A Life* (London: Penguin Books, 2018), p. 28.

[35] See for example the table of contents in the recent Michele Marrapodi, ed., *The Routledge Research Companion to Anglo–Italian Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019), pp. ix–x.

[36] Geoffrey Chaucer, *Monk's Tale*, VII.2460–62. See for example, Karla Taylor, *Chaucer Reads 'The Divine Comedy'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989).

[37] Richard Morison quoted Dante's *Convivio*: 'Viva la mia morte, muoia la mia vita, That is, Let lyue my dethe, lette dye my lyfe' in *Remedy for Sedition* (1536), sig. 4^{v}. See Nick Havely, 'From 'Goodly Maker' to Witness Against the Pope: Conscripting Dante in Henrician England', *Textual Cultures: Text, Contexts, Interpretation*, 5.1 (2010), 76–98 (p. 82). Thomas Hoby had copy of Dante's *La Comedia* (Venice: Alessandro Vellutello, 1544), see Dunstan Roberts, 'Books Owned by Sir Thomas Hoby (1530–1566)', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 17.1 (2020), 53–

English, and Princess Elizabeth Tudor most likely translated a portion of *Trionfi* (*Trionfo di Eternità*) as a linguistic exercise.[38] *Trionfi* iconography as a subject grew in popularity throughout Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with for example the Italian Giovanni Michele Nagonio, also known as Nagonius, using it as a reference for a Henry VII miniature.[39] Petrarch's collection of rhymes, *Il Canzoniere* (1336–1374), impacted English poets and writers such as Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.[40] Both Katherine Parr and Elizabeth Tudor owned Alessandro Vellutello's famous commentary on Petrarch.[41] Finally, this thesis will present an overview of the English reception of Boccaccio, in particular the *Decameron* owned by Thomas Hoby, in Chapter V.

English merchants, pilgrims, travellers, and students

The beginning of the reception of Italian books in England, traditionally, started in connection with business and commerce when 'Chaucer was sent to Italy to negotiate with the Genoese authorities the assignment of a 'porto franco' in England for the merchants of the Ligurian

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65 (p. 62). William Thomas referenced Dante in his *The historie of Italie*, 201ʳ. On Dante's reception in England, see Jackson Campbell Boswell, *Dante's Fame in England: References in Printed British Books, 1477–1640* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999); David Wallace, 'Dante in English', in *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, ed. by Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 281–304.

[38] Favourable to the attribution to Elizabeth I are Wyatt, pp. 210–212; Lawrence, pp. 32–34. Sceptics are Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel even if they inserted the translation in their *Elizabeth I. Translations, 1544–1589* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 459–474. See also Alessandra Petrina, ed., *Petrarch's Triumphi in English*, Vol. 27 (Cambridge: MHRA, 2020), pp. 52–55, 206–210; Idem, 'Translation and Language–learning: The English Version of Petrarch's Triumph of Eternity Attributed to Elizabeth I', pp. 69–86.

[39] On Giovanni Michele Nagonio's miniature of Henry VII, see Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 44–45. Around 1535–36, Henry Parker translated *Trionfi* into English for Henry VIII. John Cawood printed this translation in London in 1555 dedicated to Henry FitzAlan, Lord Mautravers (1538–1556).

[40] See Gordon Braden, *Petrarchan Love and the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 1–36. Jackson Campbell Boswell, and Gordon McMurry Braden, *Petrarch's English Laurels, 1475–1700: A Compendium of Printed References etusions* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

[41] In the Royal Collection there is *Il Petrarcha con l'espositione d'Alessandro Vellutello* (1538) inscripted with 'Elizabeth R' on one of the fore–pages. And Katherine Parr owned a Petrarch's *Canzoniere et Trionfi* (1544) commented by Vellutello (BL C.27.e.19).

Republic' 'over an eight-month period between 1372–1373'.[42] Since then other English people of different backgrounds had fruitful travels to Italy. In 1954, Parks' *The English Traveler to Italy: the Middle ages (to 1525)* presented several kinds of English people travelling to Italy: kings and diplomats, clerics and pilgrims, soldiers and merchants, and students.[43] However an articulate discourse about the Italian vernacular is missing from any scholarly analysis about English visitors of the peninsula.

Research on lexical borrowings confirms an early English interest in Italian language challenging the canonical chronology and the alleged elitism connected with this language. By analysing mercantile texts Megan Tiddeman shows how in the semantic field of trade Italian borrowings overlapped with 'everyday' context already in fourteenth and fifteenth century England (for example with words like *candy*, *confection*, *garble*, *net*, *tare*).[44] Variations of Italian were spoken in the Mediterranean basin and Northern Europe ports like Antwerp and London.[45] Chaucer perhaps learned Italian and accessed Boccaccio's *Decameron* through Italian merchants when working as customs official at the Port of London.[46] In the 1530s, merchant Robert Thorne

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[42] Piero Boitani, 'Chaucer and the Italians', in *Italomania (s): Italy and the English Speaking World from Chaucer to Seamus Heaney*, ed. by Giuseppe Galigani (Firenze: M. Pagliai, 2007), 15–25.

[43] George B. Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy: the Middle ages (to 1525)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954).

[44] Megan Tiddeman, 'Early Anglo–Italian Contact: New Loanword Evidence from Two Mercantile Sources, 1440–1451' in *Merchants of Innovation: The Languages of Traders*, ed. by Esther–Miriam Wagner, Bettina Beinhoff and Ben Outhwaite (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2017), 217–234; idem, 'More Sugar and Spice: Revisiting Medieval Italian Influence on the Mercantile Lexis of England', in *The Multilingual Origins of Standard English*, ed. by Laura Wright (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2020), 381–410.

[45] On Venetian language, see Daniele Baglioni, *'Il veneziano 'de là da mar': Contesti, testi, dinamiche del contatto linguistico e culturale* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019). On Genovese language, Fiorenzo Toso, 'Per una storia delle relazioni interlinguistiche del genovese', *Estudis Romànics*, 43 (2021), 395–412. On the Mediterrean Lingua Franca, an elusive 'Italian–based language' using mainly Venetian, Genovese, Tuscan vocabulary mixed with Spanish, Catalan, Arabic, Portuguese, see Rachel Selbach, 'On a Famous Lacuna: Lingua Franca the Mediterranean Trade Pidgin?' in *Merchants of Innovation: The Languages of Traders*, ed. by Esther–Miriam Wagner, Bettina Beinhoff and Ben Outhwaite (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2017), p. 252. Selbach discusses the possibility of MLF as a trade pidgin, 'mainstay European artefact and a literary tool' and a sociolinguistic reality. See also Joshua Brown as the most recent attempt to clarify MLF as a polysemous term, 'On the existence of a Mediterranean Lingua Franca and the persistence of language myths'. For examples of English uses of Mediterranean Lingua Franca, John Gallagher, 'Language-learning, Orality, and Multilingualism in Early Modern Anglophone Narratives of Mediterranean Captivity', *Renaissance Studies*, 33.4 (2019), 639–661.

[46] Robert Hanning, 'Custance and Ciappelletto in the Middle of It All: Problems of Mediation in The Man of Law's Tale and Decameron 1.1' in *The Decameron and the Canterbury Tales: New Essays on an Old Question*, ed. by Leonard

left his son, Vincent, in custody of the Genovese merchants Cattaneo in Seville to learn Italian trading skills and language.[47] Italian language helped English merchants not only in the day-to-day trading, but also to access Italian manuals to support their profession such as Luca Pacioli's treatise (Venice: 1494) on double-entry.[48] Merchants used their language skills to provide intelligence such as news on the Council of Trent.[49] Also, Roger Barlow (d.1553) used Italian sources writing a description of the world and trading routes for Henry VIII in 1541–2.[50] It is certainly a promising route to focus future research on the use of Italian by Tudor merchants and has not been explored further in this thesis due to limited space.

The majority of scholars tend to identify a sudden switch between the English scholars belonging to Erasmus' generation, that focused only on the 'cult of Latin', to the 'new kind of English travellers' that developed an interest in Italian and other national languages in the Elizabethan period.[51] English and Italian people lived in ignorance of each other, according to Bartlett, 'at least in terms of vernacular literature […]' until travelling in Italy allowed Thomas Hoby's translation of *Il Cortegiano* and William Barker's *The Nobility of Women*.[52] Bartlett divided English in Italy between 'students' and 'gentlemen' in social terms, or as 'expatriates' and 'exiles'

Michael Koff and Brenda Deen Schildgen (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University, 2000), 177–211. Nick Havely, 'The Italian Background' in *Chaucer: An Oxford Guide*, ed. Steve Ellis (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 313–331.

[47] Heather Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500–1560*, (Oxford: OUP, 2016), p. 32, 121. Beside the presence of Italian merchants in England, also English merchants traded in Italy wool for luxuries see Steven Gunn, 'Anglo–Florentine Contacts in the Age of Henry VIII: Political and Social Contexts', in *The Anglo–Florentine Renaissance: Art for the Early Tudors*, ed. by Cinzia Maria Sicca and Louis A. Waldman, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 19–47 (p. 23).

[48] Adum Smith Ovunda, 'Luca Pacioli's Double–entry System of Accounting: A Critique', *Research Journal of Finance and Accounting*, 6.18 (2015), 132–139. For an example of the influence of Pacioli's treatise on English merchants, see James O. Winjum, 'The Journal of Thomas Gresham', *The Accounting Review*, 46.1 (1971), 149–155.

[49] A Henry Bostock translated a Papal Bull 'most rudely translated owt of Italyon into Englyshe' in a letter from Venice to John Johnson in 1545, see Laura Branch, *Faith and Fraternity: London Livery Companies and the Reformation 1510–1603* (London: Brill, 2017), p. 148.

[50] Dalton, *Merchants and Explorer,* p. 165. Roger Barlow translated also an excerpt from the Italian book *Itinerario del Ludovico de Varthena Bolognese* (1510) describing the trading centre of Calicut.

[51] 'Allo studioso della generazione di Erasmo, che era attratto dal fascino della tradizione umanistica italiana, si sostituisce un tipo nuovo di viaggiatore inglese, sia egli diplomatico o studente, nel quale il culto del latino come lingua universale e superato dall'interesse per le lingue nazionali', Rossi, 'Un Italianista nel Cinquecento Inglese', p. 282.

[52] Kenneth R. Bartlett, 'Travel and Translation: The English and Italy in the Sixteenth Century', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 14 (1996), 493–506.

in political terms focusing in particular on the Marian exiles.[53] Chaney focused on educational travel in Italy from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century labelling William Thomas and Thomas Hoby as the first 'Grand Tourists'.[54] Woolfson identified the Reformation as the reason behind the need to undertake and document the Italian travels: '[…]the religious schism rendered Catholic Europe newly unknown and unfamiliar to Protestant Europe. Italy became the 'other' in a way it had not been before, and thus lay open for investigation and for rediscovery. It is thus no coincidence that what might be taken to be the two earliest British documentary manifestations of the *ars apodemica* [The art of travelling], Thomas Hoby's diary of his European travels between 1547 and 1555, and William Thomas's *The historie of Italie* of 1549, were written by avowed Protestants during a period of intense Protestant Reform in England'.[55] However, interest in Italian vernacular literature and language by English travellers was inevitable and reported before Thomas' and Hoby's journeys in Italy although specific academic research is missing.

Before the English Reformation, Italy was the main destination of pilgrimage and transit towards the Holy Land for several classes of people from England.[56] Scholars tend to classify pilgrims' writings as 'late medieval' and related exclusively to Catholic devotion creating an artificial historiographical distance with the early modern protestant travellers Thomas Hoby and William Thomas.[57] Although religious motivations appear in the documents authorising these journeys, pilgrims travelled to Italy not only because of their Catholic faith, but to seek the same

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[53] Kenneth R. Bartlett, *The English in Italy 1525–1558: A Study in Culture and Politics* (Geneva: Centro Interuniversitario di Ricerche sul 'Viaggio in Italia', 1991).
[54] Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo–Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London & Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass, 1998).
[55] Jonathan Woolfson, 'Thomas Hoby, William Thomas, and Mid–Tudor Travel to Italy' in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature: 1485–1603*, ed. by Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp. 404–417 (p. 410).
[56] Robert B. Tate and Thorlac Turville–Petre, *Two Pilgrim Itineraries of the Later Middle Ages* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1995), p. 20. English Protestants continued their pilgrimage towards Jerusalem also decades later as for example Henry Timberlake documented in his *A true and strange discourse* (London, 1603).
[57] The word 'pilgrim' was used as synonym of 'traveller' in post–reformation England as for example in William Thomas's *The pilgrim* (1546) set in Bologna. See Ian Martin, 'The Manuscript And Editorial Traditions Of William Thomas's The Pilgrim', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 59.3 (1997), 621–641.

experiences associated with travelling common also to Thomas Hoby's diary.[58] As in the case of Hoby, learning about Italian vernacular culture and language could be part of the motivations for, and outcome, of the journey. A middle-ranking churchman, Robert Langton, who studied civil law in Bologna (1493–1498) and was cousin of Cardinal Bainbridge in Rome, visited significant locations for Italian vernacular culture such as the tomb of Petrarch and Dante according to his diary written around 1511 – published as *The pylgrimage of Master Robert Langton* (1522).[59] Furthermore, in the first chapter we will see how the physician and intelligencer Andrew Boorde described the cultural and linguistic fragmentation of Italian regions and wrote a short English-Italian dialogue for travellers in his *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (1547, written before 1542) as a result of years of pilgrimages, educational travels and intelligence reports to Thomas Howard and Thomas Cromwell in 1530s.[60] Boorde's book was not presented as the diary of a religious pilgrim due to the oath of conformity that Boorde took in 1534, but as a description of different countries and ethnic groups with their costumes, idiosyncrasies, currencies and languages.[61]

A lack of discussion on Italian language-learning also characterises scholarship dealing with English people studying at Italian universities. [62] The majority of early English humanists

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[58] For example, *This is the begynnynge, and contynuaunce of the pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde,* (London: Richard Pynson, 1511) by the chaplain of Sir Richard Guylforde (perhaps Thomas Larke), it described a visit to the historian Titus Livy's tomb in Padua in 1506 like Thomas Hoby did in 1548. See modern edition *The pylgrymage of sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy land, AD 1506*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London: Camden Society, 1851), p. 5. Cf. Hoby, *The Travels*, pp. 6, 9–10. Also, like Hoby, the priest Richard Torkington, collaborator of Thomas Boleyn, wrote about the ceremony of the city's 'marriage to the sea' in Venice in his diary in 1526. See *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell*, ed. by W. J. Loftie (London: Field & Tuer, 1884). Cf. Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 16. See also Rob Lutton, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing in Early Sixteenth-Century England: The Pilgrimage Accounts of Thomas Larke and Robert Langton', *Viator*, 48.3 (2017), 333–357.

[59] Robert Langton, *The pylgrimage of M. Robert Langton clerke to saynt James in Compostell* (London: Robert Copland, 1522), sigs 9[a], 10[a].

[60] Boorde, Andrew, *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge* (London: c. 1547).

[61] Boorde is the author of the sentence opening the title of this thesis: 'Welcome to this countre, can you speke italian', Ibid., sig. Ii.

[62] See Sara Warneke *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Kenneth R. Bartlett, 'Worshipful Gentlemen of England: The 'Studio' of Padua and the Education of the English Gentry in the Sixteenth Century', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* (1982).

(such as William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, Cuthbert Tunstall and Richard Pace) studied in Italy but they left clearer traces of their knowledge in Latin and Greek which allowed them to access the majority of books on medicine, law, classical rhetoric, philosophy, and theology. However, it seems implied that these English humanists brought from Italy some knowledge of Italian language too. As in the case of the grammarian William Lily that Thomas More solicited for translations from 'Hetrusca lingua' or 'Italice' on two occasions: around 1500 in regard to Lorenzo Spiriti's fortune-telling book *Libro delle sorti* (1474); and in 1516 to understand an Italian banker's bill.[63] Another example of English early humanists and students in Italy who learned the vernacular is Cuthbert Tunstall who owned several Italian books (for example an edition of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*).[64]

In addition to the singular confirmed cases, a bigger number of English students went to Italy before Elizabeth I's reign increasing the potential number of learners of Italian vernacular among them. Woolfson recorded in 1533 the highest number of English students attending electoral meetings at the Law University in Padua (26) which is the double of the second highest number (13) recorded in 1557.[65] Also, there was a peak in the number of English students at university of Bologna in the 1480s and 1490s.[66] Collett's article presented a series of Englishmen

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[63] Park, 'The Genesis', p. 529.

[64] Francesco Petrarca, *Il Petrarca colla spositione di Misser Giovanni Andrea Gesvaldo* (Venezia: Giovann'Antonio di Nicolini & fratelli da Sabbio, 1533). This edition with autograph signatures of 'Cuthbert Tonstall' and 'Nucholas Lanier' on the title–page is at the Columbia University Library (B85 P445) and it seems to display several marginalia that needs further research, see Germain Marc'Hadour, 'Ephemerides A.D. 1986', *Moreana*, 24.94 (1987), 109–117. This Petrarch's edition probably appears as 'Petrarcha in magno volumine' in Tunstall's library booklist with other Italian books by Giovanni Boccaccio and Girolamo Savonarola. For Tunstall's Italian books in his book lists, see Wyman H., Herendeen and Kenneth R. Bartlett. 'The Library of Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham (British Library Add. 40,676)', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 85.3 (1991), 235–296 (pp. 265, 267, 276, 288).

[65] See Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English students in Italy, 1485–1603* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1998), pp. 26–27. Although Woolfson signalled issues in collecting the data, pp. 25, 28. For a reflection on Woolfson's book impact on British historiography in signalling 'the interconnectedness of English and non–English European history', see Woolfson, 'Padua and English Student Revisited', *Renaissance Studies*, 27 (2013), 572–587 (p. 574). For the presence of English students in Italian universities, see Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 12, 36, 50, 65, 73, 95, 104, 105n, 151, 181.

[66] Ad Tervoort, *The Iter Italicum and the northern Netherlands: Dutch students at Italian universities and their role in the Netherlands' society (1426–1575)* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 115, 153 n.11.

studying in Ferrara between 1460–1502 and argued that they contributed to the new approach to learning of the Tudor dynasty.[67] 'One-third or more' of the students who were granted a degree by the University of Ferrara were non-Italians, English included, in the 1540s.[68] And eighteen Englishmen studied at the University of Turin between 1497 to 1512.[69]

In terms of student backgrounds, Woolfson argues that many English students at Padua came from 'the middle or lower ranks of society' and 'a larger number of gentlemen travelling to Padua began to alter the social complexion of the English nation from the late 1540s'.[70] Therefore, also non aristocrats could travel to Italy, learn Italian and promote it among fellow countrymen. With his royal credentials as the cousin of Henry VIII, Reginald Pole was an exception among the other English students when he arrived in Padua in 1519.[71] Contemporary with Pole and particularly linked with him in Padua were Italian learners such as Thomas Lupset, Thomas Starkey, and Michael Throckmorton.[72]

Recent scholarship reduced Pole's role as a 'maecenas' for English scholars in Padua as for example Richard Morison, John Friar, and Thomas Winter.[73] On the contrary, Pole developed an Italian and international household and network of scholars (for example, Pietro Bembo), artists (Michelangelo and Tiziano), and powerful religious and political figures (Cardinal Gasparo Contarini) that almost resulted in him becoming Pope in 1549. Reassessing Pole's status as a mediator between English and Italian cultures, Barrington's research highlights also the

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[67] Barry Collett, 'Universities, Governments and Reform: English Students at Ferrara During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in *Alla corte degli Estensi filosofia, arte e cultura a Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI*, ed. by Marco Bertozzi (Ferrara: Univ. degli Studi, 1994), 125–146.
[68] Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 104. See also Giuseppe Pardi, *Lo studio di Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI: con documenti inediti* (Ferrara: G.Zuffi, 1903).
[69] Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 95.
[70] Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors*, pp. 16–18.
[71] Thomas F. Mayer, 'Nursery of Resistance: Reginald Pole and his Friends', in *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth*, ed. by Paul A. Fiedler and T. F. Mayer (London: Routledge, I992), 50–74; idem, 'When Maecenas was Broke: Cardinal Pole's 'Spiritual' Patronage', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27.2 (1996), 419–435.
[72] Thomas F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the commonwealth*: *Humanist Politics and Religion in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).
[73] Robert Barrington, 'Two Houses Alike in Dignity', *The Historical Journal*, 39.4 (1996), 895–913.

importance of the merchant and ambassador in Venice Edmund Harvell (d.1549) as a representative of a heterogeneous English community and a promoter of Italian vernacular among English students.[74] Thanks to their Italian skills and networks, English merchants increased their social status becoming innovative writers as Chaucer, official ambassadors as Edmund Harvel in Venice and powerful King's councillors as Thomas Cromwell.

Italians in England

Not only did English people bring Italy to England, but also Italians that visited and resided in the country from the medieval period through the entirety of the Tudor era. Whilst early Tudor Anglo–Italian traffic is acknowledged by scholars the presence of Italian vernacular in England is still overlooked.[75] Wyatt engages consistently with the existence of Italian language in England from 1547 when Italian religious refugees reached England starting with Bernardo Ochino.[76] Wyatt's late mention of Italian vernacular echoes Simonini's conclusion that: 'the Italian ecclesiastics in England, the powerful Lombard merchants, and the many Italian workmen and artisans do not seem to have left behind any important linguistic interests'.[77] On the other hand, more recent scholarship is reshaping this limited vision suggesting a more diverse soundscape.

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[74] Parks sees in 'a dozen of youth gathered about Reginald Pole in Padua in the 1520s and 1530s' the first flocking of Englishmen in Italy preceding a more consistent sudden new flocking into the country reported by Thomas Hoby, Parks, 'The First Italianate Englishmen', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 8 (1961), 197–216 (p. 207).
[75] Mark Ormrod, Bart Lambert, and Jonathan Mackman, *Immigrant England, 1300–1550* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), for example pp. 275–285. Therefore it seems outdated David Starkey's generalisation that 'in 1530s the Reformation cut off direct contact with Italy', *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (London: Collins and Brown, 1991), p. 26.
[76] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 90.
[77] Simonini, *Italian Scholarship*, p. 18.

So, who were these Italians in England that contributed to the fact that 'it was not necessary to venture beyond Dover to find oneself in Babel'? [78]

Italian merchants and bankers often appear in records under the generic name of 'Lombards' (meaning from the Northern region of the peninsula) although representing the political fragmentation of Italy with communities of Genovesi, Florentines, Lucchesi, and Venetians.[79] A novella in the *Decameron* describes Florentine money landing in England and the Bardi and Peruzzi bank failure due to Edward III's default in 1345.[80] The English crown traditionally relied on these networks of Italians for diplomacy, financial support, import of goods, art and artists. [81] This special relationship had also a downside, for instance Italian merchants' 'muche fauour in England' and alleged reckless behaviour caused the explosion of the xenophobic May Day riots in 1517 (although the Italians defended themselves better than the other foreigners having weapons and defensive countermeasures in their houses).[82] The Italian community promoted and supported financial and exploitation opportunities crossing the Atlantic starting with the enterprise of Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) from Bristol to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia in 1498.[83]

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[78] Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, p. 3.
[79] See for example, Charlotte Bolland, 'Italian Material Culture at the Tudor Court', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queen Mary University of London, 2012), pp. 175–176.
[80] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, II, 3.
[81] Merchant and bankers during the Tudor period were, for example, the Genovese Giovanni Battista Grimaldi and Benedetto Spinola; the Florentines Giovanni Cavalcanti, Pier Francesco de' Bardi, Bartolomeo Compagni, Girolamo Frescobaldi; the Lucchese Antonio Bonvisi; the Venetian Giacomo Regazzoni. For the contribution of Italian merchants to art circulation in England, see Cinzia M. Sicca, 'Consumption and Trade of Art Between Italy and England in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: The London House of the Bardi and Cavalcanti Company', *Renaissance Studies*, 16.2 (2002), 163–201.
[82] Bolland, 'Italian Material Culture', pp. 59–61.
[83] Francesco Guidi–Bruscoli, 'John Cabot and his Italian Financiers', *Historical Research* 85.229 (2012), 372–393. Also, the son of Giovanni Caboto, Sebastiano, promoted other voyages in search of the northwest passage and received a pension by Edward VI and Mary I, see Richard Biddle, *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012). On the role of Sebastiano Caboto and the Genovese merchants in connecting English merchants with Andalusia and the 'West Indies', see Juan Gil, 'Los armadores de Sebastián Caboto: un inglés entre italianos', *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 45 (1988), 3–65; Heather Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500–1560* (Oxford: OUP, 2016).

Italians imported material goods into England, but also skills in a period when their vernacular language became a valuable and craved asset.[84] In general, humanist attention for language-learning, rhetoric, and classical culture was an Italian area of expertise in Tudor England**.** Italian humanists such as Pietro Carmeliano, Andrea della Rena 'Ammonio', and Pietro Vanni covered the position of Latin Secretary to Henry VII and Henry VIII. Also Greek language was a prerogative of Italians in England considering that William Latimer suggested looking for an Italian to teach Greek to Bishop Fisher in 1517.[85] Cornelio Vitelli was tutor of Latin and Greek to Thomas Linacre and William Grocyn at New College and Exeter College (Oxford),[86] Caius Auberinus lecturer in Terence at Cambridge (*c.* 1483–1504),[87] Alessandro Giraldini Latin tutor of Katherine of Aragon,[88] and Nicholas de Burgo lectured in theology at Magdalen college in 1526–1530.[89] The humanists Polidoro Virgilio, who resided in England from 1504 to 1550, was the first to write a history of England, *Anglica Historia* (1534), modelled on the Roman historian Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*. It is unlikely that these Italian humanists totally ignored the Italian debate on language (*questione della lingua*), its origin within the humanist discourse on languages, and did not also act as 'ambassadors' of vernacular language and culture in England.

Together with the humanists, there is a long list of Italians that 'sold' their skills and cultural capital in pre-Elizabethan England. There were Italian ambassadors working in England (for example, Baldassare Castiglione and a long series of Venetian ambassadors such as Andrea

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[84] 'Italians came to be associated with certain areas of expertise: italic handwriting, music, glass and luxury textile manufacture, portrait sculpture and military engineering', Bolland, 'Italian Material Culture', p. 278.
[85] Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors*, p. 85.
[86] Daniela Caso, 'Vitelli, Cornelio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 99 (2020); J. B. Trapp, 'Vitelli, Cornelio (d. in or before 1554), humanist scholar', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
[87] Damian Riehl Leader, 'Professorships and Academic Reform at Cambridge: 1488–1520', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (1983), 215–227 (pp. 219–220).
[88] Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, pp. 144–145. For a biography of Alessandro Giraldini, see Carmen González Vázquez, et al., *Alejandro Geraldini: periplo hasta las regiones ubicadas al sur del equinoccio* (León: Universidad de León, 2009). On Katherine of Aragon's linguistic education, see Emma Luisa Cahill Marrón, 'Veritas Temporis Filia: Catalina de Aragón y la transformación de la educación regia femenina', *Atalaya*, 20 (2020).
[89] Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, p. 148.

Trevisan and Carlo Capello)[90] and for England (Gregorio Casali)[91], spies (Guido Giannetti da Fano), artists (e.g Guido Mazzoni, Pietro Torrigiano,[92] Benedetto da Rovezzano,[93] Giovanni da Maiano, Niccolò Bellini[94], Antonio 'Toto' del Nunziata[95], Antonio Solario[96]) musicians (e.g. the Bassano family[97]), mathematicians (Girolamo Cardano), papal envoys (Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Giovanni and Silvestro Gigli, Pietro Griffi[98]) religious refugees and pedagogues (Michelangelo Florio, Bernardino Ochino, Pietro Martire Vermigli, Giovanni Battista Castiglione, Pietro Bizzarri, Emanuele Tremellio). Also Italian physicians, surgeons and astrologers were in high demand such as Augustine de Augustinis[99], Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII's physician; Balthasar Guercy; surgeon of Katherine of Aragon;[100] Cesare Adelmare doctor of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor;[101] Giovanni Battista Boerio physician and astrologer to Henry VII and Henry VIII;[102] Gulielmus Parronus (William Parron of Piacenza) astrologer to Henry VII.[103] Henry VIII

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[90] See for example, Luigi Firpo, *Ambasciatori Veneti in Inghilterra* (Turin: Unione tipografico–editrice torinese, 1978).
[91] Catherine Fletcher, *Our Man in Rome: Henry VIII and his Italian ambassador* (London: Bodley Head, 2012).
[92] Pietro Torrigiano made the tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in Westminster Abbey, see Alan Phipps Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiani and His Sculpture in Henrician England: Sources and Influences', in *The Anglo–Florentine Renaissance: Art for the Early Tudors*, ed. by Cinzia Maria Sicca and Louis Alexander A. Waldman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 49–80.
[93] Louis A. Waldman, Benedetto da Rovezzano in England and After: New Research on the Artist, his Collaborators, and his Family', in *The Anglo–Florentine Renaissance*, 81–148.
[94] Martin Biddle, 'Nicholas Bellin of Modena: An Italian Artificer at the Courts of Francis I and Henry VIII', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 29.1(1966), 106–121; Idem. 'The stuccoes of Nonsuch.' The Burlington Magazine 126.976 (1984): 411–417.
[95] Bolland, 'Italian Material Culture', pp. 249–25.
[96] Laura Pagnotta, 'Per Antonio Solario: un riesame critico e alcune proposte attributive', *Bollettino d'arte* 96.9 (2011), 59–108.
[97] Wyatt, *The Tudor Encounter*, p. 135. See also David Lasocki and Roger Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531–1665* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995). Moreover, Henry VIII employed also the trumpeters Peter de Casa Nova, Benedict Brown from Padua, Dominic Justinian, the lutenist Giovanni Pietro de Bustis, and organists Dionysius Memo and Benedict de Opicius from Monferrat, see *Italian Material Culture*, pp. 75–80.
[98] Denys Hay, 'Pietro Griffo, An Italian in England: 1506–1512', *Italian Studies*, 2 (1938–9), 118–128.
[99] Mario Rosa, 'Agostini, Agostino', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1 (1960); E. A. Hammond, 'Doctor Augustine, Physician to Cardinal Wolsey and King Henry VIII', *Medical History* 19.3 (1975), 215–249.
[100] Omrod and Mackman, *Immigrant in England*, p. 280.
[101] Delio Cantimori, 'Adlemare, Cesare', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1(1960). See also Alain Wijffels, 'Caesar [formerly Adelmare], Sir Julius (bap. 1558, d. 1636), civil lawyer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
[102] Silvana Menchi 'Boerio, Giovanni Battista', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11 (1969).
[103] Charles Armstrong, 'An Italian Astrologer at the Court of Henry VI' in *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the late Celia M. Ardy*, ed. by E.F. Jacob (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), 433–54. For Parronus's horoscope of Henry

employed riding masters such as an 'Alexander'[104], farriers as Hannibal Zinzano, and falconers such as Scaramuccia and Antonio Nannino.[105] Edward VI, also, had an Italian master of riding and dancing.[106] Perhaps he was Jasper Gaffoyne who was 'appointed as dancing master by Henry VIII in 1542 and he continued in the role for all of Henry's children, before he finally retired from Elizabeth's court in 1584'.[107] Other welcomed Italian professionals were mercenaries, military experts, engineers, and recoverers of shipwrecks.[108] Examples are Angelo Mariano of Cremona, Giovanni Battista Castiglione, Paolo Battista Spinola,[109] and Ludovico Pallavicino,[110] the Arcana family, [111] Girolamo da Treviso,[112] Giovanni Portinari,[113] and Jacopo Aconcio.[114] It is difficult to include some of these Italians in England within a single professional category. They were flexible and changed their skills offer according to English demand. Also this list is far from comprehensive. For example we do not know who was a mysterious 'John Clerk Italyan' was

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VII, see Scot Mc Kendrick, et al., *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London: British Library, 2011), pp. 302–303.

[104] Gabrielle Ann MacDonald, 'Horsemanship as a Courtly Art in Elizabethan England: Origins, Theory, and Practice', (unpublished dissertation, University of Toronto, 1982), p. 136.

[105] Bolland, 'Italian Material Culture', pp. 86–87. On the tradition of commerce and gifting of horses between Ferrara and England, see Evan A. Maccarthy, 'The English Voyage of Pietrobono Burzelli', *The Journal of Musicology* 35.4 (2018), 431–459, (pp. 445–446).

[106] Laetitia Sansonetti, 'Immortal Passados: Early Modern England's Italianate Fencing Jargon on Page and Stage', in *Language Dynamics in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Karen Bennett and Angelo Cattaneo (New York: Routledge, 2022), 121–138; John Gallagher, 'The Italian London of John North'; Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).

[107] Carole Levin, *The Reign and Life of Queen Elizabeth I: politics, culture, and society* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 264; see also Anne Daye, 'Terpsichore and diplomacy in early modern Europe', *Women's History Review 30.5* (2021), 819–834.

[108] Steven A. Walton, 'State Building through Building for the State: Foreign and Domestic Expertise in Tudor Fortification', *Osiris*, 25.1 (2010), 66–84. On the story of the diver Jacques Francis working for the Venetian Peter Paulo Corsi in Southampton, see Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudor: the Untold Story* (London: Oneworld, 2018), pp. 32–54.

[109] John Gough Nichols, *Literary Remains*, 2 vols (London: Roxburghe Club, 1857), I, p. cccviii.

[110] Bolland, 'Italian Material Culture', pp. 87–89.

[111] B.G. Awty, 'The Arcana Family of Cesena as Gunfounders and Military Engineers', *The Newcomen Society For the Study of the History of Engineering and Technology: Transactions*, 59 (1987–8), 61–80; Bolland, 'Italian Material Culture', pp. 270–272.

[112] Philip Pouncey, 'Girolamo da Treviso in the Service of Henry VIII', *Burlington Magazine*, 95 (1953).

[113] Tessa Beverley, 'Portinari, Sir Giovanni (b. c. 1502x1508, d. in or after 1572), military engineer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

[114] Lynn White Jr., 'Jacopo Aconcio as an Engineer', *The American Historical Review*, 72.2 (1967).

who had 'a writing scole at Milke street corner', next to Saint Paul, in 1521.[115] We can presume that more Italians among, and beyond, those listed in this paragraph taught Italian formally and informally, probably in relationship to specific technical domains, at a certain point of their English sojourn.

Some of these Italians planned to stay in England with records of denization and other royal grants showing that 'fifty-six Italians are known to have secured letters before 1500, and 104 between 1500 and 1550'.[116] Denizenship allowed them to reach high civic roles, for instance, 'The Florentine Cristoforo Ambruogi, denized in 1472, was elected mayor of Southampton twice, in 1486 and 1497'.[117] Finally, inter-marriage and second-generations immigrants – like the diplomat Lodowick Bryskett (1547–1612) and the poet Emilia Lanier (née Bassano. 1569–1645) – blurred further the lines between cultural 'Englishness' and 'Italianità', probably also linguistically.[118]

Italian lexical borrowings in English and OED (Oxford English Dictionary)

Research on Italian lexical borrowings in English often confirms the presence of a misleading periodisation and that French language did not always act in between the two languages as a filter.[119] For example, Durkin shows twenty-two Italian loanwords attested in English in 1500–49

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[115] Susan Brigden, 'Thomas Wyatt among the Florentines', p. 1141.
[116] Omrod and Mackman, *Immigrant in England*, p. 284. Also, some 'Greeks' in English records 'may have been ethnically Italian', and probably linguistically too, considering the high presence of Genovese and Venetian colonies in Greek territories scholarship, p. 293.
[117] Ibid., p. 111.
[118] Jessica Lutkin, 'Settled or fleeting? London's medieval immigrant community revisited', *Medieval merchants and money: essays in honour of James L. Bolton. London: Institute of Historical Research* (2016), 137–55 (p. 144).
[119] A seminal analysis of the connection between Italian borrowings in English and Italian learning is in Mario Praz's chapter 'Fortuna della lingua e della cultura italiana in Inghilterra' in his *Machiavelli in Inghilterra*, 269–308.

rising to 122 in 1550–99.[120] Laura Pinnavaia recorded a peak of 306 direct Italian borrowings in the period 1550–1600.[121] However, Durkin admitted that 'Italian historical lexicography has yet to benefit from the layers of successive and cumulative investigation enjoyed by French (or English), and there are many cases where the dating provided by dictionaries for a particular word or sense seems suspiciously late, and can often be antedated by researching the translated original of an English quotation'.[122] For example, considering the polyglot dictionary printed in 1537 in Southwark, which I will present in Chapter III, it is possible to shift back the borrowing of Italian words such as 'piazza' (1583 in OED). Whilst still considering the polyglot dictionaries, I agree with Durkin's explanation that 'it is often very difficult to distinguish precisely which Romance language a word has entered English from; this results from formal similarities between cognate forms in different Romance languages and also from the fact that morphological patterns that were established in borrowing French words into English were in many cases continued when borrowing words with cognate suffixes from other Romance languages'.[123] In fact, William Thomas' *Historye of Italye* attests loanwords from Italian according to OED, but others from the same text are still indicating French as the language of provenance (For example, 'doge').[124]

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[120] Philip Durkin, *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford: OUP, 2015), pp. 370–71.
[121] Laura Pinnavaia, *The Italian Borrowings in the Oxford English Dictionary: a Lexicographical, Linguistic and Cultural Analysis* (Roma: Bulzoni 2001), pp. 267–317. Also, see Klaus Dietz, 'Die frühen italienischen Lehnwörter des Englischen', *Anglia*, 123.4 (2005), 573–631.
[122] Philip Durkin, 'Latin Loanwords of the Early Modern Period: How Often did French Act as an Intermediary?', *English Historical Linguistics 2006. Volume II: Lexical and Semantic Change* (2008), 185–202 (p. 200).
[123] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, pp. 373–374.
[124] Iamartino, 'La contrastività', pp. 22.

Methodology

The previous sections highlighted the presence of enduring and extensive Anglo–Italian personal, textual and lexical encounters, but how can we establish the presence of Italian language-learning and investigate the ways in which this process was taking place? First of all, the printing of specific books for Italian learning in England or translations from Italian into English cannot be considered a *condicio sine qua non* to attest a sudden interest in Italian language by English people.[125] Through a different selection of primary sources than the one presented in Simoni's seminal research on Italian language-learning in England, my thesis aims to show which of his conclusions no longer apply and expand our knowledge of early modern language-learning practice.

In addition to a limited set of primary sources, Simonini based his conclusion on a now outdated critical literature that caused certain long-lasting assumptions. My thesis aims to challenge these assumptions in light of new scholarship in connected fields such as history of language-learning and teaching, [126] L2 and foreign language teaching and learning,[127] early modern multilingualism,[128] translation studies and history of translation,[129] history of lexicography,[130]

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[125] For example, Parks recognises the that 'interest in Italian had finally caught on, the years 1548 to 1550 being decisive as marking the first publication of works translated direct from the Italian', 'The Genesis', p. 535.

[126] For a rigorous historical approach and primary sources in history of language teaching, see H.H. Stern, *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching*, pp. 87–88. McLelland, Nicola, and Richard Smith, 'Introduction: Building the history of Language Learning and Teaching (HoLLT)', *Language & History*, 57.1 (2014): 1–9; idem, 'Establishing HoLLT: the History of Language Learning and Teaching', in *The History of Language Learning and Teaching*, 3 vols, ed. by Nicola McLelland and Richard Smith (Oxford: Legenda, 2018), I, 1–19. See also, HoLLT, .net. (n.d.) AILA research network on history of language learning and teaching website: http://hollt.net.

[127] See for example, *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).

[128] See for example, *Multilingual Texts and Practices in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Auger and Sheldon Brammall; Pierre Swiggers, 'Capitalizing Multilingual Competence. Language–learning and Teaching in the Early Modern Period' in *Multilingualism, nationhood, and cultural identity: Northern Europe, 16th–19th centuries,* ed. by Willem Frijhoff et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 49–76.

[129] For an example of translation studies in the same period see Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Also, I benefitted from Vermeer's *skopos* theory applied in early modern research

visual design,[131] book circulation and materiality,[132] and Reformation studies. [133] This secondary literature suggests that books targeting English learners of Italian and translation from Italian during the second part of the sixteenth century were result of years of personal, textual, and cross-linguistic and cultural encounters in Europe.

English diplomats, ambassadors, craftsmen, merchants, noblewomen, men and women of letters interacted in a polyglot early modern Europe with a wealth of language-learning resources to hand. Printed teaching material often derived from previous pedagogical material in manuscript form, or within books classified within other genres, or used to teach other languages.[134] Manuscripts and books were written, edited, printed, read, and translated in different European locations offering 'accounts of practice and theory in multiple contexts' contradicting 'falsely universalistic histories' of a 'centre'.[135] For these reasons I agree with Smith and McLelland that including also other languages than Italian and English and 'adopting a locally situated, multilingual perspective improves the chances of escape from conventional monolingual treatments which,[…], can blind us to contemporary needs for a plurilingual perspective'.[136] A multilingual and polycentric approach can therefore benefit from research on

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in Guyda Armstrong, 'Coding Continental: Information Design in Sixteenth-century English Vernacular Language Manuals and Translations', *Renaissance Studies*, 29.1 (2015), 78–102.

130 See for example, Werner Hüllen, *English Dictionaries, 800–1700: The Topical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

131 Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* London: Routledge, 1996).

132 See for example, *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Fernández, José María Pérez and Edward Wilson–Lee (Cambridge: CUP, 2014).

133 For example, Anne M. Overell, *Italian Reform and the English Reformation, c. 1535–c. 1585* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

134 On how pedagogical material was manipulated and transmitted through different contexts, see Gallagher, *Language–Learning*, pp. 76–78. On the survival of the use of manuscripts parallel to printed material for language leaning see Peter Auger, 'Fashioned through use: Jacques Bellot's *Rules* and its Successors', *History of European Ideas*, 42.5 (2016), 651–664.

135 A.P.R. Howatt, and Richard Smith, 'The History of Teaching English as a Foreign Language, from a British and European perspective', *Language & History*, 57.1 (2014), 75–95 (p.93).

136 Richard Smith and Nicola McLelland 'Histories of language–learning and teaching in Europe', *The Language–learning Journal*, 46.1 (2018), 1–5 (pp. 2–3). For examples of the importance of a plurilingual perspective on history of language teaching and learning, see Marie–Hélène Maux–Piovano, 'Enseigner les langues modernes en Europe, XV–XVII siècles', *Special issue of Recherches*, 5 (2010); Javier Suso López, 'The Teaching and Learning of Foreign Languages in Spain from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Influences and Inter-Relationships', *The Language–learning Journal*, 46.1 (2018), 51–61.

polyglot manuals[137] and Italian language-learning in other locations such as France,[138] Spain,[139] Germany, [140] and Low Countries.[141]

An example of how language-learning material and practices moved between European languages and spaces adapting to different times, contexts and protagonists is Claude Hollybands' *The Pretie and wittie Arnalt and Lucenda* (1575). The London based French tutor Hollyband prepared this bilingual Italian-English text derived from a fifteen-century Spanish chivalric romance (*Tratado de Amores de Arnalte y Lucenda* by Diego de San Pedro in 1491), followed by bilingual dialogues and a synthetic space for pronunciation and grammar derived from an Italian grammar by religious refugee in England Alessandro Citolini.[142] The origin of Hollyband's manual confirms that to fully comprehend early modern Italian language teaching in England it is necessary to move along interdisciplinary and interlinguistic lines.

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137 Alda Rossebastiano, 'La tradition des manuels polyglottes dans l'enseignement des langues' in *History of the Language Science: an international handbook on the evolution of the study of language from the beginning to the present.* ed. by Sylvain Auroux, et al. (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), I, pp. 688–698; Claudio Marazzini, 'The teaching of Italian in 15th– and 16th–century Europe', in *History of the Language Science*, *an international handbook on the evolution of the study of language from the beginning to the present.* ed. by Sylvain Auroux, et al. (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), I, pp. 699–705.

138 Nicole Bingen, *Le Maître italien, 1510–1660: Bibliographie des ouvrages d'enseignement de la langue italienne destinés au public de langue française* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1987); idem. *Philausone (1500–1660): répertoire des ouvrages en langue italienne publiés dans les pays de langue française de 1500 à 1660* (Geneva: Droz, 1994). Mario Mormile, *L'italiano in Francia, il francese in Italia: storia critica delle opere grammaticali francesi in Italia ed italiane in Francia dal Rinascimento al Primo Ottocento* (Turin: Meynier, 1989); idem, *Storia dei dizionari bilingui italo–francesi: la lessicografia italo–francese dalle origini al 1900* (Fasano: Schena, 1993); Giada Mattarucco, *Prime grammatiche d'italiano per Francesi:(secoli XVI–XVII)* (Firenze: Accademia della Crusca, 2003).

139 Paolo Silvestri, *Le grammatiche italiane per ispanofoni (secoli XVI–XIX)* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'orso, 2001); idem, 'Grafia e pronuncia negli strumenti per lo studio dell'italiano nella Spagna del Cinquecento', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes–Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies*, 28 (2015), 215–234 ; Manuel Carrera Díaz, 'Le ragioni della lingua: le prime grammatiche italiane per ispanofoni', in *Italiano: lingua di cultura europea. Simposio internazionale in memoria di Gianfranco Folena*, ed. by Gianfranco Folena, Harro Stammerjohann and Hans–Ingo Radatz (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1997); Javier Suso López, 'The teaching and learning of foreign languages in Spain from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries: influences and inter–relationships', *The Language–learning Journal*, 46.1 (2018), 51–61.

140 Umberto Gorini, *Storia dei manuali per l'apprendimento dell'italiano in Germania* (1500–1950); Konrad Schröder, 'Eight Hundred Years of Modern Language-learning and Teaching in The German-speaking Countries of Central Europe: A Social History', *The Language–learning Journal*, 46.1 (2018), 28–39.

141 Nicole Bingen, and Renaud Adam. *Lectures italiennes dans les pays wallons à la première Modernité (1500–1630)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

142 See José Luis Chamosa, 'The Strange Fate of the English 'Arnalte y Lucenda' by Diego de San Pedro', in *Proceedings of the II Conference of SEDERI*, (1992), 71–81. For an overview of all the European translations of *Arnalte y Lucenda* see, Véronique Duché–Gavet, 'Arnalte et Lucenda, ou l'amant bien traité (des traducteurs)', *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance*, 2 (2018), 171–197.

An interdisciplinary and interlinguistic methodology will allow me to explore overlooked primary sources and then look at the established sources for Italian learning by English individuals with new eyes. Warren Boutcher reached a similar conclusion by describing John Florio's library:

> A look at other, comparable library lists, polyglot dictionaries, rhetoric and language manuals of the period helps situate Florio's work in an area of late humanistic activity which has largely escaped analysis due to the placement of disciplinary and sub-disciplinary boundaries. This is the ground between university Latin and the European vernaculars, between the world of academe and the world of diplomacy and commerce, a cultural environment which was not only interdisciplinary but interlinguistic in a particular and highly consistent fashion: people utilised a continuum of languages that most usually included Latin, French, Italian and Spanish – alongside, in the case of English humanists, English itself, and with other, less common inclusions such as Greek and German.[143]

By considering languages other than Italian and English, it is fundamental for this thesis to embrace the presence of Latin given its relationship between Italian, which humanists explored in depth, its universal role as language of Christianity, and its relevance in England in religious, pedagogical, and legislative areas. Although how they may have been used in pedagogy is not clear, recent studies show that popular humanistic Latin grammars by Aldus Manutius and Niccolò Perotti had sections with translations in Italian since the beginning of print.[144] This wider perspective on the pedagogical interplay between Italian and Latin urges us to appreciate the role

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[143] Warren Boutcher, 'Vernacular Humanism in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. by Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 189–202 (pp. 190–191).

[144] Ugo Vignuzzi and Patrizia Bertini Malgarini 'I traducenti volgari delle Institutiones grammaticae di Aldo Manuzio', *Studi (e testi) italiani : semestrale del Dipartimento di Italianistica e Spettacolo*, 37.1 (Rome: Bulzoni, 2016), 23–51; idem, 'Il volgare e la via del latino nelle grammatiche umanistiche da Guarino Veronese a Niccolò Perotti (e oltre)', *Atti e memorie dell'Arcadia*, 10 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2021), 31–47. There are editions of Perotti's grammar that display parts in English where the original had Italian parts *Prefatio in regulas gra[m]maticales Nicolai Perotti viri* (Louvain:1486) (London: 1512).

of translations of books from Latin into Italian (or *volgarizzamenti*), despite this being an unexplored area as Italianists admit in first place.[145]

I have selected my primary sources to offer rich and nuanced case studies accepting the invitations of Smith and McLelland of 'situating shifts' and, I would add, continuities, 'in language teaching theory and practice […] within broader social, political, economic and cultural transformations'.[146] In the light of what Burke defines as 'social history of language' the selected texts reflect the 'social function' of Italian language and associated learning material 'in expressing or constructing a variety of social relationship – dominance and subordination, friendship and fraternity, tolerance and prejudice, the maintenance and the subversion of a social order, and so on'.[147] By analysing the selected books I will consider the role of 'didactic contexts', as Swiggers proposed in his proposal for the study of language teaching and learning in the past that he called 'historical didaxology':

> Historical didaxology deals with the function of languages, as well as with how this function is perceived and valued within historical communities; it therefore cannot be dissociated from phenomena such as translation, language policies, language description and standardization, or anything else subsumed under *Sprachkultur*, i.e. the continuum of linguistic culture and language cultivation.[148]

Building on Swiggers, I will consider a book apt for Italian language-learning if it offers one or more of the following four characteristics. Firstly, the book presents and discusses

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[145] For a overview of the scholarship and classifications of *volgarizzamenti*, see Giovanna Frosini, 'Volgarizzamenti', in *Storia dell'italiano scritto. Vol. 2: Prosa letteraria*, ed. by Giuseppe Antonelli, Matteo Motolese and Lorenzo Tomasin (Rome: Carocci, 2015).

[146] Smith and McLelland, 'Histories of Language–learning', pp. 2–3. Also, Howatt and Smith, 'The History of Teaching English', p. 3.

[147] Burke, *Languages and Communities,* pp. 2–3. Burke proposes this name as a favourite alternative to 'socio–historical linguistics', 'historical sociolinguistics', and 'historical pragmatics'.

[148] 'Didactic contexts' include glotto–demographical situation and socio–political position of the languages involved; sociolinguistic, language–geographic setting, and transnationality of Italian; specific cultural and religious factors correlate with Italian learning; role of agents involved in the production, transmission, and use of didactic contents. See Swiggers, 'Capitalizing Multilingual Competence', pp. 53–55. The linguists of the Prague Circle introduced the term *Sprachkultur* in 1930s, see Burke, *Languages and Communities*, pp. 1–2.

language structures as in the case of grammars and vocabularies. Secondly, the book offers opportunities to practice language-learning and rhetoric thanks to its text(s). Thirdly, the text, the paratext and the materiality of the books reveal pedagogical theories and practices. Finally, the book helped students to gain access to Italian culture and improve their cultural capital.

Beside the analysis of these books, I will investigate English learners' biographies connected to particular editions to understand their motivations for learning Italian and the results achieved thanks to their linguistic skills. Sometimes, in my thesis, the association between learners and specific books is unquestionable – as in the case of William Thomas and Alunno's *Ricchezze* – and sometimes hypothesised – as in the case of Hoby and *Le Ricchezze* – through textual evidence and biographical connections. I will overview early modern English biographies in search for what nowadays are standard motivations to learn a language:[149]

1) 'instrumental' to work, achieve a certain career and social position, and develop formal and informal education (e.g. contemporary students of Business English). It is possible to differentiate between 'long term instrumental' and 'short term instrumental' (also called 'extrinsical') which is typical of school education.

2) For 'specific integration' within the native community and culture that speak the target language (e.g. Non-native English speakers residing in Britain).

3) For 'general integration' approaching different communities and cultures that use the target language as intermediary language (e.g. International English).

4) 'generally intrinsic' for people interested in language teaching and learning (e.g. A polyglot studying a new language).

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[149] For the definitions of the motivations to learn a language and connected learning practices, see Gabriele Pallotti, *La seconda lingua*, (Milan: Strumenti Bompiani, 2012), pp. 212–220. Also, see Paolo Balboni, *Didattica dell'italiano a stranieri* (Roma: Bonacci, 1994).

5) 'intrinsic in relation to L2 texts' for people developing a particular interest towards books, speeches, lyrics, media, etc. in the target language (e.g. A non-English speaker listening to the Beatles).

6) 'intrinsic in relation to the learning context' if particularly apt to stimulate and satisfy the student needs (e.g. Satisfactory social relationships are built during the learning session).

This biographical and 'learner-centric' approach does not intend to delimit the learning of Italian solely to few headline figures that left more traces of their use and study of this language within the primary sources. I would, therefore, extend the words of Woolfson in discussing headline figures of English travellers in Italy to also the category English learners of Italian:

> Behind them are networks of obscurer men whose chance mention in fragmentary evidence should nevertheless be sufficient to convince us that educational travel [and Italian learning] in various forms was, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, already an established phenomenon. Although it has not always received due recognition in mainstream accounts of Tudor cultural and intellectual history, it was largely responsible for creating the climate in which the later Tudor engagement with Italian culture, in all its richness and ambivalence, took place.[150]

Whilst Woolfson refers in general to educational travels in Italy, I will focus my attention on the Italian language acquisition which was often an aim and by-product of these travels. I encourage the readers to consider that beyond my case studies in pre-Elizabethan England 'obscurer men' played a crucial role in several areas such as business and commerce, arts and literature, propaganda, intelligence, war, and diplomacy thanks to their linguistic skills acquired by travelling in Italy and other means.[151]

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[150] Woolfson, 'Thomas Hoby, William Thomas', p. 405.
[151] Nandini Das, et al., *Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021) p. 32. See for example Thomas Wyatt's multilingual team at the Imperial court in Spain in 1537, Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 319–328.

Finally, this thesis will ultimately discuss language-learning practice that can be attributed to specific English individuals or groups with certain learning needs and motivations. Finding out the motivations in a didactic context, or 'the why', for Italian learning by English students of Italian language-learning will help me to explain didactic contents, or 'the how', and vice versa. [152] In other words, interactions with Italian texts (ownership, reading, referencing, quoting, translation, imitation), and personal encounters with Italians, and other speakers of this language, caused, promoted, and aided formal and informal learning. Smith's three original principles and techniques of Applied Linguistic Historiography encourage me to theoretically 'situate ideas in context of practices', 'attempt to ascertain the impact of ideas on practices', and 'chart the development in practice on their own terms'.[153] To reconstruct Italian language practice, I had to develop a pragmatic methodology based on the observations of editorial connections and similarities between books for language pedagogy generated in diverse European contexts and texts of various genres and/or languages.

My thesis is divided into five chapters aiming to reveal people, motivations, books and practices relative to the elusive phenomenon of English people learning Italian language in pre-Elizabethan England. Each chapter will challenge to different degrees each of the long-standing myths of this field that I introduced previously: 1) the phenomenon of Italian in England was a prerogative of the reign of Elizabeth I. 2) The sole learning materials were bilingual Italian-English grammars, vocabulary, and dialogues. 3) Students were rich and noble males that could afford basic education, Italian private tutoring, and trips to Italy for pleasure. 4) Italian was a refined language of literature and arts, usually enjoyed in written form, disconnected from daily life practice and oral exchanges. 5) Tutors were Italian Protestants offering private lessons. At the end, each chapter will reveal the learning practice, and connected development of specific skills,

[152] Swiggers, 'Capitalizing,' p.55.
[153] Richard Smith, 'Building applied linguistic historiography', *Applied Linguistics*, 37.1 (2016), 71–87.

that certain primary sources suggest. I will reach certain conclusions regarding the learning practice after presenting the authors' biography and relative translation/editorial history; performing a close reading of the text and paratext and a visual observation of the book *mise-en-page*; analysing the interactions of the examined book with other books; and discussing confirmed, possible, and targeted readership.

Thesis chapters

The first Chapter presents how Thomas Hoby learned Italian in practice by joining the Sienese Claudio Tolomei's Italian lessons in Padua in 1548, by using languages for reasons related to his training as a diplomat and promoter of political-religious English interests in Europe, by travelling across the Italian peninsula, by translating Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* in Siena in 1550, and by thinking about the relationships between vernaculars and Latin. The multifaceted character of Tolomei – a tutor and 'language maker' of the *questione della lingua* for Italians and non-Italians and a diplomat and orator equal to his friend Castiglione – is the key to navigate and connect all the ways in which Hoby and other English people learned Italian in the same period. The second part of the first chapter speculates that Tolomei might have started his series of lessons with Hoby and others by teaching the difference in pronunciation between Tuscan and Italian and how the Latin system of cases was translated into the Italian vernacular. The entire chapter, ultimately, breaks down what it meant in practice for Hoby, and other Tudor people in Italy, to learn the language by 'travelling', a common expression that is rarely explained and does not represent language-learning practice *per se*, but an activity implying a combination of different kinds of learning practice.

The second Chapter shifts the attention from Italy to England by focusing on the Florentine religious refugee Michelangelo Florio's *Regole de la Lingua Thoscana* (1553) – a manuscript grammar written in London which deeply relied on Tolomei's ideas on Tuscan, its pronunciation and use. Florio mapped the differences and similarities between Latin and Tuscan presenting the eight parts of speech. This was the basic grammar to learn before reading the suggested authors and independently extracting rules from them with an inductive process. Tuscan was the main language for the presentation of the rules with the addition of Latin for the translation of exemplary sentences. These sentences were often strongly anti-Catholic revealing a potential use of Italian language for religious matters and related political propaganda during the Protestant Edward VI's reign (1547–1553). Florio wrote this grammar for print, and he addressed across the text anti-Catholics, self-learners, Italian language tutors, and, despite the premises, Latin illiterates. Florio's Tuscan grammar also targeted Tudor women like Jane Grey, who was the dedicatee; and probably others like Anne Cooke and Elizabeth Tudor who demonstrated with their religious translations (from and into Italian) to use this practice for language learning and to explore crucial political-religious topics (such as justification by faith).

Chapter three takes a small step back from the chronological focus of the previous chapter and shows the importance of Italian within a religious book that embodies the hybrid doctrinal positions, between Catholicism and Protestants, of Henry VIII's Reformation. John Clerk's *De Mortuorum Resurrectione* (1545, 1547) was a multilingual (Latin, English, Italian, and French) compendium of biblical passages with an Italian and French verb conjugations appendix added to the second edition. The Earl of Surrey and Italianate poet Henry Howard requested the first edition and was its dedicatee. I argue that *De Mortuorum* represented, at the same time, learning and propaganda material in favour of Surrey who flirted with the evangelist party and foreign powers. After Surrey was executed for his unruliness and thirst for power, John Clerk

added Italian and French verb tables to the second edition of *De Mortuorum* following the young Catholic noble Charles Stourton's request. This second edition confirms the tutoring role of Clerk, the use of *De Mortuorum* for language-learning, and the flexibility of his text and format to learn specialised religious vocabulary and matters related to salvation (no matter the specific religious stances of the reader). The main text favoured translation and reading practices as it was displayed in four parallel columns each representing a language translated almost word-by-word. The students could also mnemonically study the verb conjugations and compare them in Italian, French, and English thanks to the appendix. The final part speculates a use of *De Mortuorum* for advanced writing practice by learners of Italian, in other words as a writing tool for Henry Howard's apocalyptic and Petrarchan poetry 'London, hast thou accused me'.

Chapter four demonstrates how the format in multilingual parallel columns of *De Mortuorum* sustained Italian learning practice in other kinds of books printed in England, Italy, and Low Countries. This format represents the European phenomenon of multilingualism and a comparative approach to language-learning. I will present two editions of a polyglot dictionary presenting English and Italian amongst the six languages– one edited by John Renys was printed in Southwark (1537) by James Nicolson and the other one by Sessa in Venice (1541). Polyglot dictionaries belonged to a prolific family that had been printed since the end of the fifteenth century in multiple European locations. By analysing the materiality of the book, table of contents of the book, examples of lexical units and their multilingual translations, this chapter argues that these polyglot dictionaries represented a valid pedagogical material for English individuals learning Italian. Their paratexts claimed a readership of artisans, women, merchants, and travellers, but also humanists such as Francesco Alunno who used them for his dictionaries. This chapter also highlights the presence of 'proto-dialogues', or speech acts, which could foster

speaking practices and later inspired more refined dialogue manuals with the same format in parallel columns.

Chapter five condenses previous themes encapsulated in Francesco Alunno's *Le Ricchezze della lingua volgare* (1543) – an Italian dictionary referencing Boccaccio's novellas of *Decameron* and other of his works. Although being mainly a monolingual dictionary, multilingualism is present in an overlooked appendix with 'cognate words' in several Italian dialects and languages, English included. Claudio Tolomei, Michelangelo Florio and Baldassare Castiglione suggested reading Boccaccio to learn the proper Tuscan language and the *Decameron* was a best-seller in Europe and England for his entertaining themes, such as gender relationships, courtly rhetoric of storytelling, and anti-clerical episodes. William Thomas based his Italian grammar and dictionary *Principal Rules* (1550) on Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* on specific request of his friend John Tamworth who was keen to learn Italian. This shows that more advanced non-native Italian speakers, such as William Thomas, acted as informal tutors selecting books for Italians, modifying them, and creating material for specific learners. Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* could assist English students in various stages of their language-learning process by presenting vocabulary in context and summarised grammar thanks to a short appendix. To close the circle, the chapter ends by presenting how an advanced student, Thomas Hoby, used *Le Ricchezze* to understand the most complex passages within Boccaccio's works.

CHAPTER I. THOMAS HOBY (1530–1566) AND CLAUDIO TOLOMEI (*c.* 1492–1556): AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN LEARNERS, TUTORS AND LANGUAGE MAKERS

Eighteen-year-old Thomas Hoby arrived in Padua on 15 August 1548 with linguistic goals: 'Here I applied myself as well to obtain the Italian tung as to have a farther entrance in the Latin […]'.[1] At that time, the university of Padua did not provide official courses on vernacular languages, and to achieve his goals Hoby joined the lectures of 'Claudius Tolomeus, a senest [a Sienese] in the Italian tung'.[2] This is the first direct report of an English person joining 'lectures' on the Italian language and mentioning a specific tutor and his provenance: Claudio Tolomei (*c.* 1492–1556) from Siena.[3] Who was Tolomei? In 1553, Lutheran Pietro Paolo Vergerio aptly summarised Tolomei's multi-faceted personality: 'He is an expert of the courts, he covers the role of philosopher, jurist, historiographer, orator, poet, even of a certain new poetry, which is a failure, he practices Greek letters, he deals with architecture, and of the way to build a city, and how to govern states and empires'.[4] Vergerio's comment was accurate and almost flattering, although contained in a book that criticised Tolomei's conservative religious stance. Tolomei was, in fact, involved in all the major Italian cultural and political discourses for almost half a century.

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[1] Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 8.

[2] Hoby, *The Travels*, pp. 8–9. On English students in Padua, see Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors*. On Italian universities see Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities*.

[3] For Claudio Tolomei's biography, see Luigi Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei umanista senese del Cinquecento: La vita e le opere*, ed. by Luigi Oliveto (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2016); Francesco Lucioli 'Tolomei, Claudio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 96 (2019). John Gallagher presented Claudio Tolomei and Hoby's relationship in the context of scholarship researching early–modern English people learning Italian language, in "Ungratefull Tuscans', pp. 403–404). For Tolomei's ideas on vernacular and Latin in a European context, see Burke, *Languages and Communities*, pp. 18, 22, 144.

[4] '[...] egli è pratico delle corti, fa il filosofo, il giuriconsulto, l'historiografo, l'oratore, il poeta, infino di una certa nuova poesia, che è malriuscita, fa lettere greche, s'impaccia di architettura, et de modi, ne quali si havesse fabbricare una città, et co quali anche si havessero a governare gli stati, et gli imperii', Introduction of Pier Paolo Vergerio, *Sopra le Letere volgari di m. Claudio Tolomei* (Basilea: Giacomo Parco, 1553).

This chapter will present Thomas Hoby and Tolomei as central figures in an approach to the phenomenon of English people learning Italian before Elizabeth I's reign.[5] The main problem is that Tolomei never wrote a comprehensive teaching manual, and we have no evidence about how exactly Tolomei taught Italian to Hoby. However, I will argue that Hoby learned the language combining Tolomei's lessons and self-study, peer-study and informal study thanks to geographical, personal and textual encounters that characterised his activity as 'travelling' for professional reasons. With this in mind, Tolomei's biographical information and works on language will clarify 'why', with 'whom' and 'how' Hoby used and learned Italian. A tutor such as Tolomei provides a privileged point of view about how English students learned the Italian vernacular, because he explicitly oriented the *questione della lingua* in a direction that favoured foreigners learning and pronouncing a 'Tuscan' variant. I will show that Tolomei had an impact on the input that Hoby and other English individuals received to learn Italian, their learning practices and their output in the form of reflection on the development of the English language.

Thanks to his treatises on language, *Polito* (1525) and *Cesano* (1555. Written *c.* 1525), Tolomei positioned himself at the crossroad of Bembo's, Gian Giorgio Trissino's and Baldassare Castiglione's ideas on vernacular language in a constructive conversation that benefitted the entire movement of the 'Italianists'.[6] By discussing how to name a common Italian variety of language and championing the Tuscan variation, Tolomei's *Cesano* (1555. Written 1525) anticipated 'one of the guiding principles in linguistics which has been gaining traction these last

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[5] This chapter does not mean to analyse the entire linguistic theory that Claudio Tolomeo built during the years and exploring the entirety of his extended network. A modern biography, anthology of his works on language, manuscripts included and a critical edition of his *Lettere* would be welcomed in this sense.

[6] According to Michael Wyatt, Pietro Bembo and Gian Giorgio Trissino 'were the two most prominent vernacular theorists of the early cinquecento', *The Italian Encounter*, p. 205. In this chapter, I use the umbrella word 'Italianists' to define a heterogeneous group of vernacular theorists that worked within the *questione della lingua* for the common adoption and standardisation of one, or a mix of more the one, Italian variations in the sixteenth–century. This is a working definition that has clear limits and cannot synthetise a more complex scenario, but it is functional to this chapter that will attempt to sketch the essential part of the *questione della lingua* for my thesis. In other parts of this work, the word 'Italianists' might define current academics in the field of Italian Studies.

years': the 'Bender rule'. This 'rule' prescribes to 'always name the language you are working on […] labelling a language presupposes a process of reflection and conceptualization which precedes the mention of a variety's name: the name itself always refers to an abstract, socio-historically and ideologically constructed and imagined entity'.[7] Tolomei's work achieved pedagogical and normative goals at the same time and formed the basis for the course in 'Tosca Favella' held in Siena in 1588 that is commonly believed to be the first vernacular professorship in Europe.[8] Furthermore, his ideas on language, pronunciation and pedagogy influenced Italian tutors in England, such as his protégé Alessandro Citolini, his fellow Tuscan Michelangelo Florio, Frenchman Claude Hollyband and Michelangelo's son John Florio.[9] By selecting the variety of Tuscan as the one to teach his students, Italians and non-Italians, and the main themes of cultural discussion in a pivotal moment of the *questione della lingua*, Tolomei acted as a successful 'Language Maker'.[10]

In this context where the normative and pedagogical discourse on the Italian common language overlapped, British individuals such as Thomas Hoby, William Thomas and William Barker took an active interest in the *questione della* lingua in a way that motivated and oriented their language-learning. Overall, this chapter will challenge the concept that the *questione della lingua* had been an isolated process that Italian intellectuals developed, like an experiment in a

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[7] Philipp Krämer, Ulrike Vogl, and Leena Kolehmainen. 'What is 'Language Making'?', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 274 (2022), 1–27 (https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl–2021–0016), p. 1.

[8] Ferdinando I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, ordered the creation of the course of 'Tosca Favella' in Siena which targeted in particular German students but also other foreigners in 1588. See Massimo Vedovelli, 'Verso una storia dell'insegnamento dell'italiano L2', p.168); Nicoletta Maraschio, 'La cattedra di Toscana favella: Siena nella storia della lingua italiana' in *Il Mondo dell'italiano: L'Italiano nel mondo* ed. by Carla Bagna and Laura Ricci (Pisa: Pacini, 2019), pp. 107–118; Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 54. The first two tutors Diomede Borghesi (c.1540–1598) and Celso Cittadini (1553–1627) both followed the linguistic lines of Tolomei. In particular Celso Cittadini used the material of 'his very special and prestigious tutor' Claudio Tolomei in his *Origini della volgare toscana favella* (1604). See Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei*, p. 24; Carlo Caruso, *Diomede Borghesi, Orazioni accademiche,* (Pisa: ETS, 2009).

[9] On Citolini, Michelangelo Florio, John Florio and *la questione della lingua* in England, see Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 204–210. On Alessandro Citolini in England, see Pizzoli, *Le Grammatiche*, p. 28; Rossi, *Ricerche sull'Umanesimo* pp. 105–16. For a printed edition of Citolini's manuscript grammar (London, British Library, Arundel MS 258), see Claudio Di Felice, *Scritti linguistici* (Pescara: Libreria dell'Università Editrice, 2003).

[10] Ulrike Vogl and Truus De Wilde 'Teachers as foreign Language Makers: on standard language ideology, authenticity and language expertise', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 274 (2022), 107–131.

sterile scientific laboratory, in order to take the results abroad afterwards in a subsequent stage.[11] According to this vision, Gamberini stated that 'it is not possible to discuss an Italian *questione della lingua* in England' and that 'the importance of the contentions in regards of the kind of Italian to prefer it is not perceived [by English people], and it could not be perceived because as foreigners they were using a final product and they were not protagonists of its evolution'.[12] On the contrary, I will show that cardinal discussion points of the *questione della lingua* – such as the comparison between Italian and Latin and the discourse on language flexibility and use – influenced English people's learning practices.

Furthermore, I propose to accept that also in the early modern context 'new speakers' and 'learners of a language […] contribute to Language Making as well: as they strive to join the speech community, they contribute with their own attitudes and beliefs about the language'.[13] This means, for my research, that Tudor individuals did have an impact upon the Italian *questione della lingua* by learning the vernacular(s) from the Italian peninsula. This is even more striking considering that Tolomei proposed a reform of orthography and of the alphabet also aimed at helping English people to read Italian authors and his study of Tuscan phonetics is still valid today. On their part, Hoby and other English people oriented the *questione della lingua* by choosing

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[11] See for example Migliorini in which foreigners' role is limited to the reading of Italian treatises to apply their principles to each different national context, in *Storia della lingua italiana*, 9th edition (Milan: Tascabili Bompiani, 2001), p. 345. Even nowadays Italian variations are seen as problematic for learners that are considered mainly as external and passive receivers of the language, Monica Barni and Andrea Villarini, *La Questione della lingua per gli immigrati stranieri: Insegnare, valutare e certificare l'italiano L2* (Milan: Angeli, 2005).

[12] Gamberini, *Lo Studio dell'italiano*, pp. 11, 42. Only Gallagher considers English approaches to the *questione della lingua*, in "Ungrateful Tuscans"; idem, *Learning Languages*, p. 165. Although not their focus, English perspectives are also in Massimo Palermo and Danilo Poggiogalli, *Grammatiche di italiano per stranieri dal'500 a oggi. Profilo storico e antologia,* (Pisa: Pacini, 2010), pp. 38–39. Wyatt states that the 'significance' of the problem of the *questione della lingua* 'has been largely elided in studies of the confluence of early modern Italian and English cultures' and, solely, appreciates the contribution that John Florio's dictionaries made to it, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 204–205.

[13] Vogl and Kolehmainen, 'What is 'Language Making'?'. See also Jeroen Darquennes and Josep Soler, 'New Speakers' and Language Policy Research: Thematic and Theoretical Contributions to the Field', *Language Policy*, 18.4 (2019), 475–491. In the field of history of German language teaching, it has been recognised the importance of grammars for non–natives in anticipating the presentation and explanations of certain aspects of the standardisation of German, see Nils Langer, 'On the importance of foreign language grammars for a history of standard German' *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*, 4 (2002), 67–82.

to call it 'Italian' and more rarely 'Tuscan'; by choosing tutors and books with specific linguistic ideas such as Tolomei and *Il Cortegiano*; and by choosing how (e.g. reading, travelling, 'on the job', translating) and where to learn it (Padua, Venice, Tuscany. In particular, Siena, where the *Università per Stranieri* is still an authority in teaching Italian to foreigners and training tutors).[14]

The beginning of the chapter will introduce Tolomei's biography by analysing Hoby's possible cultural, professional, political, and religious motivations for choosing the Sienese polymath as a tutor. Afterwards, I will show how Hoby's professional and political goals, joined to his desire to learn Tuscan, prompted him to stay twice in Siena, a city that was struggling for independence between pressures from the Empire, the French and the Florentine. Once in Siena, Hoby began his translation of *Il Cortegiano* inspired by the learned environment of the city, with its university, and the *Accademia degli Intronati*, which Tolomei animated.[15] I will argue that Hoby's translation of *Il Cortegiano* was initially a linguistic exercise and a way to earn cultural capital for his diplomatic mission – for example with the governor of Siena to the Emperor, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza – and, later on, social status in England.[16] *Il Cortegiano* provided English readers with a compendium of subjects and models of conversation, tastes, manners and skills that were recognised and gave credentials in all the European courts. On the other hand, Tolomei used Tuscan to revive the Latin and Greek languages and cultures. For this reason, among the activities of his *Accademie,* he promoted the Tuscan translation of works by the Roman architect

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[14] On Siena university history see, Peter Denley*, Commune and Studio in Late Medieval and Renaissance*. (Bologna: CLUEB, 2006). For a prosopographical study of 141 pre–university teachers in Siena, see idem, *Teachers and Schools in Siena, 1357–1500* (Siena: Betti, 2009). See also Paolo Nardi*, Maestri e allievi giuristi nell'Università di Siena: Saggi biografici*. On the organisation and administration of the universities of Siena and Pisa, and students' violence under the Duke Cosimo I de Medici see Jonathan Davies, *Culture and power: Tuscany and its universities 1537–1609* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[15] On the *Accademia degli Intronati* see Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols, (Bologna: L. Capelli, 1929), III, pp. 351–354; Fabio Iacometti, *L'Accademia Senese degli Intronati* (Siena: Accademia senese degli Intronati, 1950); Lolita Petracchi Costantini, *L'Accademia degli Intronati di Siena e una sua Commedia* (Siena: Editrice D'Arte 'La Diana', 1928); Luigi Sbaragli, *I Tabelloni degli Intronati*, (Siena: Reale accademia degli Intronati di Siena, 1942); Daniele Seragnoli, *Il Teatro a Siena nel Cinquecento: Progetto e modello drammaturgico nell'Accademia degli Intronati* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1980).

[16] On English individuals using translations to learn Italian see Lawrence, *Who the Devil*, pp. 30–46.

and engineer Vitruvius and the use of classical metrical verse in the vernacular. Both projects received attention from his English contemporaries, such as John Shute and Roger Ascham, and clearly involved their development of Tuscan language skills.

The second part of the chapter will suggest the hypothetical syllabus that Tolomei might have used to teach Italian (or Tuscan) based on a selection of Tolomei's reflections on language. These included the comparison with Latin pronunciation, the role of the tutor in the relationship between grammar learning and reading authors, the selection and use of reading material and the importance of the 'use of language'.

For this chapter I will consider two main sets of sixteenth-century sources. On one hand: Hoby's diary, his *The Courtier* (1561) and his books. On the other hand: Tolomei's grammatical works (*Polito* 1525, *Cesano* 1555, the unfinished *Trattato della Lingua Toscana*), his letters (*Lettere*, 1547; second edition 1549), and the surviving books of the library that he assembled for his Genovese aristocratic student Giovanni Battista Grimaldi.[17]

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[17] Claudio Tolomei, *Il Polito* (Rome: L. Vicentino et L. Perugino, 1525); idem, *Il Cesano* (Venice: G. Giolito, 1555; idem, 'Trattato della Lingua Toscana', Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Cod. H.VII.15; idem, *Lettere* (Venice: G. Giolito, 1547); idem, *Lettere* (Venice: G. Giolito 1549). A modern edition of *Il Polito* is in Brian Richardson *Trattati sull'ortografia del volgare, 1525–1526* (University of Exeter: Exeter, 1984), pp. 77–130. see Brian Richardson, 'Chi fu 'il Polito'?', *Lingua Nostra*, 40.2 (1979), 41–42. A modern and corrected edition of *Il Cesano* is edited by Ornella Castellani Pollidori (Leo S. Olschki, Firenze, 1974). A transcript of *Trattato della Lingua Toscana* is in Rita Belladonna, 'Some Linguistic Theories of the Accademia Senese and of the Accademia degli Intronati of Siena: An Essay on Continuity', *Rinascimento*, 18 (1978), 229–248 (pp. 238–244). For a critical edition of Tolomei's manuscript *Del Raddoppiamento de parola a parola*, see Barbara Gavin's edition (Exter: Exeter Press, 1992); see also Franco Subri, 'Gli scritti grammaticali inediti di C. Tolomei: le quattro 'lingue' di Toscana', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* , 157.499 (1980), 403–415. For a possible list of books belonging to the Giovanni Battista Grimaldi's library, see Anthony Hobson, *Apollo and Pegasus: An Enquiry into the Formation and Dispersal of a Renaissance Library* (Amsterdam: Van Heusden, 1975); idem, 'La Biblioteca di Giovanni Battista Grimaldi', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria II*, 20.94 (1979), pp. 108–119; idem, 'La 'Verità Sulle Legature Cosiddette Canevari' Esaminata' *La Bibliofilia*, 80.1, (1978), pp. 85–89. For an extended list of Tolomei's works in Latin and vernacular, print and manuscript see Sbaragli, pp. 203–212.

1. Hoby meets Claudio Tolomei in Padua (1548): 'togas, laurels and tongues'

Italian language-learning was not part of any compulsory educational program in England and Hoby studied it for practical reasons during his mission in Europe. In fact, 'The need to communicate, and to communicate with clarity and conviction, is nowhere more apparent than diplomatic converse, where indeed 'arms give way to the toga, and the laurels yield to the tongue'.[18] In the first part of his mission (October 1547–August 1548), Hoby worked as a representative of the English reformist party among European religious reformers in Strasburg such as Martin Bucer, Jean Sturmius, and Italians such as Peter Martyr and Bernardino Ochino. When Hoby went to Padua and followed Tolomei's lectures in 1548, he was already working as an apprentice diplomat and collector of intelligence information for his older step-brother Philip Hoby, and their master William Parr, in a complex scenario of religious and political fragmentation, alliances and rivalries.[19]

It is understandable that Hoby opted for Padua to begin his Italian-learning considering the established tradition of English students in this city, which Woolfson explored *Padua and the Tudors*.[20] The fact that the University of Padua did not offer official Italian courses did not seem a limiting factor. Paduan grammarian and diplomat Girolamo Muzio (1496–1576) explained that international students, when choosing universities in Italy, aimed to learn Italian 'with Latin', as Hoby did:

> But what do you say about the fact that most of them [foreigners] come to study in Italy to learn our language? If it were not so, they would devote themselves to their studies in their own universities. What more can I say? There is none who passes through here who

[18] Joycelyne G. Russell, *Diplomat at Works: Three Renaissance Studies*, (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton, 1992), p. 1. The internal quote is a translation from Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, 77.
[19] Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 9.
[20] On Woolfson see, for example, p. 18.

> does not intend to learn our language together with Latin. On the contrary, many come only to learn our language, as can be seen every day in the cities closest to their borders, where there are always foreigners who live there only for this common language.[21]

By joining Tolomei's lessons in Padua, Hoby did what grammarian and Tolomei's disciple Orazio Lombardelli suggested to the 'Oltramontani' ['foreigners' literally 'people beyond the Alps'] for language-learning: 'The best thing one can do is to confide in a Tuscan, preferably a scholar, who will listen to or read one's writings and correct with his own hand the improprieties, errors, ambiguities, idioms, efforts, and harshness'.[22] Tolomei was the right man to facilitate Hoby's linguistic journey in Italy because of his research on the Tuscan language connected to language pedagogy for Italians and non-Italians; his extended and comprehensive intellectual networks working on the Italian *questione della lingua*; his work as diplomat on behalf of Clement VII, the Farnese family and Siena, as a private tutor and secretary to Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and Minister of Justice of Parma and Piacenza; his multiple interests connecting classical and vernacular cultures in the fields of architecture and poetry; and an unexplored special connection with England and its inhabitants.

The recent printing in Venice of his epistolary collection, *Lettere*, confirmed Tolomei's intellectual fame when Hoby arrived in Padua in 1548. But Tolomei was not just a scholar and a pedagogue. It is important to consider that language-learning had to be functional with matters relevant to Hoby's mission and professional ambitions. Tolomei lived in Padua for a period of roughly four years, between his service for the Duke of Parma and Piacenza Pier Luigi Farnese, concluded abruptly with the 'slaine' of the Duke in 1547, as Hoby described it, and his work as a

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[21] 'Ma che direte voi, che i piu di loro [oltramontani] vengono à studiar in Italia per apprender la lingua nostra? Chese ciò non fosse, darebbono opera alle lettere nelle loro universita. Che dico il piu? Non ce n'è niuno, che passi di qua, che non habbia intention di apprender la nostra favella insieme con la Latina. La dove molti vengono solamente per apparar questa nostra, come tutto dì si vede nelle città piu vicine a loro confini, nel le quali di continuo sono degli Oltramontani, che vi stanno solamente per questa lingua commune', Girolamo Muzio, *Battaglie* (1582), p. 193v.

[22] '[...] il meglio che possa fare, è confidarsi con alcun Toscano, purche letterato, il quale ascolta, ò legga de' sui comprovamenti, e gli faccia di suo pugno correggere le impropietà, le fallenze, gli ambigui, gli idiotismi, gli sforzi, e le durezze.', Lombardelli, *Il Fonti*, pp. 120–121.

diplomat for his native Siena in 1551, after years of political exile.[23] Tolomei exemplified how humanities studies had professional applications in orations, diplomacy and local and international legislation. In fact, he had become famous for his oratory skills, which were represented as a powerful cannon bombarding a city in Achille Bocchi's book of emblems.[24] Tolomei's model orations in the vernacular might have inspired Hoby in terms of vocabulary building, analysis of grammar, syntax, use of rhetorical devices, use of classical and Italian vernacular sources and information on contemporary matters. Later on, Hoby had the opportunity to observe Tolomei serving Siena as an ambassador, mainly at the French court of Henry II, where the two met again at least once in 1553.[25] In particularly Hoby recalled, in his diary, the famous oration that Tolomei 'declared' to thank the king of France for helping Siena. [26]

An overlooked side of Tolomei, which made him an ideal tutor for Hoby, is that he was interested in English history, contemporary politics and perhaps even in the English language. [27] The influence of personal encounters with English people and 'anglophile' Italians explains this cultural interest, which is intertwined with Tolomei's professional context. Tolomei was an actor in the geopolitical arena and intelligence from England was valuable currency.[28] When writing to Pierantonio Pecci, Tolomei asked first and foremost for news about 'the English', despite the fact

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[23] Hoby's journal points to the the Emperor Charles V as ultimate responsible of Pier Luigi Farnese's assassination, *The Travels*, p. 76.
[24] Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere quas serio ludebat libri quinque* (Bologna: 1555), CXCIIII.
[25] Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 93,
[26] Several editions of Tolomei's oration for Henry II were printed in Italian and French. For example, *Oratione recitata dinanzi ad Henrico II christianissimo re di Francia* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1552); Claudius Ptolemaeus, *L'Oraison prononcée devant le roy a Compiegne* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1553).
[27] Tolomei read the first book on English History: Vergil Polydore, *Anglicae Historiae Libri XXVI* (Basle: Johann Bebel, 1534). See Hobson, *Apollo and Pegasus*, p. 185. Tolomei had a close friendship with Luca Contile who presented himself as an expert of English events by plagiarising a contemporary Italian account of the attempt of the Duke of Northumberland to place Jane Grey on the throne of England, *Historia delle cose occorse nel Regno d'Inghilterra: In materia del Duca di Notomberlan dopo la morte di Odoardo VI* (Venice: Accademia Veneziana, 1558). A later edition (1591) identifies the author as Giulio Raviglio Rosso da Ferrara.
[28] For examples of how Tolomei had a delicate role in international politics and war organisation for Pope Clement VII, see *Lettere*, p. 173^{v}–179^{r}.

Pecci was in Paris.[29] In his *Orazione della pace* (1529), Tolomei reassured the Pope that Henry VIII 'will help you with your plan', as he was an example for all the other Christian rulers with 'his letters and ambassadors invoking peace'.[30] This seems to imply that Tolomei had particular access to information from England and knew the ambassadors.

Tolomei could have met the English ambassadors on multiple occasions early on in his life: for example, Thomas Wyatt in Rome in 1527 and Thomas Elyot at the court of Charles V in Germany (in Regensburg) and in Italy (in Naples) between 1532–1535.[31] What is certain is that Tolomei promoted the writing of English poetry among Italians and perhaps understood the language. In fact, he praised Citolini or some verses written in English – 'La vostra Poesia Inglese mi piace nell'invenzione, e ne la disposizione; e dilettami nell'affetto' ['I like your English Poetry for its argument and arrangement; and I enjoy its affect']- and encouraged him to insist on this 'bella strada' ['good path'] along with Fabio Benvoglienti in Venice.[32] In another letter he again praised Citolini's poetry and wished to him to 'enter the poetry with courage and set the sail in a way to arrive with favourable wind in England'.[33] In this case it is not clear if this poetry was also written in English and if Citolini, or just his poetry, should reach England. Citolini, who was also a religious reformer eventually reached England in 1565 where he had several contacts.[34] In fact, Tolomei looked at England with a special attention that made him a potentially ideal language tutor for Anglo–Italian intercultural exchange.

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[29] Tolomei, *Lettere,* p. 144^{r}–^{v}. The Senese Pecci was working for the Cardinal Jean du Bellay (1492–1560) who, according to the same letter, recommended Tolomei to Gasparo Contarini, Cardinal of Bologna. Tolomei needed this recommendation for his 'disegni e bisogni' ['schemes and needs'].
[30] Francesco Sansovino, *Delle Orazione volgarmente scritte da diversi uomini illustri*, 2 vols (G. e V. Lanais, 1741), I, p. 28.
[31] Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 103–120. Gabriele G. Stein, *Sir Thomas Elyot as Lexicographer* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), pp. 91–93.
[32] Tolomei, *Lettere*, p. 191^{v}.
[33] 'Entrateci dentro animosamente, e acconciate in modo le vele, che voi arriviate, confelice vento in Inghilterra.', Tolomei, *Lettere*, p. 196^{r}.
[34] Citolini mentioned Philip Hoby ('Filippo Obi') as long–lasting friend in his *Tipocosmia* (Venice: Valgrisi, 1561), 4^{v}.

Hoby could find in Tolomei a respected theoretical linguist with years of experience in teaching Tuscan, extensive practice of the language in the professional field of diplomacy and an interest in English policies and culture. In addition, it can be argued that Hoby approached Tolomei also in search of cultural capital in order to help the English Reformation cause, which was connected with politics and the use of vernaculars. This is supported by the fact that Hoby learned languages to connect with religious reformists and with ideas that could support the cause of the 'evangelical' party in England, in particular of his master William Parr and Thomas Cranmer. As soon as he mastered Italian, Hoby translated Francesco Negri's *Libero arbitrio* ['On free will'] in Augsburg, dedicating to it William Parr in 1550.[35] Before his first Italian mission, Hoby prepared himself on religious subjects in Strasbourg to become part of this propaganda machine and took part in the diplomatic game.[36] Also, Hoby met Sienese reformer Bernardo Ochino in Strasbourg and facilitated his journey towards England in 1547. As we will see in the following chapter, Ochino became an essential part in Thomas Cranmer's religious reformation. Ochino and other Italian reformers made a point of writing in the Italian vernacular, so it was useful for Hoby to learn it. Ochino might also have recommended his old friend and co-citizen Tolomei as a language tutor for Hoby, mindful of his religious leaning.

Tolomei reluctantly took part in the European religious debate because of his popular letters and friendship with famous reformers such as Bernardo Ochino, Alessandro Citolini, and Marcantonio Flaminio, co-author of the 'spirituali' manifesto *Beneficio di Cristo* (1543). Several published letters show that Tolomei's religious beliefs overlapped with the ones of Italian

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[35] Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 63. On the English translations of Francesco Negri's, see Anne M. Overell, *Nicodemites: Faith and Concealment between Italy and Tudor England* (Leiden: Brill 2019), pp. 205–225.

[36] Hoby had lessons in Strasbourg at the 'Schooles in Divinitie' with the Italian Peter Martyr; he lived in the house of the theologian Martin Bucer; and he translated Bucer's attack against the conservative Bishop Gardiner's epistles on matrimony from Latin. See, Hoby, *The Travels*, pp. 4–5.

religious reformers.[37] Furthermore, Tolomei praised Luca Contile's *Dialogi Spirituali* (1543), the religious content of which leaned towards the doctrine of justification by faith alone.[38] On the other hand, Tolomei distanced himself from his friend Ochino who fled Italy in odour of heresy through a famous letter full of regret and open to a reconciliation in October 1542.[39] Overall, Tolomei never felt the need to challenge the Church's authority and he believed just in an ecumenic tolerance that was far from the Protestant vision.[40] Thanks to this prudent attitude Tolomei became bishop of Curzola (Korčula) in 1549, but he never visited the city, demonstrating scarce interest for the role beyond its economic advantages.[41] Hoby might have attempted to engage with Tolomei in activities against the Pope and the Catholics, but he might have felt discouraged once Tolomei accepted a role within the Church. Finally, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, negatively influenced the English judgment on Tolomei in 1553.[42] Vergerio criticised Tolomei's *Lettere* for showing favour for opinions that were unacceptable in Reformation England such as the importance of 'meriti' ['merits'] along with faith to attain grace.[43]

Tolomei's famous letter to Ochino, his position as Catholic bishop and Vergerio's negative opinion did not help him maintain his fame in Elizabethan England. However,

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[37] Ten letters by Tolomei appeared in *Lettere volgari. Libro Secondo* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio, 1545) a volume filled with religious ideas from the 'spirituali' in–group. Another collection of letters with the presence of Tolomei among religious reformers is Dionigi Atanagi, *De le lettere di tredici huomini illustri libri tredici,* (Rome and Venice: 1554). See Anne Jacobson Schutte, 'The Lettere volgari and the Crisis of Evangelism in Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 28.4 (1975), 639–688 (p. 664); Braida, *Libri di lettere*, Location 1301, 6488.

[38] Cecilia Asso, 'Appunti per i Dialogi spirituali', in *Luca Contile da Cetona all'Europa : atti del seminario di studi, Cetona 20–21 ottobre 2007*, ed. by Roberto Gigliucci (Manziana Roma: Vecchiarelli, 2009), 173–239; Ambra Moroncini, 'Accademia della Virtu' and Religious Dissent', in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. by Jane E. Everson, Denis Reidy, and Lisa Sampson (New York: Legenda, 2016), pp. 88–101 (p. 96).

[39] Tolomei, *Lettere*, pp. 189^{r}–191^{v}.

[40] An example of Tolomei's religious tolerance is when he recommended the German Lutheran 'Giorgio tedesco' in a letter to Guicciardini. Although he did not know the German man well, he wanted to assume that people were good and try to help everyone. Moreover, Tolomei believed that the German Lutheran perhaps would have changed his mind if treated with kindness. Tolomei, *Lettere*, pp. 100$^{r–v}$.

[41] Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei*, pp. 106–108.

[42] On Vergerio's reception in England, see Anne M. Overell, 'Vergerio's anti–Nicodemite Propaganda and England, 1547–1558', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51.2 (2000), 296–318.

[43] Other Vergerio's critic to Tolomei included: ex votos production following alleged miracles, public funding to churches, sacrifices and incenses during rituals, the cult of the Virgin Mary and of the Saints, no meat consumption in specific religious days, infallibility of the Doctors of the Church and of Cardinal Councils.

linguistic, philosophical and political works show that some of Tolomei's ideas resonated with British individuals. Alessandro Citolini brought to England Tolomei's teachings on language, which were used by famous tutors such as Claude Hollyband and John Florio.[44] The focus of these tutors on Italian pronunciation and on the correspondence between orthography and phonetics was due to Tolomei's analysis.[45] Tolomei's works on Tuscan and the environment in Siena prompted Welsh doctor Dafydd Rhys to write a treatise in Latin for foreigners on the pronunciation and orthography of Italian, *De italica pronunciatione et orthographia libellus* (1569). [46] Another example of the established influence of Tolomei's linguistic works on British individuals is Gruffyd Robert's *Gramadeg Cymraeg* (1567), a Welsh dialogue on grammar that is also indebted to Castiglione' *Cortegiano* and Bembo's *Prose.*[47]

Thanks to his knowledge of Christian and classical sources Tolomei was also considered an authority on philosophy. Humphrey Gifford translated two of Tolomei's letters in his *A posie of gilloflowers* (1580) – one letter discusses the value of poverty and the second explains why Tolomei did not care about fame and material rewards for his intellectual work.[48] Tudor individuals also appreciated Tolomei's letters for their political topics; for example, a letter

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[44] Hollyband suggested Citolini's manuscript grammar as the perfect complement to his Italian manual *The pretie and wittie historie of Arnalt & Lucenda* (London: Thomas Purfoote, 1575), under 'To the Reader'. See also Rinaldo C. Simonini, 'The Italian Pedagogy of Claudius Hollyband', *Studies in Philology,* 49.2 (1952), 144–154.

[45] On the topos of the Italian language that 'it is read as it is written' from Hollyband's manual onwards in England, see Pizzoli, *Grammatiche di Italiano*, pp. 180–181.

[46] John David Rhys, *Perutilis exteris nationibvs de Italica pronunciatione, et ortographia libellus* (Padua: Lorenzo Pasquato, 1569). See T. Gwynfor Griffith, *Avventure linguistiche del Cinquecento* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1961), pp. 6, 17.

[47] On Tolomei's direct influence on Gruffyd Robert's, *Gramadeg Cymraeg* (Milan: Vincenzo Girardoni, 1567) dedicated to William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, see Heledd M. Hayes, 'The Literary Works of the Welsh Exiles in Italy in Sixteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Manchester, 1983), pp. 39–168; idem, 'Claudio Tolomei: A Major Influence on Gruffydd Robert', *The Modern Language Review*, 83.1 (1988), 56–66. For the influence of *Il Cortegiano* on Robert's *Gramadeg Cymraeg*, see T. Gwynfor Griffith, 'A Borrowing from the Cortegiano', in *Studia gratulatoria in Honour of Robert A. Hall, Jr*, ed. by David Feldman (Madrid: Playor, 1977).

[48] Humphrey Gifford, *A posie of gilloflowers* (London, Thomas Dawson: 1580). Gifford translated two letters by Tolomei, *Lettere*, pp. 126^{v}–139^{v}, 23^{r}–28^{v}. See also Soko Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558–1603* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 158.

discussing free speech that Robert Peterson translated in a manuscript (*c.* 1600).[49] This letter stemmed from Tolomei experience as jurist and minister of justice, discussing 'whether the princeps must harshly punish that men that say or write badly of them, or also if it is better for them [the princeps] to tolerate them'.[50]

We still do not fully understand the depth of Tolomei's impact on Tudor culture, but these examples show the presence of an Elizabethan readership that accurately scanned his works to find what was significant for them in the linguistic, philosophical, and political fields. Thomas Hoby's case shows that the British reception of Tolomei works and ideas predated the Elizabethan period, when his character as a Catholic bishop was not crystallised yet and he was more relevant on the political scene. This sketch of Tolomei's biography and writings has shown the possible reasons for Hoby to choose him as a language tutor when he arrived in Padua in 1548. Tudor individuals learned Italian not only for a neutral intellectual endeavour, but also for professional, political, and religious reasons. By proceeding with the cross-examination of Tolomei's and Hoby's biographies and works in more in detail, the following section will present the confluence of linguistic, political, and literary interests in the context of Hoby's experience in the city of Siena.

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[49] John–Mark Philo, "Scandalous Speech and Slanderous Libelles': Robert Peterson, Claudio Tolomei, and the Translation of Free Speech in Early Modern England', *Studies in Philology*, 119.4 (2022), 621–653.

[50] 'se i principi debbono castigare aspramente quegli uomini che dicono o scrivono male di loro, o pur sia meglio per loro il sopportarli', Tolomei, *Lettere*, 164v–172r. Another Tolomei's letter–treatise left traces in England, but it is not clear the chronology of its reception in England. The title is 'Se un principe trovando un suo magistrato aver fatto molte ingiustizie deve punirlo pubblicamente o insabbiare la vicenda trovando altre vie' ['wheter a princep caughs a civil servant making a lot of injustices must punish him publicly or hide the fact looking for other solutions'], Tolomei, *Lettere*, 91^{r}–95^{r}. A translation of this letter was printed in England in 1819, see Thomas Rodd, *Catalogue of Twelve Thousand Tracts, Pamphlets and Unbound Books, in All Branches of Literature*, 6 vols (London: Compton, 1819), I, p. 47. Also, more investigation is needed on Tolomei's 'Discorso nel quale si tratta se Paolo III, dovesse dichiararsi imperiale o Francese' (1544) in two copies at London, British Library, Add. MS 4810, fols 2^{r}–68^{v}, 70^{r}–100^{r}; Add. MS 8278, fols 30^{r}–119^{r}.

2. Hoby and Siena (1549–1550): *accademie*, international diplomacy and translation of *Il Cortegiano*

After his initial stays in Padua and Venice, Hoby made Siena his main base in order to develop his language skills in day-to-day communication, diplomatic and intelligence work dealing with Spanish governor Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and translating 'his book' – *The Courtier* – in May 1550.[51] Hoby introduced Tolomei for the first time in his journal by pointing out that he was Sienese. This detail resonated with Hoby for several reasons: Siena was a welcoming city for foreigners and had an affordable university where Tolomei had started his teaching career in the 1510s; Sienese citizens spoke one of the best varieties of Tuscan which Tolomei promoted in the activities of the two Sienese *Accademie*; Tolomei was a skilled diplomat defending Siena's freedom against Emperor Charles V.[52] Being in Siena, Hoby had the immediate opportunity to test his Italian skills by observing the very same intellectual environments and geopolitical issues where Tolomei was acting. Italian had to be learned and used for his political agenda guiding personal encounters and visits to locations. *Il Cortegiano* offered Hoby the linguistic training and cultural awareness to play his part with the Spanish governor of Siena, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Therefore, learning Italian was for Hoby valuable cultural capital that he acquired and employed in his activities as a diplomat and translator. Hoby's experience in Siena as unofficial English envoy demonstrates that his journey was more than a 'touristic' or 'educational travel'.[53]

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[51] Hoby stopped for more than two months in Siena (4th September – 16th of November 1549) and he came back again for more than two months (9th May – 19th July 1550). Hoby, *The Travels*, pp. 61, 77–78; Bartlett, 'Travel and Translation', p. 504; Mary Partridge argues that Hoby translated only the third part of the book in Paris in 1552, 'Thomas Hoby's English Translation of Castiglione's Book of the Courtier' *The Historical Journal*, 50.4 (2007), 769–786 (pp. 771–774).

[52] On Tolomei as a diplomat in Hoby's diary, *The Travels*, pp. 61, 93.

[53] Wolfsoon self–criticised his own anachronistic overuse of the terms 'tourism' or 'grand tourist' to describe the phenomenon of English individuals travelling in Italy in his book *Padua and the Tudor* and proposed 'educational travel' considering the intellectual 'material generated by this activity', in 'Padua and English students revisited', p. 582.

The cultural and social environment of his native Siena encouraged Tolomei to formulate his ideas on language and to help foreigners to learn Tuscan. He taught civil law at the University of Siena (1516–1517) and perhaps also Tuscan to the foreign students that were a welcomed part of the city's life.[54] There were no official vernacular language courses in Siena, but somehow students learned the local language. Tolomei praised Portuguese Miguel Da Silva (1480–1556) for his love for Siena, where he studied in the 1510s, and for his mastering of Tuscan 'as his native tongue'.[55] In the years between 1484 and 1486 and between 1496 and 1579, twenty-seven per cent (454) out of 1,675 conferred licences were to non-Italians.[56] Earlier evidence of an English student in Siena who probably knew Tolomei is humanist and physician John Clement, who took his MD there in 1525.[57] The presence of a high number of foreign students was an element that inspired Tolomei and other Sienese intellectuals to reflect on their language, for example within the intellectual spaces of the *accademie*.[58]

Tolomei's will to gather intellectual enthusiasts of the vernacular made him a pivotal figure within the world of Italian literary *accademie*, starting in Siena, where he was a member of the 'original' academia (called *Accademia Grande* later on) in the 1510s and of the *Accademia degli Intronati* ['of the Dazed'] founded around 1525, with the nickname 'Il Sottile' ['The Sharp One'].[59] The Tuscan language was the main object of, and medium for, intellectual exploration of the *accademie* which complemented the conservative curriculum of the University with the most

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[54] Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei*, pp. 9–11. The University of Siena was founded in 1240s and was strongly supported thoroughly is history by the Comune of Siena, see Paolo Nardi, *L'insegnamento superiore a Siena nei secoli XI–XIV: tentativi e realizzazioni dalle origini alla fondazione dello studio generale* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1996). See also, Giovanni Minnucci and Leo Košuta. *Lo Studio di Siena nei secoli XIV–XVI: documenti e notizie biografiche* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1989).
[55] Tolomei, *Lettere*, pp. 107^{v}–108^{r}. See also Sylvie Deswarte*, Il 'perfetto cortegiano' D. Miguel Da Silva* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1989), p. 8.
[56] Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 50.
[57] Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors*, pp. 20–21, 81. Perhaps Clement was the intermediary that brought to England a manuscript by Lattanzio Tolomei appearing in Thomas More' *Progymnasmata*, see Grantley Mcdonald, 'Thomas More, John Clement and the Palatine Anthology', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* 75.2 (2013), 259–270.
[58] On the influence of Tolomei on the *Accademia Senese*, see Belladonna, 'Some linguistic theories'.
[59] Tolomei signals as members of this circle Mariano Sozzini and Gabriele Cesano, *Polito*, p. XVIII^{r}.

cutting-edge topics. The outcome of meetings and lectures were treatises on language, poetic experiments and literary analysis by the three canonical Florentine fourteenth-century authors (Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio), and translations from classical languages and commentaries (mainly of Aristotle and Vitruvius). A sixteenth-century proverb suggests that the best Tuscan was 'Lengua Fiorentina in bocca Sanese' ['Florentine language pronounced by a Senese mouth'] and this was in part due to Siena's *accademie,* which made a particular effort to standardise Tuscan pronunciation.[60] This attention for the best Tuscan pronunciation, in theory and practice, attracted Hoby towards Siena.

How the Sienese *accademia* influenced Hoby has not been explored yet, but *The Nobility of Women* (Ms 1559) by Hoby's travel companion William Barker (fl. 1540–1576) confirms that the two Englishmen were immersed in that specific cultural environment.[61] William Barker also translated and adapted Lodovico Domenichi's dialogue in defence of women *La nobilità delle donne* (1549) in the light of his own experience in Siena. [62] The dialogue follows the ideal pattern for the discussion of a particular topic within an *accademia*. Changing the original, Barker's *The Nobility of Women* (Ms 1559) moved the date of the action forward (from 1446 to 1553), and shifted the settings from the Sforza's court in Milan to Siena, and surroundings at the Count of Elci's villa, and at the baths at Petriolo. The Count of Elci, Achille Pannochieschi, was a Sienese diplomat at the Emperor's court, Tolomei's friend, a member of the *Accademia degli Intronati*, a respected

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[60] The proverb that highlights the prestige of Senese pronunciation can be found, for example, in Orazio Lombardelli, *I fonti toscani* (Firenze: Giorgio Marescotti, 1598), p. 29; and also in Robert Dallington, *A Survey of The Great Dukes State of Tuscany* (London: George Eld for Edward Blount, 1605), p. 64. On Dallington and Tuscan varieties see Gallagher, "Ungratefull Tuscan", p. 408.

[61] Brenda M. Hosington, "A poore preasant off Ytalyan costume': The Interplay of Travel and Translation in William Barker's Dyssputacion off the Nobylytye off Wymen', in *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Carmine G. Di Biase, Approaches to translation studies, 26 (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2006), pp. 143–155; George B. Parks, 'William Barker, Tudor Translator', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 51.2 (1957), 126–140.

[62] Lodovico Domenichi, *La nobilità delle donne* (Venice: Gabriele Giolito De Ferrari, 1549).

writer and a military leader of Siena.[63] The fictional promoter and arbiter in Barker's dialogue was the 'Lady Countesse': Tolomei's beloved niece Olimpia.[64] Barker's connections with Siena, its *accademia*, and Tolomei are striking. Moreover, Lodovico Domenichi, the very author that Barker translated for his *The Nobility of Women*, was a member of the Florentine *accademia* and an admirer of his 'intellectual work'.[65]

The work of Tolomei and the Sienese *accademie* also had an impact on the English learning Italian because they became models – in terms of organisation and research themes around the vernacular - for other Italian *accademie,* such as the *Accademia degli infiammati* ['of the Inflamed'] in Padua and the *Accademia Fiorentina* in Florence.[66] Woolfson suggested that the role of the *Accademia degli Infiammati* in Padua had a relevant influence on Hoby's and William Thomas' ideas on language.[67] In fact, the world of 'the *Accademie* of the sixteenth century has been a place of production and legitimation of a new and socially valid knowledge. This was knowledge that, like precious currency in circulation, became profitable for a long period in the environment of a society that was eager to acquire refined tools for communication and relationship.'[68]

Several *Infiammati* in Padua had been members of the Sienese *accademia* first (for example Pietro Bembo and Sienese Alessandro Piccolomini) and also the other members knew Tolomei personally (Sperone Speroni and Venetian ambassador in England Daniele Barbaro). For a period

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[63] Tolomei, *Lettere*, pp. 159^{v}, 185^{r}. Achille Pannochieschi was nicknamed 'L'Affumicato' ['The Smoked One'] among the *Intronati*. Hoby might have known the Count of Elci also for his military role as responsible of the artillery of Siena, see Angelo Angelucci*, Documenti inediti per la storia delle armi da fuoco italiane* (Turin: G. Cassone e Comp., 1869), I, p. 460.

[64] For an example of the relationship between Cladio Tolomei and his nephew Olimpa Tolomei, see *Lettere*, p. 158^{v}.

[65] Tolomei, *Lettere*, p. 226^{r}. Morevoer, Tolomei wrote also a book of verses dedicated to the women of Bologna, *Laude delle donne bolognesi* (Bologna, Giustiano da Rubiera, 1514).

[66] Richard S. Samuels, 'Benedetto Varchi, the *Accademia degli Infiammati*, and 'Benedetto Varchi, the *Accademia degli Infiammati*, and the Origins of the Italian Academic Movement', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 29.4 (1976), 599–634 (p. 607–611).

[67] Wolfsoon, *Padua and the Tudors*, pp. 126–127.

[68] My transaltion from Paolo Procaccioli, 'Accademia come palestra e tribuna: Girolamo Ruscelli sdegnato, ardente, dubbioso' in *The Italian Academies*, pp. 214–232 (p. 215).

this was a 'prosperous' *Accademia* in Padua where more 'forestieri' ['people from outside Padua and/or Italy'] than official academic members attended 'lessons on Thursday and Sunday'.[69] English and Welsh people tried to access learning and networking opportunities at the meeting of the *accademie*, even if just temporarily, as did William Thomas, who reported having witnessed one-hour long public lectures of the Florentine academy in the vernacular.[70] Woolfson also pointed to William Barker's case when arguing that the Florentine *Accademia Fiorentina* had an impact on Hoby.[71] In fact, Barker followed Gelli's vernacular lessons in Florence and translated his *I capricci del Bottaio* (1548) with the title *The fearfull fansies of the Florentine couper* (1568).[72] Gelli's *I capricci del Bottaio* built on Tolomei's championing of Tuscan and the other main members of the *Accademia Fiorentina* – Pierfrancesco Giambullari, Lodovico Domenichi, Giovanni Battista and Benedetto Varchi – relied strongly on the previous research on Tuscan pronunciation by the Sienese *accademie*.[73] Hoby's, Thomas' and Barker's cases show how difficult it is to disentangle direct from indirect influences from other Italian *accademie* and authors. What it certain is that Tolomei was a key individual who promoted the ideas of the Senese *accademie* paving the way to the work of other Italian *accademie* on the vernacular. Hoby and other English individuals could

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[69] See Alessandro Piccolomini's letter to Benedetto Varchi, in Florindo Cerreta 'An Account of the Early Life of the Accademia degli Infiammati in the Letters of Alessandro Piccolomini,' *Romanic Review*, 48.4 (1957), 249–264 (p. 258). It is particularly significant that lecturers at university of Padua tried to complement the activity of the university by focusing on vernacular in the *Accademia degli Infiammati*. However, banning Latin from the *Accademia* caused its failure according to Richard S. Samuels, 'Benedetto Varchi', p. 615. See also Maria Teresa Girardi, *Il sapere e le lettere in Bernardino Tomitano* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1995), pp. 19–20; see also Marco Sgarbi, *The Italian Mind: Vernacular Logic in Renaissance Italy* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 42–44.

[70] Thomas followed the Florentine academy lesson with his friend Bartolomeo Panciatichi. William Thomas, *The historie of Italie*, p. 23^{r}–^{v}.

[71] Woolfson, 'Thomas Hoby, William Thomas', pp. 407–408.

[72] Giovanni Battista Gelli, *I capricci del Bottaio* (Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze: 1548); William Barker, *The fearfull fansies of the Florentine couper* (London: 1568). This is an often–overlooked dialogue connecting the *questione della lingua* to anticlericalism, the reading of Scriptures in reformist fashion, and education for all social classes. Also, Henry Iden translated Giovanni Battista Gelli's *Circe* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549) in 1557 printed by John Cawood.

[73] For example, Giambullari's analysis of Florentine pronunciation in *Della lingua che si parla e scrive a Firenze* (1552) was indebted to Tolomei. See Giulio C. Lepschy, *History of Linguistics Vol III: Renaissance and Early Modern Linguistics* (London: Routldge, 2016), p. 22. See also how Tolomei's *Cesano* influenced the Florentine Academy's theory which highlighted the Etruscan origin of the Tuscan language, p. 49.

benefit from this tradition directly in Siena by developing their Tuscan learning, linguistic theories and cultural awareness.

Hoby could make immediate use of his progress in Tuscan in his profession as intelligence officer and diplomat in Siena dealing with the Spanish governor and member of *accademie* Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Hoby reported in his journal, which resembles intelligence letters in certain parts, that the internal political instability – 'private discention and intestine discorde' – of the city was a matter of international contention between the Emperor, France, and Florence.[74] From Hoby's reports about Siena transpires a convergence with Tolomei's agenda to grant Siena independence from Emperor Charles V, although he never openly declared it. [75] When Hoby stayed in Siena in 1549–1550, the Spanish had had troops in the city since 1530. He witnessed the building of a Spanish fortress within Siena 'that in the yere 1552 was cast downe to the earth again after the French armie was entered into the towne'.[76] Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the Spanish Governor, 'was blamed and somewhat in displeasure with th' Emperor' for this defeat.[77] Hoby was also in Italy when Siena fell again to the Imperial and Florentine armies that 'opressed the citie of Siena with long siege and sore assalts' and conquered it in April 1555. When presenting Siena's affairs Hoby was quite specific in his descriptions and he hinted he was in favour of the city's independence. Hoby was not an external spectator, but he was a frequent guest of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's in Siena, who, in addition to being the Spanish governor of the city and ambassador for Charles V to the Pope, promoted Italian vernacular culture and knew Tolomei.[78] Hoby could have provided intelligence, negotiated with or misled

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[74] Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 20.
[75] Ibid., pp. 18–21, 61, 78, 120.
[76] Ibid., p. 61.
[77] Ibid., p. 78.
[78] Tolomei discussed the reform of Siena government in a controversial letter to Gabriele Cesano dated 21 January 1531 in *Lettere* (Giolito, Venice: 1547), 142^{v} –147^{v}. For this reason the government of Siena burned the first edition of the *Lettere* and fined Tolomei 1000 scudi. Mendoza fixed the issue in April 1548 and a new edition of the *Lettere* (1549) was issued without the controversial letter. See Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei*, pp. 93, 196.

Mendoza, to support the French plot and the Sienese people in exile, such as Tolomei. By having Italian skills Hoby possessed valuable cultural capital in dealing with Diego Hurtado de Mendoza who studied and imitated Italian vernacular culture, *Il Cortegiano* included.[79]

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was a poet and a book collector who showed Hoby 'great entertainment and much gentlnes' during multiple meetings in Siena and Rome.[80] Mendoza started his studies with the Italian humanists Peter Martyr d'Anghiera in Granada, afterwards he had studied at the University of Salamanca, an environment traditionally open to cultural influences from the Italian peninsula.[81] Alongside his friends Boscán Almogaver (1493 – 1542), translator of *El Cortesano* into Castilian in 1534, and Garcilaso de la Vega (1501–1536), Diego Hurtado represented a new and dominant trend in sixteenth-century Spanish poetry stemming from the Petrarchan school.[82] Don Diego started to build connections with English people, beginning wiht his mission in England in 1537, when he became godfather to Lord Guilford Dudley (*c.* 1535–1554) and lodged in a property belonging to Thomas Cromwell.[83] Afterwards, he

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[79] Diego Hurtado de Mendoza owned three copies of *Cortigiano* in his library, see Anthony Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), pp. 159, 330. For a biography of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, see Erika Spivakovsky, *Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504–1575* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970); José Ignacio Díez Fernández, 'Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego', in *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico de la Real Academia de la Historia* https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/12391/diego–hurtado–de–mendoza [accessed 02nd October 2023]; Juan Varo Zafra, *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Cartas* (Granada: Universidad de Granada: 2016), pp. ix–xxv.

[80] Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 24.

[81] Hurtado had a strong bond with Italian culture rooted in his family. His great–grandfather Íñigo López de Mendoza y de la Vega, 1st Marquess of Santillana (19 August 1398 – 25 March 1458) was an author inspired by Italian authors such as Dante, for his *Infierno de los enamorados*, and Petrarch, for his *Trionfete de amor*. On the Italian influence on Spanish literature in the fifteenth century and the University of Salamanca see José María Pérez Fernández, 'Translation, Sermo Communis, and the Book Trade' in *Translation and the Book Trade*, pp. 51–53.

[82] In the gardens of Hurtado's family house overlooking Granada, next to the Alhambra, the Venetian ambassador Bernardo Navagero persuaded Juan Boscán Almogaver to adopt an Italian style of writing verses in March 1526 thereby opening a new prolific period of Spanish literature. Almogaver described and explained the impact of this symbolical event on him, his friends and fellow Italophile poets, Mendoza and Garcilaso de la Vega (1501–1536) in his *Carta a la duquesa de Soma* (1543). See Alicia de Colombí–Monguió, 'Boscán frente a Navagero: el nacimiento de la conciencia humanista en la poesía española', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 40.1 (1992), 143–168.

[83] On Diego Hurtado de Mendoza hosted by Thomas Cromwell and his mission in England to negotiate Henry VIII's wedding with the Duchess of Milan, see MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, pp. 448–449. On Mendoza as Guildford Dudley's godfather in 1537 see Christine Hartweg, *John Dudley: The Life of Lady Jane Grey's Father–in–Law* (CreateSpace, 2016), p. 27. On Mendoza exchanging favours with Jane Dudley who addressed him as 'Diegoe Damondesay', see Richard Davey, *The Nine Day's Queen* (Outlook, 2020), p. 279.

took the position of Imperial ambassador in Venice between 1539 and 1547. There, he built an impressive library in his house on the Canal Grande, cultivating his interests in languages, philosophy and mathematics, and meeting Italian intellectuals and artists within Tolomei's network such as Bembo, Aretino, Paulo Giovio, Sperone Speroni, Alessandro Piccolomini, Benedetto Varchi, Lodovico Domenichi and Titian.[84] All these connections helped Hurtado gather intelligence and great political power, which he also used to influence the papal elections in 1549.[85] Mendoza's and Hoby's relationship demonstrates how non-Italians could motivate English people to study Italian. This made the Italian language and literature part of a European conversation centred on *Il Cortegiano*.

By translating *Il Cortegiano* (1528), Hoby could practice his Italian skills, learn practical advice for his development as a courtier-diplomat, and earn cultural 'currency' that could be spent with people from different nationalities, such as Mendoza, and in England. Hoby was a diplomat by training and translation was a typical activity that ambassadors carried out abroad whilst awaiting instructions, in order to increase their language skills and accumulate cultural capital.[86] Hoby chose *il Cortegiano* as a text for his translation after noticing that it was translated into 'three principal languages, in the which he hath a long tyme haunted all the Courtes of Christendome', thus showing that he experienced the international status of this book during his work as an ambassador.[87] Hoby was also aware of an established English circulation of *Il Cortegiano* when he wrote in its introduction in 1556 that 'this Courtier hath long straid about this realme […]either men skilful in his tunge have delited in him for their owne private commoditie,

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[84] Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 72.
[85] At the beginning, Hurtado was accused to excessively support his friend Salviati, against the Emperor's interests. Afterwards, Mendoza tried to work for Pole's election although he knew that the English cardinal was a controversial candidate due to his view on justification by faith. See, for example, Juan Varo, *Cartas*, pp. 192, 235, 122.
[86] Tracey A. Sowerby, 'Early modern diplomatic history', *History Compass*, 14.9 (2016), 441–456 (p.448).
[87] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, sig. A.iii.ʳ.

or elles he hath eftsones spoken in peecemeale by an interpreter'.[88] In fact, close to its printing date, as far back as 1530, *Il Cortegiano* circulated in Italian even in England, in the circles around Cardinal Wolsey's chaplain Edmund Bonner and Thomas Cromwell.[89] Therefore, *Il Cortegiano* provided cultural capital that Hoby knew he could spend immediately in Siena with Mendoza, but also at different European courts and in England.

Hoby's *The Courtier* is often a word-by-word translation. This suggests that originally Hoby started his translation in Siena as a linguistic exercise. Morini deems Hoby's translation 'close to the original even to a fault – to the point of becoming impervious, at times'.[90] However, Hoby seems satisfied with his promise to 'follow the very meaning and the woordes of the Author'. All this indicates that Hoby submitted for publication a text that originally allowed him to focus on and learn Italian words, grammar, and syntax. He was not interested in presenting 'the brightness and full perfection in this our tung that it hath in the Italian'. In other words he did not make a translation according to humanistic rhetorical standards respecting the unique features of each language.[91] For example Tolomei explains in his *Cesano* (1555) that it is a foolish effort ['fadiga sciocca'] to translate Cicero word-by-word into Tuscan and annoying ['fastidiosa'] to translate Boccaccio into Latin.[92] By going the opposite way, Hoby implicitly intended his

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[88] Ibid.

[89] In addition to Petrarch's *Trionfi*, Bonner asked Cromwell in 1530: 'I beg you to send it by Mr. Augustine's servant, and specially if you have it, the *Cortigiano* in Italian'. Also, in MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, p. 28.

[90] Morini, *Tudor Translation*, p. 20.

[91] See how Lawrence references to Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster* to distinguish translation, paraphrases and imitation, *Who the devil*, pp. 36–38.

[92] 'se un uomo, che pur di mediocri lettere o ingegno sia, pigliarà un libro di Cicerone in mano e tentarà col medesimo filo e corso di parole farlo toscano, o vero un del Boccaccio ne pigli e voglia, parimente seguendo quella stessa orditura, tesserlo con parole latine, egli s'avvedrà chiaramente quanto la prima fadiga sia sciocca, la seconda fastidiosa. Come sempre avvenir suole quando d'una in altra differente lingua cosa alcuna si trasferisce, perché, essendo diverso idioma, avendo nuove figure di dire, i vocaboli non egualmente risonanti, gli accenti che le voci fanno splendide quasi in tutto variati, egli è forza, per fare opera che bella sia, in questi volgimenti d'una lingua ne l'altra ubbidire a le forme e le stampe di quella ne la quale si trasferisce, non di quella onde l'argomento si piglia' ['If a man, be he of average education and intelligence, takes a book by Cicero in his hands and attempts with the same order of words to make it Tuscan, or it takes one [book] by Boccaccio, wanting to follow step by step the same structure, composing it with Latin words, he will clearly see how the former effort is foolish and the latter annoying. As is always the case when something is translated from one language to another, because the languages are

translation as a pedagogical tool that helped him to understand and study the original Italian. Furthermore, to validate his word-by-word translation, he encouraged readers to compare it with 'some interpreters of this booke into other languages [i.e. Spanish and French]'. These translators were misled 'by fansie' and missed several parts, making their translation less valuable according to Hoby. In fact, Hoby's translation was printed side-by-side with the original Italian and a French translation in 1588, confirming that his word-by-word translation was apt for language-learning purposes.[93]

By starting his translation of *Il Cortegiano* in the context of Siena, Hoby shows that he approached the Italian vernacular language and culture for practical reasons related to his professional and social ambitions. He followed a general sixteenth-century European trend that conceived of 'language as currency and of translation as commerce. Like a currency or commodity, language without a use-value for the individual is no more than a fetish'.[94] Other Tudor individuals immediately tried to use Hoby's newly acquired skill for their language-learning and to increase their cultural capital. For example, Elizabeth Brooke (1526–1565), William Parr's controversial second wife, requested a partial translation of *Il Cortegiano*. Hoby sent both texts in the summer/autumn of 1552, from Paris.[95] Elizabeth Parr, recently Marquess of Northampton, was in need of building a reputation for being a woman of courtly virtues, so she had specifically requested the translation of the third book of *Il Cortegiano* which debates the characteristics of the

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different, with new ways of saying things, words that do not have the same sound, and accents that make the words almost completely different, it is essential, in order to produce a work of beauty, to follow the forms and patterns of the language into which the translation is being made, not the language from which the material is being taken'], Tolomei, *Cesano*, pp. 66–67.

[93] Baldassare Castiglione, *The courtier* (London: John Wolfe, 1588)

[94] Pérez Fernández and Wilson–Lee, *Translation and the Book Trade*, p. 12.

[95] Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 78. Also Kenneth Bartlett, 'Thomas Hoby, Translator, Traveler', in *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Carmine G. Di Biase (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2006), p. 123.

perfect female courtier.[96] In the same period, Henry Sidney wanted 'an epitome of the Italian tung' from Hoby.[97] Sidney may have used his copy of Tolomei's *Lettere* (1547) and Hoby's 'epitome' to develop his Italian skills, in preparation for his embassy in France in January 1553, where they both met Tolomei.[98]

Learning Italian in Siena also brought several advantages to William Barker, such as his friendship with powerful Genoese banker Benedetto Spinola and the position of secretary for Thomas FitzAlan-Howard. Thomas FitzAlan-Howard was a reader of *Il Cortegiano* in Italian and the son of Italianate poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.[99] Barker dedicated the second edition of his translation of Xenophon's *Cyropedia* to FitzAlan-Howard's son; and for his translation Barker may have also used also Domenichi's Italian version.[100] But from a certain point in Elizabethan England, the advantages became prejudices, implying conspiracy with foreign and Catholic enemies. Howard called Barker with contempt 'ane Italianfyd Inglyschemane' to defend himself from conspiracy suspicions in the Ridolfi plot case in 1572.[101] After this episode, we lose trace of Barker. The case of Barker shows how Hoby's Italian journey was a common experience for several other English individuals.

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[96] Partridge, 'Thomas Hoby'; Helen Graham–Matheson, 'Petticoats and Politics: Elisabeth Parr and Female Agency at the Early Elizabethan Court', in *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies–in–Waiting Across Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 29–50.

[97] Hoby, *The Travels*, p.78.

[98] Ibid., p. 91. A copy of Claudio Tolomei, *Delle Lettere di M. C. Tolomei Libri Sette* (Venice: G. Giolito, 1547) at the British Library in London (1085.m.2.) contains an ownership inscription on the verso of the title page reading: 'Sir henry sindeys bouk 1553/ Mary sidney'. Thanks to Elias Mazzucco at BL for this information.

[99] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, pp. 79–80.

[100] William Barker, *The bookes of Xenophon contayning the discipline, schole, and education of Cyrus the noble kyng of Persie* (London: Reyner Wolfe, 1552). The first edition (c.1552) of William Barker translation of Xenophon's Cyropaedia was dedicated to William Herbert. The second edition was dedicated to Philip Howard, son of Thomas FitzAlan–Howard. In her critical edition, Jane Grogan suggests that Barker used a Latin–Greek bilingual edition for his translation, *Xenophon's 'Cyropedia'* (Cambridge: MHRA, 2020), pp. 29, 33–34, 69.

[101] Elizabeth I's ordered the Duke of Norfolk execution for conspiracy with the Florentine banker Ridolfi in 1572. The plan was to re–establish Catholicism in England in supporting Mary I of Scotland as the legitimate Queen. A confession from his secretary Barker probably compromised the Duke, see William Cecil, A *Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in the Year 1571 to 1596*, ed. by Samuel Haynes and William Murdin (London, W. Bowyer, 1759), pp. 87–129. For Norfolk's examination and quote, p. 170.

The next section will show that the most precious cultural capital that Hoby found in the *Cortegiano* and adapted to the English context was a deeper sense of the dignity of the vernacular language. It will also show that Tolomei had a role in prompting, elaborating and promoting this message, which was the engine of the *questione della lingua* in the first part of the sixteenth century.

3. English learners and the Italian *questione della lingua*: the side of the 'moderns' and the vernacular language with Baldassare Castiglione and Claudio Tolomei (1525–1561)

In a letter closing Hoby's *The Courtier*, leading early-Tudor humanist and Cambridge tutor John Cheke employed the metaphor of languages as currency and even warned about the dangers of borrowing too much from Italian: 'I am of this opinion that our own tung should be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borowing of other tunges, wherin if we take not heed by tijm, ever borowing and never payeng, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt'.[102] Cheke's recommendation to Hoby confirms that Italian learning was so pervasive and influential in Tudor England that it could be perceived even as 'dangerous' cultural capital. The balance was negative, and it was necessary to introduce a compensation that put the English language at the centre as the main way for a revived national cultural expression. Hoby attempted to please his tutor Cheke with his translation of *Il Cortegiano* by stimulating the codification of English as a language having equal dignity to Latin and Greek and taking as a model the Italian *questione della lingua*.[103]

This section argues that Hoby's introduction to *The Courtier* adapted both Baldassare Castiglione's and also Tolomei's ideas about the linguistic and cultural juxtaposition of 'moderns

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[102] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, Zz.v^{r}.

[103] On the Italian influence on the development of European vernaculars 'dignity', see Burke, *Languages and Communities*, pp. 65–70.

vs. ancients' to the English context. An introductory reflection on English people and the Italian *questione della lingua* is necessary to understand better the possible learning practices presented in the last part of this chapter. In fact, a certain set of language-learning practices can be proposed once that it is established that students like Hoby acknowledged how Italian/Tuscan stemmed from other languages (mainly Latin) both in a natural way from its use and from interventions by a group of intellectuals.

Tolomei was probably the first to develop the concept of Tuscan as a living language in opposition to the 'dead' Latin of the 'ancients'. Therefore, the 'moderns' – Italian authors in the case of Tolomei and English authors in the case of Hoby – could and should use a living language, enriching it with new words according to their needs. With this cultural capital, Hoby participated in a European conversation that stimulated other non-Italians operating in Italy (Da Silva, Mendoza, Du Bellay) to develop their different national vernaculars (Portuguese, Spanish, and French) championing the culture of the 'moderns'. In addition, Hoby was not the only Tudor individual who took part in this conversation with some awareness of the Italian *questione della lingua* as demonstrated by the cases of Reginald Pole, William Thomas and William Barker. Although it is difficult to understand to what degree, it can be said that English people also directed the *questione della lingua*, by naming the common vernacular from the peninsula 'Italian', studying Tuscan grammar and pronunciation, and reading le *Tre Corone*, translation from the classics and 'modern' authors, such as Castiglione. Leaving the name of the vernacular aside, this outcome overlapped with Tolomei's programme.

Why does this section focus on Tolomei, when Bembo is commonly considered nowadays the 'winner' of the Italian *questione della lingua* and Castiglione the main Italian influence on sixteenth-century England? Rebuilding extensively the *questione della lingua* phases and positions is not the goal of my thesis, but it is necessary to challenge this vision to understand what pre-

Elizabethan Tudor individuals could perceive of this debate.[104] Tolomei valued himself as an intellectual peer of the two Lombards, Bembo and Castiglione, and even superior to them in certain instances.[105] During the sixteenth century illustrious contemporaries and the book market agreed with Tolomei, especially around the time of Hoby's journey in Italy. Florentine grammarian Benedetto Varchi presented how the vernacular debate had multiple protagonists and Tolomei had more credibility than Castiglione and followers than Bembo in the 1540s–50s: 'Putting aside the Count [Baldassare Castiglione] because for being not concrete enough, or too cautious and passive, I say that Trissino and Muzio [Girolamo Muzio] are followed by many many people, Tolomei and Dolce by many, and Bembo by few, even very few'.[106] It is striking that Varchi dismissed Castiglione's relevance: a possible reason may be that Castiglione did not write much about the *questione della lingua* compared to other grammarians.[107] Moreover, Bembo's purist position focusing on the fourteenth-century Florentine language of the *Tre Corone* may have been no longer popular after the mid-sixteenth century, considering the booming of vernacular editions by numerous contemporary authors. On the other hand, several sources confirm the long-lasting importance of Tolomei's ideas on language (and of his younger disciples such as Dolce) in the period that Hoby joined his lessons and started to translate *Il Cortegiano*.

For students like Hoby, in the late 1540s, Tolomei represented one of the few active protagonists of the historical peak of the debate on Italian language which had taken place in the

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[104] According to Giuseppe Patota a 'banalization' of Bembo's Prose became the model for Italian grammars after the unification of the country in 1861 until today, *La Quarta Corona. Pietro Bembo e la codificazione dell'italiano scritto* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2017), ch.7.

[105] For example, in his manuscript *Trattato della Lingua Toscana*, Tolomei criticised Bembo who wrote a sentence in his printed letters a 'foggia lombarda' (as in Lombardy) and conjugated wrongly a transitive verb in his *Rime*, see Belladonna, 'Some Linguistic Theories', p. 241.

[106] 'Lasciando dunque dall'uno delle parti o come poco risoluto, o come troppo cauto e guardingo il Conte [Baldassare Castiglione], dico che il Trissino, e il Muzio [Girolamo Muzio] sono oggi da moltissini seguitati, il Tolomei, e il Dolce da molti, il Bembo da pochi, anzi da pochissimi.' Benedetto Varchi, *L'Hercolano* (Florence: Filippo II Giunti, 1570), p. 304.

[107] Only a small part of Baldassare's *Cortegiano* is dedicated to defending his 'lombard' position and the *questione della lingua*: the second part of the dedicatory letter to Da Silva and, in Book I, chapters 28–39.

1520s in Rome.[108] Tolomei wrote his two major printed works on Tuscan within the Roman environment – *Polito* (1525) and *Cesano* (1555, written *c.* 1525). These books connect with other fundamental works in favour of the vernacular language written in Rome at that time: Pietro Bembo's *Le Prose* (1525), Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528) and Trissino's *Il Castellano* (1529).[109] Tolomei and these authors expressed as literary dialogues what was discussed in their personal meetings and letters. So by reading Tolomei's work, 'the reader of the *Cortigiano* could extract useful notes to interpret the work of Baldassarre; even if there was a divergence in certain specific opinions'.[110] In fact, despite his pro-Tuscan position, Tolomei knew that the main cultural battle was not against Bembo, Castiglione, and Trissino but against the supporters of the exclusive use of Latin (with the addition of Greek for the most learned) as for example Romolo Amaseo.[111] Tolomei offered a common platform for all other developers of an Italian language, no matter their specific stances, also by spelling out the position of other 'Italianists' and promoting intellectual networking.[112] A particular point of interest for Hoby may have been that, even if Castiglione defended the employment use of Lombard words, thus challenging Tolomei's Tuscan line, the two Italians were ultimately on the same side in defending the 'moderns' against the alleged superiority of the 'ancients' and their languages.[113]

The theory that modern authors can be equal to ancient ones championed and put into practice by Tolomei, Castiglione and other Italianists, was instrumental to Hoby and other

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[108] Ludovico Ariosto mentioned Claudio Tolomei together in the same stanza with other vernacular writers gravitating in the same Roman environments: Gian Giorgio Trissino, Giulio Camillo, Francesco Molza, Marcantonio Flaminio, and Lattanzio Tolomei, see *Orlando Furioso*, XLVI, 12, 1.

[109] Castiglione finished the third and final manuscript of Cortigiano in Rome ['In Roma in Borgo'] the 23rd of May 1524. See Amedeo Quondam, *'Questo povero Cortegiano': Castiglione, il libro, la Storia* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2000), p. 72.

[110] Uberto Motta, *Castiglione e il mito di Urbino: studi sulla elaborazione del 'Cortegiano'* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2003), p. 432.

[111] For example, Romolo Quirino Amaseo had pronounced two famous orations in favour of Latin and against vernacular: *De Latinae linguae usu retinendo*, called also *Schola I* and *Schola II*. See Peter Burke, Languages, p. 55.

[112] See for example Sperone Speroni, *I dialogi di Messer Sperone Speroni* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio, 1542) clearly indebted with Tolomei.

[113] Ibid., p. 433.

English intellectuals as a motivation to learn Italian and to develop English language and literature. Hoby stated symbolically, in order to defend this argument: 'Castilio hath followed Cicero' but 'he is not inferiour to him'.[114] Hoby embraced Castiglione's and Tolomei's vernacular model to oppose 'our learned menne' of England, who 'for the moste part holde opinion, to have the sciences in the mother tunge, hurteth memorie and hindreth lerning'.[115] Tolomei's *Polito* and *Cesano* joined with Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* defended 'the vitality of language and culture, in a never-ending process of carrying out and improvement, against the imperative assertion of Bembo on following only Petrarch's and Boccaccio's fourteenth-century Florentine vernacular. And even more against the classicists' that considered only Latin and Greek for literary endeavours.[116] This is what Hoby pointed at when he urged to look at Italy as a model: '[you] shall see at this daye, where the Sciences are most tourned into the vulgar tunge, there are best learned men. In Italye (where the most translation of authors is) not onely for Philosophy, Logike, Humanitie and all liberall Sciences bothe in Greeke and Latine […] but also for the same in the vulgar tunge with litle or no sight at al in the Latin, […]'.[117]

We cannot establish that Hoby derived his plan of action for the development of English language from Tolomei's works directly, or whether he just built on *Il Cortegiano*, but Tolomei was more articulate and persistent than Castiglione in promoting the Italian vernacular in theory and practice, also to non-Italians, and the alignment in terms of the steps in the process is striking. First of all, Tolomei provided the theoretical background that languages changed according to their speakers' different needs in time and space which is the necessary premise for the

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[114] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, A.iv^{r}. Cf. Massimiliano Morini, 'The Superiority of Classical Translation in Sixteenth–Century England: Thomas Hoby and John Harington', *Philological Quarterly*, 98.3 (2019), 273–295.
[115] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, B.i^{r}.
[116] Motta, *Castiglione*, p. 432.
[117] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, sig. A.iv^{v}.

development of any vernacular.[118] Thus, Tolomei labelled Tuscan as a 'living language' and Latin as a 'dead language', due to its tight grammatical rules and resistance to changes.[119] Considering the spoken words as a 'random' creation or a creation by 'erudites', Tolomei disregarded both the myth of the Tower of Babel, which saw the different languages as God's punishment for humanity's hubris, and the humanists' veneration for classical languages as intrinsically superior.[120] Tuscan was not a mere corruption of Latin, according to Tolomei, and it deserved dignity because it could express any knowledge and had excellent authors (mainly Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio).[121] Hoby agreed and extended the same concept to any 'native tongue' including his own, English: 'divine woorkes and excellent stile bothe in rime and prose [from Italy] geve a sufficient testimonye, […]that knowledge may be obtained in studying onely a mannes owne native tunge'.

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[118] Tolomei, *Polito* xiv[v].

[119] 'La lingua Toscana non è tra le lingue morte ma tra le vive, ancora che ne modi del parlare sia qualche differenza tra i tempi di Dante, del Petrarca, e del Boccaccio a tempi nostri [...] le lingue vive son sottoposte a varie alterazioni per rispetto della diversità de luoghi e de tempi; percioche una lingua, che sia viva, non si parla egualmente, e parimente in ogni Città, ed ogni Castello, ma con qualche differenza, ed ancora in un istesso luogo si va qualche poco variando di tempo in tempo. Le lingue morte subbito si consagrano al Tempio della Fermezza, ne si van' più variando, ne toccando, ma sempre stanno eguali [...]. Dunque la lingua Toscana essendo una de le lingue vive, e di quelle, che stando in movimento, puo' ricevere, e riceve sempre in mutazione' ['The Tuscan language is not among the dead languages, but among the living ones, even though there is some difference in the ways of speaking between the times of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio and our times [...] Living languages are subject to various changes due to the diversity of places and times; for a living language is not spoken uniformly and coherently in every city and every castle, but with some difference, and even in the same place it is slightly varying from time to time. Dead languages are immediately consecrated to the Temple of Fixedness, and they are no longer varied or touched, but always remain equal [...]. Therefore, the Tuscan language being one of the living languages, and of those that, being in motion, can receive, and always receives in change'], *Trattato della Lingua Toscana*, in Belladonna, 'Some Linguistic Theories', pp. 243–244. Tolomei's student Alessandro Citolini articulated, and modified in favour of 'Italian', the concept of 'living language' in the *Lettera di Alessandro Citolini in difesa de la lingua volgare* (Venezia, per Francesco Marcolini, 1540), see Glynn R. Faithfull, 'The Concept of 'Living Language' in Cinquecento Vernacular Philology', *The Modern Language Review*, 48.3 (1953), 278–292; Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 205–209.

[120] *Polito*, p. XL[r]. See also Stefano Gensini, 'Elements of a Philosophy of Language in Claudio Tolomei's *Il Cesano de la lingua Toscana*', in *History of Linguistics 2008: Selected papers from the eleventh International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences*, ed. by Gerda Hassler and Gesina Volkmann (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011).

[121] *Cesano*, pp. 45–55. Tolomei opposed the view by, for example, Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) who theorised that Italian vernacular was a corruption of Latin due to barbaric invasions. See Giuseppe Marcellino, 'Latin and the Vernacular in Biondo Flavio's Thought and Works: a Study with a New Critical Edition of the Correspondence with the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza', in *Neo–Latin and the Vernaculars: Bilingual Interactions in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Florian Schaffenrath and Alexander Winkler (Laiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 11–35.

Once Hoby had declared the dignity of the vernacular/English following Tolomei's *Cesano*, he proceeded with an assessment of the current situation and a call for a coordinated and selfless national effort by English intellectuals:

> learnyng is yll bestowed where others bee not profited by it. As I therefore have to my smal skil bestowed some labour about this piece of woorke, even so coulde I wishe with al my hart, profounde learned men in the Greeke and Latin shoulde make the lyke proofe, and everye manne store the tunge accordinge to hys knowledge and delite above other men, in some piece of learnynge, that we alone of the worlde maye not bee styll counted barbarous in our tunge.[122]

Similarly, Tolomei admitted a momentary inferiority of vernacular book production when he wrote *Il Cesano* around 1525, so he urged intellectuals to write in Tuscan about all disciplines, so as to equal and surpass the knowledge within Latin and Greek books.[123] Translating Latin and Greek classic books was an initial part of this process, in which the moderns were destined to surpass the ancient. Within a few years, Tolomei's programme was advancing at full speed. Whilst assembling an ideal library for his student Grimaldi in the 1540s, Tolomei paired books in classical languages with their vernacular counterparts in the form of both translations and 'modern' development on the specific subject.[124] Eventually, Hoby stated in 1561 that Italian had become equal to Latin and Greek as a third language of culture, covering all disciplines with new authors and translations from the classics, and aimed to reach a similar goal with his fellow Englishmen. Once again, Hoby followed Tolomei's footprints with the idea that modern authors with a collective effort can build and record the use (Hoby used the verb 'to store') of a language.

Hoby was not the first English person to notice that Italian was a key to accessing ancient and new knowledge through the translation of the classics, imitation, or new original editions.

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[122] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, sig. B.i^{r}.
[123] Tolomei, *Cesano*, pp. 53–54.
[124] See Hobson, 'La Biblioteca di Giovanni Battista Grimaldi'.

For example, Henry Howard (*c.* 1516–1547) used a Tuscan translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* as the main source for his translation into English demonstrating an early impact of Tolomei's programme of *vernacolizzazione* in England.[125] In fact, this Tuscan translation of *Aeneid* (Book II) was by the young cardinal Ippolito d'Este de' Medici, a pupil of Tolomei in Rome.[126] In addition to Hoby, William Thomas also envisaged a similar path for the English language, promoting the use of vernacular instead of Latin in religious matters and in education as the Italians had done.[127] Thomas' introduction to *Principal Rules* (written 1548) confirms that Tolomei's invocation to Italian writers was satisfied in the1540s and more was to come in the next decades:

> As experience sheweth, how much those [Italian letters] have flourished, remaignyng yet (as they dooe) in great estimacion: so seemeth this nowe to growe as third towardes them. Four beside the auctours of this tyme (whereof there bee manie woorthies) you shall almoste finde no parte of the sentences, no part of any woorthie historie, no parte of eloquence, nor any parte of fine poesie, that ye have not in the Italian tongue. So that if the Italians folowe other tenne yeres the diligence, that in these tenne yeres passed they have used: surely their tongue will be as plentifull as anie of the other.[128]

Thomas' introduction communicates a sense that Italian is going through an exciting expansion, offering a vast range of old and new ideas, and at the same time encourages John Tamworth to learn Italian 'Assuryng you, that whereas bothe the Greek and Latine require long tyme and studie, the Italian is in short space and easilie obteigned'.[129] This helped to rediscover classical sources and at the same time develop proficiency in Latin (and Greek) but also offered the option to by-pass learning these classical languages in favour of Italian. In fact, Hoby's friend

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[125] On Henry Howard and his Italian translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, see IV.5.
[126] Ippolito de' Medici, *Il secondo di Vergilio in lingua volgare* (Castello: Antonio Mazzocchi & Niccolò Gucci, 1539).
[127] On 'Thomas's championing of the English language' see Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), pp. 104–142. In particular for William Thomas's introduction of his translation of John de Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera* in 1553 see also Sergio Rossi, 'Un 'Italianista' nel Cinquecento inglese', p. 308; Jonathan Paul Klauke, 'Grasping at Stars: A Study of the Translation and Transmission of Medieval Astronomical Knowledge, 750–1600' (unpublished dissertation Central Michigan University, 2014), p. 241.
[128] Thomas, *Principal Rules*, 'Letter to John Tamworth'.
[129] Ibid.

Barker in his *The fearfull fansies of the Florentine couper* (1568), a translation from Gelli's *I capricci del Bottaio* (1548), presented the Italian *questione della lingua* in about ten pages starting with a rhetorical question: 'Is not the vulgar toung as apt to utter his conceipts, as the Latin and other?'.[130]

Other English people witnessed and participated in the Italian *questione della lingua*, starting from the issue of the relationship between Italian and Latin. An early example was Oxford and Padua *alumnus* Reginald Pole, who in 1521 received a report on a dialogue defending the dignity of Italian against Latin.[131] This dialogue took place in Bembo's house and was the product of the Roman debate, in which Tolomei was a protagonist.[132] Pole, therefore, acknowledged early on that the *questione della lingua* was a major topic of discussion in his network. Mayer argues that Pole did not learn the language until 1543, but the relationship between Pole and the Italian vernacular deserves to be investigated further.[133] Pole, once cardinal, wrote letters in Italian although a secretary polished his 'rather crude' originals.[134] Even more strikingly, Pole wrote an overlooked dialogue-treatise on the Pope's duties in Italian during the papal election (between December 1549 and January 1550).[135] The introduction explains the two reasons for this choice. First, Italian was the language used for the actual oral dialogue that inspired the writing. And secondly, Pole thought that using Italian, instead of Latin, allowed him to focus better on the message of the

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130 Barker, *The fearfull fansies*, 40^{v}–49^{r}.

131 The professor in Padua Leonico Tomeo reported on this dialogue in a letter to Pole in Thomas F. Mayer, *The Correspondence of Cardinal Reginald Pole. A calendar, 1518–1546: beginnings to legate of Viterbo*, 4 vols (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017), I, pp. 42–43; Daniela De Bellis, 'La vita e l'ambiente di Niccolò Leonico Tomeo', *Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova*, 13 (1980), pp. 63–64; Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors*, pp. 115–116; Allison L. Steenson, 'Book Exchange, Intellectual Friendship and Anglo–Italian Relations in the Padua Circle of Reginald Pole and Leonico Tomeo', in '*Fair Padua, nursery of Arts': Shakespeare and Padua*, Cahiers Elisabethains 112, ed. by Alessandra Petrina (2023), forthcoming.

132 Marostica appears as a literary character discussing with Tolomei also in Valeriano's dialogue on Italian language *Dialogo della volgar lingua* (1529).

133 Mayer, *The Correspondence*, p. 206.

134 Mayer, *The Correspondence*, p. 36. In particular, see p. 307 where Pole apologised for his Italian 'so ill written, inept and barbarous'. Other examples: p. 77, p. 81. See also idem, *The Correspondence of Cardinal Reginald Pole. A calendar, 1547–1554: a power in Rome*, II, p. 71.

135 Thomas Frederick Mayer, *A reluctant author: Cardinal Pole and his manuscripts*, vol. 84 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999), pp. 75–80.

words and less on the elegance of the style.[136] So an English cardinal who 'it was thowght, […], shulde have bine pope', according to Hoby who was in Rome during the election, was preferring Italian to Latin for personal and public communication. This is a statement confirming that English people listened to the 'Italianists' and tried to use some themes of *questione della lingua* to their own advantage.

In terms of the name and varieties of Italian, English authors showed more flexibility that Italian grammarians. In his introduction of *The Courtier*, Hoby addressed the concept of vernacular in general as 'the vulgar tunge' which echoes Bembo's proposed definition. But when presenting the original language of Castiglione's *Cortigiano*, Hoby defined it as an 'Italian.'[137] In a similar way, William Thomas defined his P*rincipal Rules* as an 'Italian grammer'. Therefore, Hoby and Thomas seem to share Trissino's opinion on the name of the language. But this does not mean that Hoby lacked awareness, at least partially, of the complex linguistic scenario of the peninsula. In the body of the translation, Hoby did follow Castiglione and his use of the terms 'Tuscan', 'Florentine', 'Lumbard', 'Bergamask', etc.

Thomas' dictionary meant to support 'the better understandynge of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante' showing a respect for the Florentine origin of the language. However, in his *History of Italy* (1549), Thomas seems to agree with Castiglione that the common language of the peninsula is the one spoken in the courts around the countries and so the name should be 'cortigiana': 'yet the tongue you shall not lyghtlie discerne of what parte of the countreye any gentilmen is, because that being children they are brought up in the courtisane onely'.[138] This definition made the 'cortigiana' a tool for mobility and cultural exchanges, a language that Englishmen of the reformation such as William Thomas could safely approach because it did not legitimise a

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[136] Adriano Prosperi, *L'eresia del Libro Grande* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2000), p. 183.
[137] 'where the Sciences are most tourned into the vulgar tunge'; 'full perfection in this our tung that it hath in the Italian', Hoby, *The Courtyer*, A.iv^{v}, B.i^{v}.
[138] Thomas, *History,* 3^{v}.

particular region, national governments or political-religious entities. Other national languages came with more obvious strings attached. The French language reminded English people of their turbulent relationships with their continental neighbour; Latin was the language of the detested Catholic Church; and Spanish represented Charles V's expansionism and, during the marriage between Mary Tudor and Philip of Spain, the threat of foreign administrators in England.

However, the Italian peninsula was far from being a united political entity, so in certain contexts it was 'safe' for English people to refer to the language as 'Italian' and praise it. In fact: 'Historically standard varieties have been promoted by, first, severing them from any ties with specific places or groups – by presenting them as neutral or colourless – and, second, by associating these now 'neutral' varieties with the pursuit of a range of desirable, 'modern', qualities like emancipation, autonomy, civilization, and knowledge'.[139] Trissino's character in Tolomei's *Cesano* argued that around Italy there was just one language using the word 'sì' as affirmation.[140] Trissino wanted to call this communal language with highly intelligible regional variations 'italiano'. Hoby, in the introduction to his *The Courtier,* used the adjective 'Italian' as William Thomas did in the title of his grammar. Overall, Tudor people acknowledged the Florentine origins of the three canonical authors (Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio) and the centrality of Tuscan to provide shared norms (for example, pronunciation and spelling), as Tolomei proposed, but the general trend was to call the common language from the peninsula 'Italian'.

For Tolomei, this was not just an abstract intellectual debate. In fact, he developed and legitimised his position in the *questione della lingua* in favour of Tuscan by teaching it and promoting it to Italians and non-Italians. He was one of the 'maestri' of the 'Thosca' language

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[139] Vogl and De Wilde, 'Teachers as foreign Language Makers'. The quotes are from Jürgen Jaspers, 'The Transformative Limits of Translanguaging'*, Language & Communication*, 58 (2018), 1–10 (p. 8).
[140] *De vulgari eloquentia*, I, 8, 6–8. Also in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, the character of Count Ugolino defined Italy 'il bel paese dove il sì suona' (The beautiful country where sì resonates), in *Inferno* XXXIII.

who built a 'respectable position in Rome' according to his grammarian friend Niccolò Liburnio.[141] In 1518, the Tuscan Pope Clement VII had nominated Tolomei as tutor for his nephew and future cardinal Ippolito de' Medici (1511–1535).[142] In Rome, Tolomei taught Tuscan also to less prestigious pupils than Ippolito de' Medici and gave 'public lessons and had many literary disputes where one earned glory simply being his opponent and losing them'.[143] In his *Polito* and *Cesano*, Tolomei expressed theories stemming from his discussion with other Italianists such as Bembo, Trissino and Castiglione, but also from his teaching practice to non-Tuscans and non-Italians.

Standing out among other grammarians, Tolomei was concerned with English learners' needs when addressing the incompatibility between the Latin alphabet and Tuscan orthography:

> If someone came from Germany, or England, and understood nothing of our Tuscan language: although acquainted with this old [Latin] alphabet how could he read Dante or Boccaccio? Of course, if he knew his letter he should know how to read. But because he would not understand, he would not be able to read.[144]

Tolomei's *Polito* urged a reassessment of the alphabet to match orthography and phonetics, so that also non-Italians could read the major Tuscan authors alone. The example of English and German students probably highlighted that these nationalities had stressed pronunciation issues because of their native languages interference. The solution was the codification of a specific

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[141] '[...] in essa Roma certi altri conosciuti furono da me in diversi tempi della Thosca favella maestri non plebei divenuti' [' [...] in Rome I met in different times others who were teachers of Tuscan language [and they] did not became poor [in doing this profession]'], Niccolò Liburnio, *Le Tre Fontane di messer Nicolo Liburnio in tre libbri divise, sopra la grammatica, et eloquenza di Dante, Petrarcha, et Boccaccio.* (Venice: G. de Gregori, 1526), fol. 2[r].

[142] Sbaragli, p. 38.

[143] Bartolomeo Carli Piccolomini, *Orazione in difesa di M.C. Tolomei* (1529) in Sbaragli, p. 11. On the author and Tolomei, see Salvatore Lo Re, 'Bartolomeo Carli Piccolomini: testimone e interprete della crisi senese (1525–1531)', *Transalpina*, 17 (2014) <https://doi.org/10.4000/transalpina.1484> .

[144] 'Che se uno il quale de la Alamagna, o d'Inghilterra fosse, er nulla de la nostra Toscana lingua intedesse: sapendo questo vecchio alphabeto [Latino] volesse leggere Dante o'l Boccaccio come farebbe egli? certo conoscendo le lettere doverebbe ancora saper leggere. Non di meno perche non intenderebbe, gli avvenirebbe ancora che non potria leggere', Tolomei, *Polito*, p. XXVII[v].

alphabet and spelling for the Tuscan language to make it 'written as it is spoken'.[145] According to Tolomei, the creation of an alphabet that could allow everyone, non-Italians included, to understand and pronounce Tuscan correctly was a concern of the Sienese *accademia* as far back as the 1510s. So from Siena, Tolomei brought an emphasis into Tuscan pronunciation and pedagogical concerns for English learners to the conversation on the *la questione della lingua* in Rome in 1520s. By also promoting Tuscan pedagogy with non-Italians, Tolomei aimed to convince the other 'Italianists' that 'Tuscan' should have been the name for the common language of the Italian peninsula.

Hoby's *The Courtier* discussed the relationship between Latin and Italian vernaculars in such a way that it seems to follow Tolomei's project to provide the 'moderns' with a language functional to their time. This seems confirmed by the fact that Tolomei was a pioneer in historical linguistics and non-Italians that learned Tuscan with him, such as Hoby, were essential to legitimate and contribute to his project. The fact that English people, and other non-Italians, studied Italian does not only highlight the importance acquired by this language, but it also contributed to shape the discussion on the language itself. In other words, Italians needed to learn the same language that non-Italians, such as Thomas in *History of Italy* (1549), recognised in the Italian 'cortigiana' (or in other texts 'Tuscan' or 'Italiano') as a language for business, diplomatic, political communication and cultural advantage.[146] A similar phenomenon might happen to contemporary native British English speakers facing American English or 'International English' as global means of communication.[147] Also, sixteenth-century linguists around Europe felt that the Italian language was not a final product, but in evolution and on the

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[145] '[...] doversi scrivere come si parla, et far che li scritti siano purissima imagine de le tue parole', ibid., xiv[r].
[146] *The historie of Italie* f. 3v. See also Gallagher, 'Ungrateful Tuscans', 407.
[147] On English as a contemporary international language and the notion of the 'worldliness' of English, see Alastair Pennycook and Christopher N. Candlin, *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* (London: Routledge, 2017).

verge of being 'as plentifull' as the classical languages, according to Thomas' *Principal Rules*.[148] Although more receptive than twenty-century scholarship believed, English people could not understand every linguistic and cultural nuance of the peninsula, and for this reason they welcomed and favoured with their learning an Italian *koine,* in a joint effort with Italian theorists such as Bembo, Castiglione and Tolomei. And the Italians, as did Claudio Tolomei, could even use the point of view of an English student of Italian to guide the codification of the language.

However, it would be reductive to simplify Tolomei's lesson as a disregard of the classical culture and languages in favour of the Tuscan vernacular. The next section will show how Tolomei's cultural programme promoted a new understanding and transmission of Greek and Latin heritage and languages through the Italian vernacular. This benefitted also English individuals such as Hoby, Barker, John Shute and Roger Ascham.

[148] Thomas, *Principal Rules*, under 'To my verie good friende Master Tamwoorth'.

4. Tuscan as a gate to Latin literature and vice versa: 'all roads lead to Rome'

Numerous times Tolomei expressed his admiration for the city of Rome and encouraged foreigners to visit it for the architectural novelties paired with its inspiring ancient heritage. He promoted the exploration of the city of Rome by creating 'a connection between the rules of Vitruvius and the examples of the works'.[149] So we can imagine Tolomei in 1549 prompting Hoby to visit the 'sundrie faire antiquities to be seene within Roome' and perhaps the development of his Italianate mansion in Bisham.[150] Barker and Hoby clearly reacted to the fascination for the Latin-Greek heritage that they could encounter in the peninsula, but also to the vernacular language sharing the same spaces. For example, Hoby's diary recorded a collection of Latin epitaphs and monumental inscriptions of the Roman period, whilst Barker printed a book on the subject.[151] Tolomei himself gave indications on how to create such a book 'of all the inscriptions, found in Rome, or around Rome, displaying laws, decorations, tombs and other memories'.[152] Once in Tuscany, Barker also recorded the remains of Italian vernacular culture as, for example, the epitaphs dedicated to Dante and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in Florence; and the one for Boccaccio 'Tuscae eloquentiae patris' ['father of the Tuscan language'] in Certaldo.

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[149] 'un collegamento de le regole di Vitruvio con gli esempii de l'opere', Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82^{v}.

[150] On architecture and Hoby see Cinzia Maria Sicca, 'Portraying the Courtier's Image: the Tomb Effigy of Thomas Hoby', in *Marks of Identity: New Perspective on Studies in Sixteenth-Century Italian Sculpture*, ed. by Dimitrios Zikos, (Boston: The Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum and Periscope Publishing, 2012), pp. 156–169; Kenneth R Bartlett, 'Travel and Translation: The English and Italy in the Sixteenth Century', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 14 (1996), 493–504. Moreover, Hoby has a copy of Leon Battista Alberti*, L'architettura* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550) that is based on Vitruvius' *De Architectura*. See, Roberts, 'Books Owned', p. 162.

[151] Wiliam Barker, *Epitaphia et inscriptiones lugubres* (London: John Cawood, 1554). The epitaphs in the collection are from Rome, Naples, Padua, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Certaldo, Siena, Alba Longa, Nola, Chiusi, Aversa, Nocera and Capua. For epitaph in Hoby, see *The Travels*, p. 9, 36, 41, 45, 58, 91, 114, 118.

[152] 'di tutte le iscrizzioni, che siano in Roma, o intorno a Roma, cosi di leggi, come d'ornamenti, e di sepolcri, e d'atre memorie [..]', Tolomei, *Lettere*, 83^{v}–84^{r}.

English individuals could see how Tolomei's interest in Latin and Greek textual and material heritage, connected with and enhanced his promotion of Tuscan.

This section will show that Tolomei's promotion of the Tuscan language did not aim to eliminate the study of Latin and Greek. His approach was consistent with Hoby's, when he declared to study Italian and Latin together: 'Here [Padua] I applied myself as well to obtain the Italian tongue as to have a farther entrance in the Latin'.[153] Several of Tolomei's projects showed that Tuscan, Latin and Greek cultures were closely intertwined, and these languages worked in synergy to better express meanings to learned individuals. On the other hand, he believed that Tuscan was the ideal mean to spread this knowledge to the largest number of people. Two of Tolomei's multilingual and multicultural projects were the translation of the books by Roman architect and military engineer Vitruvius and the creation of new vernacular poetry on a classical basis. These two projects had an impact upon English individuals as well showing that Italian vernacular learning could favour a joined Latin learning and discussion on themes of classical origin. It would be limiting to conclude that classicist trends in England (such as learning classical languages, translating from classical authors and using classical themes and iconography) are the signs of indifference to foreign modern languages including Italian.

Tolomei revealed his dissatisfaction with previous vernaculars translations of Vitruvius and proposed to make a new one, together with a Tuscan vocabulary: 'Matters regarding architecture are very popular and widely practiced nowadays among men who have little knowledge of the Latin language, and likewise among sculptors, painters, master carpenters, and vulgar architects [...] It will therefore be of benefit to the world to provide a new translation of Vitruvius in the beautiful Tuscan language [...]. It will add to this [work] another useful work,

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[153] Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 8.

making a Tuscan vocabulary to order the alphabet of the matter of Architecture'.[154] Atanagi called this collective project 'Accademia de lo studio de l'architettura' ['Academy for the study of Architecture'], better known today as *Accademia Vitruviana*, focusing on translating and printing Vitruvius' *De architectura libri decem*.[155] Before his Tuscan translation and vocabulary, Tolomei wanted to clarify and comment the most difficult parts in Vitruvius in a Latin critical edition, complemented by a vocabulary of Latin and Greek.[156] This ambitious project encapsulates how the Italian vernacular earned a place next to classical language, not in competition, but as a natural heir of the same cultural line. At the same time it shows how the vernacular was meant to be the connection between the knowledge of the past and its practical application in the future.

In fact, this philological work on Vitruvius and observation of the ancient ruins was meant to prompt political, propagandistic and military outcomes and people from several nationalities, English included, explored and benefitted from the work of Tolomei's *accademia* on architecture.

Tolomei explained the benefit of this project in a letter to Francis I of France in 1543.[157] Moreover, thanks to this technical knowledge Tolomei theorised the creation of a strategic city on mount Argentario and proposed the project to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza as a representative of Charles V.[158] Mendoza even joined the meetings of Tolomei's *Accademia*

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154 'Le cose d'architettura sono disiderate assai e praticate oggidì da huomini che non hanno molta intelligenza di lingua latina, si come scoltori, dipintori, maestri di legname architettori volgari. [...] Farassi dunque ancor questo utile al mondo, traducendo nuovamente Vitruvio in bella lingua Toscana [...]. Aggiungerassi a questa una altra utile opera, facendo un vocabolario Toscano per ordine d'Alfabeto de le cose de l'Architettura', Tolomei, *Lettere*, fols 82r–v.

155 Dionigi Atanagi in *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani*, I, (Venezia: 1565), c. Ll1v.

156 Tolomei, *Lettere*, 81r–v.

157 Ibid., 5r. On Vitruvius as military engineer see Serafina Cuomo, 'Skills and Virtues in Vitruvius Book 10', in *War in Words. Transformations of War from Antiquity to Clausewitz*, ed. by Marco Formisano and Hartmut Böhme (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 309–332; Marco Giorgio Bevilacqua and Kim Williams, 'Alberti and Military Architecture in Transition', *Nexus Network Journal*, 16.3 (2014), 523–541.

158 Rosa López Torrijos, 'Imágenes, textos y personajes en torno a la propuesta de una ciudad ideal presentada a España en el siglo XVI', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte,* 11 (1999), 93–100.

Vitruviana ('of Vitruvius').[159] These possible practical applications raised attention in England, where Italian architects and military engineers worked on civil and military constructions projects (e.g. Girolamo da Treviso, Giovanni Portinari, Jacopo Aconcio).[160] For the same reason, in 1550 John Dudley sent John Shute to gather 'sight of Monumentes of Italy'. A result of this journey was Shute's *First and Chief Grounds of Architecture* (1563), based on the work of Tolomei's *Accademia Vitruviana*.[161] This is another example of the cultural capital that learning Italian gave Hoby, Shute and the other English speakers in Italy.

English individuals also used the Italian language and the vernacular culture as a tool in dealing with classical languages and literature with Tolomei's proposed 'new poetry' – of which the anthology of vernacular verses following the classical metrical system *Versi et regole de la nuova poesia toscana* (Roma, 1539) – was the manifesto and a practical guide.[162] The high level of language proficiency and cultural awareness of some English individuals – such as Roger Ascham – allowed them to interact with cutting edge intellectual debates in Italian. This is particularly extraordinary considering that Tolomei's proposed reform of poetry was ultimately a failure and never became part of the Italian 'canon'. This anthology is another demonstration that Tolomei did not intend to erase the Latin-Greek heritage. He meant to revitalise it through Tuscan. On the one hand, this was criticism against Bembo, who conceived vernacular poetry only through rigid Petrarchan lenses.[163] On the other hand, this represented an 'elitist' reaction against the 'mainstream' style of vernacular poetry that allowed anyone to write verses. Even less learned

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[159] Elisa Andretta and José Pardo–Tomás, 'Books, Plants, Herbaria: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and His Circle in Italy (1539–1554)', *History of Science*, 58.1 (2020), 3–27.
[160] Maurice Howard, 'Craftsmen and Courtiers: Italian Military Expertise at the Court of Henry VIII', in *The Anglo–Florentine Renaissance*, 265–280; Walton, 'State Building through Building for the State'; Pouncey, 'Girolamo da Treviso'; White Jr., 'Jacopo Aconcio as an Engineer'.
[161] Other examples of work that stemmed from the work of Tolomei's *accademia* for the study of architecture are: Guillaume Philandrier's *Annotationes* (Rome: 1544), a comment on Vitruvius, and Daniele Barbaro's *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio* (Venice: 1556).
[162] Claudio Tolomei, *Versi et regole de la nuova poesia toscana* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1539). See also Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei*, pp. 53–69.
[163] Carlo Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della Letteratura italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 2015), p. 174.

people could compose questionable rhymes, thanks to the beautiful sounds of Tuscan, complained Tolomei and others.[164] The introduction to *Versi et regole* declares the practical intent of the work, encouraging readers to practice the 'new poetry' through imitation of the anthology's verses and referencing Tolomei's dialogues for more theoretical explanations. The second part of the book was a simplified manual with didactic intentions. In fact, a dozen pages contain a list of the metrical rules employed to build the compositions and referencing examples in the anthology. The book has a pedagogical section that advanced learners of Italian language could find particularly stimulating, such as Diego Hurtado De Mendoza who had a copy in his library.[165]

Indeed, Tolomei's 'new' approach to vernacular poetry using classical metres had an echo in England. Many authors who participated in this experiment – Marcantonio Flaminio, Cosimo Pallavicino, Francesco Molza, Alessandro Citolini, and Felice Figliucci – were known in England.[166] Roger Ascham voiced the same elitist criticism observing that imitating Petrarchan models caused 'ignorant heads' to fill the 'shoppe in London […] of lewd and rude rymes'.[167] Ascham exhorted his readers to find the right models naming Tolomei's pupil Felice Figliucci as example. Ascham praised Figliucci because he elucidated his precepts with examples drawn from Homer and Euripides, 'not after the Rymes of Petrarke' but 'with like feete and quantitie of sillables, as he found them before in the Greke tonge: exhortyng earnestlie all the Italian nation,

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[164] Sixteenth century Italian manuals on poetry praised Tolomei's innovation against a more easy and less prestigious composition style. See for example, Girolamo Ruscelli, *Del modo di comporre in versi nella lingua italiana* (Venice: Sessa, 1563) and Luca Contile, *Ragionamento*, (Pavia: Girolamo Bartoli, 1574).

[165] Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, p. 196. On the Italian influence on Mendoza classic poetry see, Irving P. Rothberg, 'Hurtado de Mendoza and the Greek epigrams', *Hispanic Review*, 26.3 (1958), 171–187.

[166] Cosimo Pallavicino served Tomas Wolsey, see Chiara Quaranta, 'Pallavicino, Giambattista', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 80 (2014). Also, William Barker considered Francesco Molza 'a famous poet' in his *De nobility of women*, fol. 79.

[167] Roger Ascham, *The English works of Roger Ascham, …containing, I. A report of the affairs of Germany,…II. Toxophilus,…III. The schoolmaster,… IV. Letters to Queen Elizabeth and others, … With notes and observations* (Gale Ecco, 2010), p. 329.

to leave of their rude barbariousnesse in ryming […]'.[168] Another possible impact of Tolomei's poetry in England was Surrey first sonnet in the Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557), which resembles an 'audacious example' of 'Claudio Tolomei's sestina doppia […], which makes do with just two rhyme-words throughout'.[169] Tolomei's innovation in poetry left traces in English literature to the end of the century, with the classical experiments by the Italianate Sidney and Spencer circle, which enjoyed Gabriel Harvey's theoretical support, and Samuel Daniel who mentioned Tolomei's attempted reform in his *A Defense of Ryme* (1603).[170] This shows how English individuals considered Tolomei's works for language-learning and as examples in the use of classic sources to explore the possibilities of the vernacular language.

This section offered some context to explain why Hoby declared he wanted to study Italian and Latin at the same time. The cultural climate that Tolomei promoted did not envision a competition between Tuscan and the classical languages. On the contrary, the example of Vitruvius' translation shows that classical languages opened a mine of possibilities in terms of knowledge that the vernacular could transmit to a wider group of people. But this process worked also in the opposite direction, once an updated bilingual dictionary had established a reciprocal relationship: the vernacular helped to learn the classical languages and interpret the original thoughts of the 'ancients' better. In the geographical space of Italy, the Latin heritage coexisted with the novelty of the 'moderns' in what also seemed a logical continuum to English visitors such as Hoby, Barker and William Thomas. This overlapping of past and future is clear in the case of Tolomei's 'new poetry', which Ascham and other Tudor individuals appreciated in its principles, based on ancient classical meters in juxtaposition with the more recent vernacular style

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168 Ascham, *The scholemaster,* pp. 327–332.
169 Christopher J. Warner, *The Making and Marketing of Tottel's Miscellany, 1557: Songs and Sonnets in the Summer of the Martyrs' Fires* (London: Routledge, 2016). Tolomei's sestina doppia is in, *Rime di diuersi nobili huomini et eccellenti poeti nella lingua thoscana. Libro secondo* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito, 1547), 6v–7v.
170 Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England: Studies* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1902), pp. 357–359. See also Carlo Ginzburg, 'Selfhood as Otherness: Constructing English Identity in the Elisabethan Age', *Historein*, 2 (2000), 31–46.

of rhyming. The next section will discuss what the relationship between Latin and the vernacular meant in practice for Tuscan teaching and learning within Tolomei's 'syllabus'.

5. Towards a hypothetical syllabus of Tolomei's teaching and connected learning practices

What was the 'syllabus' of Tolomei's lectures that Hoby's followed in Padua? Tolomei's works on language and letters give hints about his approach, methods and practice when teaching Tuscan. Tolomei never explicitly stated it, but he implied that non-Italians studied Tuscan as Italians did. Other grammarians suggested the same more explicitly, for example Rinaldo Corso and Pierfrancesco Giambullari.[171] In terms of the minimum number of lessons that Hoby may have followed, Tolomei declared that he could explain his alphabet, orthography and grammar in 'at least ten days'.[172] Hoby wrote that he 'visited' Tolomei's lectures in Padua suggesting that lessons took place in a location where other students attended and he could pass by.[173] Perhaps Hoby visited Tolomei's house which was always open to students and 'very crafty scholars' ['Scolari ingegnosissimi'] according to a former student of Tolomei: Felice Figliucci.[174] Figliucci portrayed the atmosphere of Tolomei's house during ten lectures in the vernacular (one a day for ten consecutive days) on Aristotle's ethics. Before the lessons on Aristotle, Tolomei was often busy in discussing other topics with visitors such as 'continence and virtue' and laws regarding duels and conflicts.[175] Hoby and other Englishmen would have benefitted from both planned and improvised lectures or 'ragionamenti' – dialogues where the tutor presented his arguments and

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171 Rinaldo Corso, *Fondamenti del parlar thoscano* (Venezia: [Melchiorre I Sessa] per Comin da Trino, 1549); Pierfrancesco Giambullari, *De la lingua che si parla et scriue in Firenze* (Florence: Torentino, 1552). Giambullari targetted in the introduction 'I forestieri almanco e i giovanetti che bramano di saper regolatamente parlare e scrivere questa dolcissima lingua nostra' ['The strangers at least and the young people that desire to know how to speak and write accordingly this our very sweet language']. See Palermo and Poggiogalli, *Grammatiche di Italiano*, p. 10. Furthermore, it has to be highlighted that Giambullari's books transferred into vernacular the structure of Thomas Linacre's Latin grammar, *De emendata structura Latini sermonis* (1524).

172 Tolomei, *Lettere*, 223^{v}.

173 Beside Claudio Tolomei's lectures Thomas Hoby 'visited' the lectures of Lazzaro Bonamico in 'humanitie', Girolamo Tornielli ('Turnellus'. 1499–1570) Girolamo Cagniolo ('Caniolus'. 1492–1551) in Civil law, and of Bernardino Tomitano in Logic, Hoby, *The Travels*, pp. 8–9.

174 Felice Figliucci, *Della filosofia morale libri dieci* (Venice: 1552), p. 10^{v}.

175 Ibid., pp. 307^{r}, 408^{r}.

exempla answering students' questions. Tolomei was also available to support language-learning from a distance by letter, discussing linguistic topics and selecting learning and reading material. For example, in 1546, he was delighted to know that Marguerite of France had fallen in love with Tuscan and planned to send her more works in prose or verse.[176] This flexibility and availability to discuss various topics in Italian probably made Tolomei an invaluable source of linguistic and cultural learning for Hoby and others.

The next section of the chapter will build Tolomei's hypothetical syllabus, presenting what he thought about alphabet, orthography, grammar and reading. Additionally, Tolomei's insistence on the 'uso' ['use'] of language could have inspired Hoby to travel 'in search of Italian', as Dante did in *De Vulgare Eloquentia*.[177] Dealing with the *questione della lingua* in theory with readings, lectures, and learned conversation and in practice by travelling and day-to-day encounters along the Italian peninsula was part of Hoby's and other Englishmen's experience of Italian learning.

5.1 Alphabet, orthography and pronunciation

To express the urgent need of a reform of the alphabet, Tolomei portrayed German and English learners as puzzled when facing Tuscan readings. Reading in the early modern period often meant 'reading aloud', so this activity was related to pronunciation.[178] Claudio Tolomei's pedagogical plan and, at the same time, normative solution to the *questione della lingua* was: 'we

[176] Tolomei, *Lettere*, p. 217[r].
[177] Dante identified his search of the vernacular language in different places of Italy with the metaphor of a hunter searching the legendary panther of the medieval bestiary. According to this tradition, the panther released a charming, sweet perfume that Dante could sense everywhere in the Italian peninsula without finding finally the panther, *De vulgari eloquentia*, Libro I, cap. 16
[178] Tolomei, *Lettere*, 223[v]. See Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: OUP, 2022).

have to write as we speak and not speak in one way and write in another'.[179] Tolomei's *Il Polito* (1525) signalled the urgency to provide Italians and non-Italians with a specific alphabet for Tuscan, eliminating 'useless letters' (y, x, k, q, h) and adding new ones. In this dialogue, set in Siena, Tolomei presented the letters of the alphabet, their union in syllables and their pronunciation as fundamental, finite and unique elements of any language. He complained that the alphabet in use for the vernacular was derived from the Latin alphabet, so did not represent certain sounds of Tuscan and retained useless letters. The uncertain meaning of certain words worried Tolomei who brought the example of Petrarch using the word 'mele' meaning 'honey' which can be confused with 'apples'.[180] Tolomei thought that Tuscan spelling was not unequivocally 'manifesting and representing' the distinction between similar but different words. Readers had to compensate, deciding the meaning and pronunciation of the words thanks to their 'intelletto' ['intelligence'] and 'dottrina' ['knowledge']. But this process was wrong according to Tolomei: it was like 'to support an unstable and run-down house with a prop represented by [readers'] discretion'.[181] Using another metaphor, Tolomei described the absurd situation of requiring foreign students to understand the meaning and afterwards adapt their reading as 'To put the cart before the horses'.[182] An appropriate alphabet, different from the 'old [Latin] alphabet', was therefore the first step towards the standardisation of Tuscan spelling, necessary for unambiguous reading comprehension, pronunciation, and writing.

In his introduction to *Il Polito*, Tolomei displays a historical reconstruction of the 'invention of letters' which is writing and reading. This is an occasion to discuss advantages and

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[179] 'noi dobbiamo cosi scrivere come parlare et non parlare in un modo et in altro modo scrivere', Tolomei, *Polito*, p. XXIII^{v}.
[180] 'El mele amaro, et addolcir l'assentio', Petrarch, *Canzoniere* (215) in *Polito*, p. XVII^{r}.
[181] ' […] per se stessa non si manifesta: et che non rappresenta distintamente le voci nostre, ma bisogna aiutarla con l'intelletto, et con la dottrina, et sostenerla come casa debole, et ruionosa co puntelli de la discretione', ibid.
[182] 'mettere il carro innanzi ai buoi', ibid. In Italian language the animals depicted in this metaphor are oxen.

disadvantages of writing to express 'mental images' and speech.[183] The first part of the sixteenth century was a period where scholars considered the 'invention of letters' with pride and as part of the development of humanity. For example, in 1545 Princess Elizabeth Tudor praised this invention and associated it with the spoken language: 'And yet, especially among the aforesaid arts and sciences, the invention of letters seems to me the most clever, excellent, and ingenious. For through their ordering not only can the aforesaid bodily features be declared, but also (which is more) the image of the mind, wiles, and understanding, together with the speech and intention of the man, can be perfectly known – indeed, traced and portrayed so close to artless and natural that it actually seems that his words that were spoken and pronounced long ago still have the same vigor they had before'.[184] Hoby's *The Courtier* states a similar tight association between writing and speaking: 'wrytyng is nothinge elles, but a maner of speache, that remaineth stil after a man hath spoken, or (as it were) an Image, or rather the life of the woordes'.[185] *The Courtier* goes further warning its readers that more care is needed in writing than in speaking 'because they that write are not alwaies presente with them that rede [to offer further clarifications], as they that speake with them that speake'.[186]

English speakers facing Italian could benefit from an orthography system that overlapped with pronunciation as much as possible. For them, what one of Tolomei's disciples wrote, explaining the thoughts of his teacher was particularly true: 'Each time that writing does not represent everything that is spoken with the voice, it is possible to understand that it does not

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[183] *Polito*, pp. XI^{r}–XIII^{v}.
[184] Princess Elizabeth to Queen Katherine Parr, prefacing her English translation of John Calvin's *Institution de la religion Christienne*, see Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 11–12.
[185] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, sig. Eiiii^{v}.
[186] Ibid., Fi^{r}.

satisfy its goal'.[187] An English traveller in Italy, Andrew Boorde, confirmed in his *The fyrst booke of the introduction of knowledge* (1547), the pronunciation/writing issue from an English perspective. In a short English-Italian bilingual dialogue, he used a purposely wrong Italian spelling meant to help an English reader's pronunciation and compared it with the correct one:

> Is this or that the right way to go to Rome.
> Est kela vel kesta via recta pre andare Rome.
> The true wryting is thus Est quela vel questa via.[188]

Boorde explained afterwards that he could not 'write' this example of dialogue 'as an Italian doth' because 'an English man without teaching cannot speake nor prelate the wordes of an Italyan'.[189] Boorde agreed with Tolomei that English students could not always learn independently how to read out loud, understand and pronounce Italian correctly. It can be noted that Boorde agreed with Tolomei even in the detail that pinpoints the letter 'q' as problematic for English speakers. But Tolomei would have been displeased by Boorde's solution of using the letter 'k' instead of the letter 'q'. Anyway, it was clear to Tolomei and English learners of Italian vernacular(s) that without a consistent orthographic reform, a tutor or any native speaker that could read, had to show the correspondence between graphemes and phonemes.

Tolomei implied that reading Italian authors – such as Dante and Petrarch – was a process involving the use of the voice, especially for English and German speakers keen to learn the language. Tolomei linked the alphabet letters to the articulation of the speech organs extensively and, so, he tried to match a specific grapheme with each Tuscan phoneme as much as possible. 'To form and generate the words, the first substance, which is the first strength, comes

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[187] 'ogni volta che la scrittura non rappresenta tutto quello, che si parla in voce, si può comprendere ch'ella non è compita', this is editor of the *Lettere*, Fabio Benvoglienti, explaining Claudio Tolomei's orthographic reform to the Senese ambassador Mino Celsi, Tolomei, *Lettere*, 233^{r}–234^{v}.
[188] Boorde, *The fyrst booke*, sig. Ii.
[189] Ibid.

from that minuscule particles of the voice that are called elements and that we depict as letters; which, being varied and different, blended together resonate in this harmony of words; because different [words] are created in the throat, in the palate, in the tongue, others in the teeth, others in the lips, and this diverse warping is the first step in the process of weaving the body of the voice.'[190] The next section will show in more detail some examples of the sounds that Tolomei highlighted as necessary for proper Tuscan speaking.

5.2 Phonetic lessons for English individuals

Tolomei was the first to pin down the thirty phonemes of the Tuscan language, creating new characters to reflect all of them. How could his work on phonemes have benefitted an English native speaker learning Italian? Tolomei's new alphabet did not succeed as he expected, but most of his proposals for orthographic change from Latin had an impact not only on sixteenth-century language-learners, but also on how Italian is still written and pronounced today.[191] The issues of pronunciation represented a secondary concern for most of the Italian grammarians involved in the standardisation of the language, but was crucial for Tolomei, who taught the language to foreigners. In fact, other grammarians teaching non-Italians, such as John Florio, raised these issues relative to pronunciation. Tolomei suggested a focus on the principles of oral pronunciation and spelling early on during the learning process of Tuscan, although he admitted that it could be embarrassing for an adult to engage with such basic elements of the language as

[190] 'Onde nel formare e generar le parole, la prima sostanza, over la prima forza, viene da quelle minute particelle de la voce che si chiamano elementi e che son poi da noi figurate con le lettere; le quali, essendo varie e differenti, temperate insieme risuonano in questa armonia de le parole; perché altre si creano ne la gola, altre nel palato, altre ne la lingua, altre ne' denti, altre ne le labbra, e questa diversa orditura è prima tessitrice del corpo de la voce', Tolomei, *Polito*, p. XII[v].

[191] Alessandra Cappagli, 'Due ricerche sulla fonetica del Tolomei', *Studi di grammatica italiana*, 15 (1993), 111–155; Nicoletta Maraschio, *Grafia e ortografia. Evoluzione e codificazione* (Florence: 1992), pp. 139–227.

the alphabet letters.[192] The focus of these early learning steps was probably due to the shift from Latin to Tuscan vocabulary and pronunciation, such as words always ending in a vowel, palatal consonants, the doubling of consonants, the use of the letter 'd' in certain cases instead of 't', the use of 'z' in certain cases instead of 't' and the use 'u' instead of 'v' when it is a vowel. Therefore, this comparative/contrastive approach was certainly fruitful for English individuals also studying Latin, such as Thomas Hoby.

Tolomei's *Polito* explains that students of Tuscan first had to learn the interrelation of letters, words and sound, mimicking how children developed early literacy: '[…]the initial things that are learned when children are the elements, and the letters, that work as a foundation for Grammar, and therefore for the other disciplines'.[193] This is the 'alphabetic method' that young students learned on simplified psalters and books called *Babbuino* and *Santacroce*, or 'cross-row' and 'hornbooks' in England.[194] Children learned the name of each letter in the Roman alphabet, their category (vowel or consonant), copying in writing their teacher's models of letters, combining them in syllables - often in rhyme - and reading them aloud until fully memorised, and finally starting to read whole words and sentences. In this way, ideally, the students developed writing skills paired with reading and pronunciation skills.[195] Learning the alphabet was already part of learning grammar, in fact in Greek *ta grammata* means 'science of the alphabet' and allegories of grammars traditionally show women carrying a table with the alphabet.[196] Adult

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192 Tolomei, *Polito*, p. V$^{r–v}$.

193 '[…] le prime cose che s'imparano da fanciulli sieno gli elementi, et le lettere, sopra le quali faccino il lor fondamento à la Grammatica, et quindi à le altre discipline', Tolomei, Tolomei, *Polito*, p. V^{r}.

194 See Piero Lucchi, 'La Santacroce, il Salterio e il Babuino: libri per imparare a leggere nel primo secolo della stampa', *Quaderni storici* (1978), 593–630.

195 Although reading was considered an easier task and sometimes acquired separately first than writing or exclusively, see David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2006, p. 20.

196 Piero Lucchi, 'La Santacroce'. The 'table' can be made by paper attached to a wooden board and hang on the wall, or small version made with cheap leather. The master pointed the letter with the *radius* (stick). In England, there were 'hornebook', paper covered with translucent horn and mounted on a tablet of wood with a handle. Cf. Heather E. Ward, 'To All Who Know Their ABCs, Greeting: A History of the ABCs, Lily Library, Indiana University'*, Indiana libraries*, 26.3 (2007), 58–61 (p. 59).

learners of Tuscan probably did not go through the entire process as young learners did, but these were the principles and available practices.

Once the students had learned the single phonemes, they had to assemble the phonemes together according to general guidelines. Tolomei believed that the goal for any speaker using Italian was to achieve those sophisticated and sweet sounds that make it stand out from other languages. Even recognising the influence of other languages (Greek, Oscan, Etruscan, Phoenician, Gothic, Longobard and older versions of French), Tolomei declared that more than two third of the Tuscan words originated from Latin.[197] Building on this base, classically educated English students such as Thomas Hoby, could 'Tuscanise' their Latin vocabulary, and vice versa. Students could attempt this process of translation from one language to the other, thanks to Tolomei's memorable principle that employed the metaphor of Hellenic architecture, and his specific examples. Tolomei offered a first generic distinction between Latin and Tuscan using the metaphor of languages as buildings made up of different letters and words ordered according to orthography, grammar, and syntax. This mental image saw Latin conforming to the characteristics of a neat and solid Doric architecture, while Tuscan corresponded to an elaborated Corinthian style 'aiming to tenderness as much as possible'.[198] These general guidelines and metaphors may have helped the students' memorisation of more complex details.

Tolomei's study of orthography and phonetics for a 'Corinthian' language influenced the *questione della lingua* and is still valid today. He showed how Tuscan words always ended in a vowel (except some rare monosyllabic words). Again, to explain the concept he relied on an architectural vision of the Tuscan language that 'always covered the buildings of its pure words

[197] Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 46.
[198] '[...] cercasi la tenereza quanto più si puote' Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 57.

with a vowel'.[199] Following the principle of 'dolceza' ['sweetness'] Tolomei wanted 'd' to replace the more percussive Latin 't' (e.g. 'padre', 'madre', 'pietade' instead of 'pater', 'mater', 'pietate' ['father' 'mother' 'piety/mercy']).[200] Tolomei proposed to change from Latin 't' into 'z' in Tuscan words such as 'gratia' which became 'grazia' ['grace'] and from Latin 'v' into 'u' in Tuscan words starting with the vowel ('Vlixes' became 'Ulisse' ['Ulysses']).[201] Paired with sounds, Tolomei paid attention to aesthetics and ease in the speakers' movements of mouth and face. In fact, he praised the fact that the letter 'd' also helped to avoid opening one's mouth wide 'as for yawning' when a monosyllabic word (i.e. 'o', 'e', 'a', 'nè', 'che', 'se') was followed by a word starting in a vowel (e.g. 'o uomo' became 'od uomo' ['or man']).[202]

Focusing more on English learners' needs, Tolomei's teachings were particularly helpful in terms of the vowels 'e' (that could be 'open or closed') and 'o' (that could also be 'open or closed'). Half a century later, John Florio would lament that 'tedious' Italian grammars did not give the 'right sound' and recognised Tolomei as the only one that made an effort to represent in writing the four distinct sounds: 'For so much as the Italians haue two very different sounds for the two vowels, E. and O. which for distinction sake, they name the one close and the other open, and that I never yet saw booke printed with their differences but one, which was the familiar letters of the learned man Claudio Tolomei and that no rule hath yet beene given in so many of their tedious Grammars for the helpe of the learner […]'.[203] Florio described the first edition of Tolomei's *Lettere* (1547), using the proposed system of reform of the Italian alphabet

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[199] 'le sue pure parole sempre cuopre l'edifizio suo con una vocale', Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 58. Quotes from Dante and Boccaccio demonstrated Tolomei's point in his *Cesano.* Example: 'O insensata cura de' mortali', Dante, *Paradiso*, XI, 1.

[200] Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 59.

[201] Tolomei, *Polito*, XXXII^{v}, XXIX$^{r–v}$; also, idem, *Lettere,* 233^{v}–234^{r}.

[202] Tolomei, *Cesano*, p.59. For similar reasons related to pleasant and comfortable facial expressions, Tolomei took position in a heated debate regarding the diphthongs (i.e. two vowels generating a one–syllabe sound as 'ae' in rosae) arguing for their absence in Tuscan contrarily to Latin. Tolomei, *Polito* XVIII$^{r–v}$.

[203] John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words, Or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* (London, Melchisedech Bradwood [and William Stansby] for Edward Blount and William Barret, 1611), p. 618.

and introducing new characters for open and closed 'e' and 'o'.[204] Henry and Mary Sidney had had a copy of this edition since 1553, so they might have been aware of the support that it could give to learning the correct pronunciation of Tuscan, although a newer edition was available.

Tolomei made an original, and probably useful contribution to English learners when he discussed a particular kind of consonants that he described as 'fat' ['consonanti grasse'], in other words phonemes that are now called palatal consonants. This was essential for teaching pronunciation to English students, for example in terms of sounds that do not exist in English phonetics, such as 'gl' (e.g. in 'voglio' ['I want']); or that are missing from Latin: 'gn' (e.g. in 'Bologna', pronounced as 'n' in the English 'onion'), 'sc' (as 'coscia' ['thigh'] to be pronounced as 'sh' in 'push'). [205] The doubling of consonants in Tuscan to obtain 'tenereza' ['tenderness'], or 'dolceza' ['sweetness'] of sounds was another rule that would have required particular attention by English learners. Consonants of the same type craved to 'live together', according to the Sienese tutor, who stressed the rupture with the Latin tradition.[206] So, harsh Latin sounds in words such as 'pectus', 'optimus', 'advenio', 'obtineo' softened in a Tuscan 'petto', 'ottimo', 'avviene', 'ottiene'.[207] Also, the double 's' was frequently used in Tuscan. For example, it was used to replace the Latin 'x' (e.g. 'Alexander' became 'Alessandro') or in Tuscan words such as 'assolve' and 'assenzio' replaced the cases in which the Latin letter 'muta' was followed by an 's' as in 'absolvo' e 'absynthium'. On the other hand, still following the sweetness concept, Tolomei

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[204] A short explanation of the new proposed alphabet is given in Tolomei, *Lettere*, p. 235[r].
[205] Tolomei defined these consonants as 'grasse'. Nicoletta Maraschio, 'Il pensiero linguistico nel Cinquecento italiano tra tradizione classica e innovazione', *Vox romanica*, 57 (1998), 105. See also *Dell'o chiaro e* fosco in Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei*, pp. 168, 177, 180, 182. On the validity nowadays of Tolomei's analysis on phenomenon of *rafforzamento* see Piero Fiorelli, *Degli elementi del parlar toscano* (1957).
[206] '[…] bramano sempre vicinissime abitare', Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 57). See also, idem, *Polito*, p. XIX[v].
[207] The rule specifically prescribed to avoid pairing particular consonants called 'mute' (i.e. 'b', 'g', 'gh', 'd', 'v', 'p', 'c', 'ch', 't', 'f') doubling the second 'mute', Tolomei, *Polito*, p. XVIII[r].

considered beautiful and necessary an 's' before a consonant in words as 'sdegno', 'sfido', 'disleale', 'smemorato' and 'sguardo'.[208]

As Tolomei envisioned, Italian was ultimately codified mainly as a phonetic language, although the new alphabet reform that Tolomei proposed was never completely accepted, especially the new characters appearing in the first edition of his *Lettere*. For such a radical change – as Tolomei himself explained at the end of *Polito* –extended political support was necessary, and that was not possible in the fragmented Italian peninsula.[209] But he successfully mapped the sounds of Tuscan that are essential to teach the correct pronunciation to non-Italians. Fellow grammarians also benefitted from Tolomei's work, especially the ones involved in teaching to non-Italians, such as Tolomei's pupil Alessandro Citolini, Claude Hollyband, John Florio and another protagonist in this thesis: Michelangelo Florio, tutor to Jane Grey (see Chapter II.7).[210]

5.3 Grammar and readings: inductive teaching approach and comparative and contrastive learning

Assuming that knowledge of the alphabet and pronunciation were already dealt with, Tolomei explained in a letter how to approach grammar, the reading of authors and tutor's role when teaching beginner students.[211] This letter was an answer to a person who had contacted Tolomei to find advice about the pedagogy of Tuscan. The categories of 'fanciulli' ['young learners'] and 'principianti' ['beginners'] are used as synonyms when comparing the letter and its abstract, which appeared in an appendix at the end of the epistles collection. Tolomei answered that students can

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[208] Tolomei, *Polito*, pp. XVIII^{v}– XIX^{v}.
[209] Idem., p. L^{v}.
[210] On the influence of Tolomei on John Florio see Pizzoli, *Le Grammatiche di Italiano*, ['e aperta o chiusa'], pp. 217–218, ['sibilante sorda e sonora'] p. 257, ['avevo' instead of 'aveva'], p. 292, [passato prossimo '–orono'], p. 310. On the influence of Tolomei on Citolini phonetic alphabet, see Maraschio, *Trattati di fonetica del Cinquecento*, p. 55.
[211] Tolomei, *Lettere*, p. 160^{r}.

fully understand grammar only with repeated 'use' and 'practice' of authors. He considered it a waste of time to learn all the rules and exceptions in depth before reading the authors. This is the kind of approach that nowadays we would call 'inductive', in other words students extract the grammatical rules from the context after the comprehension of a text. This approach was ideal for English individuals who wanted to read Italian books. Moreover, the comparison/contrast with Latin, typical of Tolomei's explanations on Tuscan, favoured the learning process of classically educated Tudor individuals such as Hoby and William Thomas.

However, Tolomei warned that tutors could not start their syllabus for beginners by reading out loud texts by famous authors, as was common in certain classrooms. Without any grammar principle, this reading would be 'as confusing to the listeners as crossing a forest without a path to follow and the light of a lamp'.[212] Tolomei warned that students would also be puzzled if a tutor showed them the entire mass of grammatical principles behind several random texts. It would be impossible for the learners to order and memorise the information by jumping from one rule to another without a rational method. So, Tolomei suggested a progressive learning method. Only minimal concepts of grammar are 'pre-taught' in order to prepare the student to consolidate and expand his grammatical knowledge through reading.

The competence of the tutor in pairing the presentation of grammar topics with specific examples drawn from the authors was crucial to 'infiammare' ['inflame'] a student's motivation, especially because, Tolomei admitted, grammar learning was 'cosa fastidiosissima' ['a very annoying thing'] that needs to be 'addolcita' ['sweetened'].[213] A complete understanding of the rules was not required during this guided discovery, and students needed to make mistakes without fear. When correcting the metrical misstep of an aspiring poet, Tolomei reassured him

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[212] '[...] senza principi di Grammatica, genera confusion grandissima ne gli uditori: ne è altro, che caminar per una selva folta alla cieca senza strada, e senza lume', ibid.
[213] '[...] li campi della Grammatica, la dove sempre m'è parso veder piu tosto spine che fiori', Ibid.

that he need 'not worry about it [the mistake] because there is no other way to learn than doing badly at the beginning, and afterwards slowly slowly getting used to doing well'.[214] The gentle tutor that Tolomei envisioned was a facilitator that helped learners 'to walk through this thorny path of grammar without excessive injuries' ['queste vie spinose della grammatica, accioche vi si possa senza troppa offesa camminare'] breaking down and adjusting the level of difficulty in a parallel and complementary study of grammar and readings.

To achieve this pedagogical programme, Tolomei began pinpointing compulsory principles to be learned before starting the reading practice which worked in comparison/contrast with Latin grammar.[215] The grammatical section of William Thomas's *Principal Rules* (1550) and Michelangelo Florio's manuscript Tuscan grammar *Regole de la lingua thoscana* (1553), targeting English learners of Italian, show they follow Tolomei's 'prime principles' before encouraging students to start the reading of the authors. These 'prime principles' were of two kinds: one focused on 'la parola' ['the word'] and the other on 'la costruzione' ['the construction'] (which can correspond to our syntax).[216] Tolomei encouraged students to learn how to classify 'words' as different parts of speech (noun, verb, preposition and adverb) which also reflects the way in which Thomas and Florio divided the chapters of their grammars, typical also of Latin grammars.[217] Both Thomas' and Florio's grammar, in the sections devoted to verbs, supported with their explanations what Tolomei wanted i.e. the students had to assimilate verb characteristics such as mood and tense, active and passive forms, and participle agreement as prime principles to prioritise early on in the learning process. Following this core discrepancy between Latin and Tuscan, the Sienese tutor insisted in particular on the importance

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[214] 'Ma cio' non vi turbi, perche non s'impara mai altrimenti, che col far da principio male, e co l'avezzarsi a poco a poco a far bene', Tolomei, *Lettere*., p. 98[r].
[215] Also, Tolomei signalled when Tuscan language had grammatical features derived from languages other than Latin. For instance, articles that specify gender and number of nouns, derived – he wrote – from Greek, *Cesano*, p.66.
[216] Tolomei, *Lettere*, p. 160[v].
[217] Ibid.

of learning through examples which Tuscan verbs were followed by specific prepositions and which were not, which is a practical suggestion probably stemming from his teaching practice to non-Tuscan native speakers.[218] Tolomei does not explicitly mention it, but the more a student was already knowledgeable in Latin, the less he needed an initial introduction to Tuscan grammar.

William Thomas's *Principal Rules* (1550) shows how Latin grammar was the implicit learning base and that individuals in England could understand how Italian, thanks to prepositions and articles, expressed the Latin system of cases. Learners had to be aware that, as in Latin, nouns (Tolomei inserted in this category both nouns and adjectives) could change according to gender, number and case. At this point, students would notice that Latin uses suffixes to express these mutations, whilst Italian expresses cases with articles, prepositions and specific word order in the sentence construction. In his dialogue *Cesano*, Tolomei offered a practical example of how Latin cases are translated in Tuscan:

> Tuscan: 'la porta' ['the door' as subject], 'de la porta' ['of the door'], 'a la porta' ['to the door'], 'la porta' ['the door' as object] 'da la porta' ['from the door']
> Latin: 'porta' [Nominative case], 'portae' [Genitive case], 'portae' [Dative case], 'portam' [Accusative], 'porta' [Ablative case].[219]

It cannot be demonstrated that William Thomas read Tolomei, but the two agreed that translating Latin cases into Italian was the first crucial step for Italian grammar study. In fact, Thomas displayed a schematic explanation of this process in the first chapter of his *Principal Rules* (1550) with the partially misleading title 'Articles'.[220] Thomas did not mention the words 'Latin' or 'Latin grammar', implying that when talking about grammar that was the obvious foundation.

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[218] Ibid.
[219] Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 66.
[220] Thomas, *Principal Rules*, sig. A^{r}.

Thomas made a very clear table explaining how Latin cases were to be translated into Italian and into English.[221] Afterwards, he explained that nouns 'are declined' with the prepositions 'di' or 'de' that 'serve the second case' (genitive), 'a' for the third case (dative), and 'da' for the sixth case (ablative) in combination with the articles. Learners such as Thomas and Hoby probably perceived the transition from Latin cases to the use of articles and prepositions as a 'change' if they were thinking in Latin, but not if they were thinking in English.[222] This focus on Latin cases differentiates William Thomas' grammar from his declared Italian sources: Alberto Accarisi's *La grammatica volgare* (1536) and *Vocabolario, Grammatica et Orthographia de la lingua volgare* (1546). Accarisi's grammars had both a first chapter devoted to 'articles' that focused on proper articles and their combination with prepositions rather than highlighting the comparison with Latin cases.[223] To develop this practical summary, Thomas would probably have used his learning experience, which had striking similarities with Tolomei's teaching approach to Tuscan.

5.4 A suggested bibliography by Claudio Tolomei

Which books did Tolomei use for teaching, which did he suggest for self-study, and which to other tutors that English students such as Hoby could access for language-learning? For Tolomei, reading was essential in the language-learning process, after a short focus on the grammatical basics. This is how humanists learned Latin and Greek and what John Florio would later suggest

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[221] Ibid., sig. Aᵛ.

[222] Latin grammars printed in England started to display English translations and explanations of the Latin cases system. See for example: William Lily, *An introduction of the eyght partes of speche* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1542).

[223] Accarisi simplified for pedagogical reasons Pietro Bembo's dialogue on Italian vernacular, *Prose* (1525). Each chapter in Accarisi's grammars overlaps roughly with Bembo's *Prose* from Book 3 chapter IX–XII. On Accarisi's grammar, see the introduction of Chapter V.

for learning Italian and English.[224] The character of Gabriele Cesano in Tolomei's *Cesano* asked a similar rhetorical question: 'But in this [Tuscan language], which writers, and which books for the love of God is it possible to read to harvest the fruit of a lot of doctrine? You can find the poem by Dante which, for its almost heroic style is truly marvellous. You can read Petrarch, who has without doubt matched or even surpassed all the other poets in Greek and Latin. Boccaccio entertains us with his stories that are the remedy to remove any sad thought from the soul and move it to laughter'.[225] The answer is therefore to be found within Tolomei's references and reading suggestions in his works and letters, and in the books that he collected for the library of his Genovese pupil Giovanni Battista Grimaldi.[226]

In fact, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio represented the main sources for grammarians, writers and learners of Tuscan, and Tolomei was not exception.[227] The three Florentine authors represented the basis for the part devoted to Tuscan vernacular in Tolomei's 'ideal library' that he assembled in Giovanni Battista Grimaldi's house in Genova, starting from 1544.[228] Hobson, who partially traced the dispersed library, listed among vernacular books: Dante's *La Commedia*, Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (four different commented editions) and *Trionfi*, Boccaccio's *Filocolo* (a *Decameron* edition is lost).[229] Tolomei also often quoted these sources himself, for example talking

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[224] An Italian character in Florio's *First Fruits* claims 'I have learned English by reading', sig. 50[r]. See Lawrence, *Who the Devil*, p. 21.

[225] "Ma in questa [lingua Toscana], che scrittori, et che libri per Dio si possan leggere, di quelli frutto di molta dottrina raccogliere? Trovasi il poema di Dante lo quale in quel suo quasi eroico stile veramente è maraviglioso. Leggesi il Petrarca che senza dubbio ha tutti gli altri lirici di greca lingua e latina o pareggiati o certamente avanzati. Trastullaci co le sue favole il Boccaccio il quale spesso è rimedio a levarci de l'animo ogni tristo pensiero e tutto commuoverlo a ridere', Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 54.

[226] Giovanni Battista Grimaldi (1524–1612) son of the Genovese merchant, diplomat and cardinal Girolamo Grimaldi. Tolomei met Giovanni in Rome in 1543 and wrote him twenty–five letters. On the creation of the library see for example, Tolomei, *Lettere*, 114[r].

[227] On Italian grammars between 1516 and 1552 employing examples from the *Tre Corone*, see Cecilia Demuru, 'Gli auttori dal cui fonte il ruscelletto di questa mia grammatica si derriva'. L'esemplificazione nelle grammatiche volgari del Cinquecento', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes. Journal of medieval and humanistic studies*, 28 (2014), 183–213.

[228] The library had two main parts: Tuscan and Latin books. Tolomei discussed how to distinguish Tuscan books from Latin books with different colours for the covers, in letter to Giovanni Battista Grimaldi, *Lettere*, 114[r].

[229] Hobson, 'La Biblioteca', p.114; idem, *Apollo and Pegasus*, pp. 146, 166–167.

of the rules of elision, he quoted Dante showing how it is possible to create Tuscan words from Latin.[230]

Grimaldi's library had vernacular grammars based on the *Tre Corone* language that Tolomei deemed important: Pietro Bembo's *Prose* (1525), Francesco Fortunio's *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua* (1516), Niccolò Liburnio's *Le tre fontane* (1526) and Alberto Accarisio's *Vocabolario, Grammatica et Orthographia de la lingua volgare* (1546).[231] Tolomei remarked that Fortunio's *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua* was the first printed book to collect the 'rules' of the vernacular after observing Dante's, Petrarch's, and Boccaccio's works, as Latin grammarians did with their canonical authors.[232] Tolomei agreed with Fortunio, Accarisi, and Liburnio on the importance of teaching a language in 'use' for contemporary communication, and refusing ineffective archaisms, despite working with the language of fourteenth-century authors.[233] Similarly to Tolomei, Liburnio signalled that people from abroad had already started to follow the Tuscan language with 'disiderio ardentissimo' ['very ardent desire'] and so he encouraged Italians to study the language.[234] Accarisi's work was a practical compendium of the grammatical rules appearing throughout Bembo's dialogue *Prose*. Tolomei probably appreciated the brief and schematic layout as much as William Thomas did, using Accarisi to explain the parts of speech in his *Principal Rules* (1550).

Beyond grammar and reading of the *Tre Corone,* Tolomei demonstrated the Tuscan language's flexibility in its registers and its ability to 'elevate great things, temper the mild and

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230 'Imagini chi ben intender cupe' in Dante's *Paradiso* XI. Also, Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 50. Examples from Petrarch of elision of 'quattro liquide' ('l', 'm', 'n', 'r') are 'Gentil mia donna' (*Rime*, LXXII, 1) or 'gentil donna' (idem. LXXVII, 6), 'le man bianche' (idem., XXXVII, 98), 'tacerem questa fonte' (idem., CXXXV, 86), 'Amor, quando fioria' (idem., CCCXXIV, 1), *Cesano* , p. 60–61. For examples of 'i liquido' and 'u liquido' in Petrarch and Dante, see *Polito* XXX^{r-v}.

231 Hobson, Apollo and Pegasus, 129, 136, 146, 159; idem, 'La biblioteca', 114.

232 ' [...] già è stato qualche ingegno che s'è sforzato qualche regola mostrarci, come il Fortunio', Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 76. Fortunio, *Regole grammaticali*, p. 2^{r}.

233 To build his argument in favour of the use of language Fortunio cited Dante's *Paradiso* and Horace's *Ars poetica*. Accarisio followed Fortunio's references. Whilst Liburnio referred to Quintillian.

234 'Deh Dio benignisssimi lettori; le barbare, et istraniere genti con disiderio ardentissimo la luce del piu limato idioma d'Italia seguiranno; et noi qui nati di lui non cureremo?' Liburnio, *Tre Fontane*, p. 2^{r}.

humiliate the low' by suggesting contemporary works, potentially useful for those learners seeking some reading advice.[235] Within the category of 'alto stilo' ['high style'], Tolomei placed Luigi Alamanni's classical tragedy *l'Antigone* which Thomas Wyatt could read in his copy of Alamanni's collected edition *Opere toscane* (1532).[236] Tolomei also suggested the Italian translation of classics such as Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (CE 77–79) which Hoby and Michael Throckmorton also owned.[237] Finally, Benedetto Bordon's geographical treatise *Isolario* (in 1528, Hoby has a 1547 edition) represented the 'new sciences' which, as he states in the *proemio*, overtook 'the ancient'.

5.5 Travelling and the use of language: the quest of Hoby for the Italian language

Tolomei flipped the pedagogical script by saying that in living languages: 'la Grammatica nasce dalla lingua, et non la lingua dalla Grammatica' ['Grammar is born from language, and not language from Grammar'].[238] The language was found, therefore, outside the grammar book. This can explain Hoby's strategy to learn the language by travelling, in addition to going to Tolomei's lectures, translating *Il Cortegiano* and reading:

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[235] 'cose grandi innalzare, a le mezzane temperare, a le basse umiliare', Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 74.
[236] *Cesano*, p.74. Luigi Alamanni, *Opere toscane* (Lyon: 1532). For the relationship between Tolomei and Alamanni, see for example, *Lettere*, p. 219^{v}–220^{r}. See also, Hobson, *Apollo and Pegasus*, p. 129. For hypothesis regarding the editions that Thomas Wyatt read of Alamanni's *Opere*, see Chris Stamatakis, 'Image to Text: A Possible Visual Source for Sir Thomas Wyatt's Verse Epistles', *Emblematica*, 21 (2014), 77–95.
[237] Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturale* (Venice: Alessandro Brucioli, 1543). Hobson, *Apollo and Pegausus*, p. 171. Hoby owned the 1548 reprint, Roberts, 'Books Owned', p. 64. Anne Overell and James M. Willoughby, 'Books from the circle of Cardinal Pole: The Italian Library of Michael Throckmorton', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 75.1 (2012), 111–140 (p. 128).
[238] Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 76. Similarly, but in relation to Latin, John Colet suggested to learn the parts of speech and do not insist with too much study of grammar because: 'latin speech was before the rules, not the rules before the latin speech', in John Colet and William Lilly, *Aeditio*, ([Antwerpen, Christoffel van Ruremund for Govaert van der Haeghen; London, Francis Birckman], 1527), p. 31.

> After I tarried a yere sometime in Padoa and somtime in Venice, and obtained some understanding in the tung, I thowght it behouffull to travaile into the middes of Italye, as well as to have a better knowleg in the tung as to see the countrey of Tuscane.[239]

Hoby considered travelling as a way to improve his Italian and Tolomei's reflections on the *questione della lingua*, in particular on the use of language, could drive his journey. After his visit to Siena and Rome, in February 1550 Hoby went even further south in the peninsula, wanting to travel from Naples to Sicily without English companions for the 'tung's sake'.[240] It might seem that Hoby ignored the existence of regional and diastratic variations, but on the contrary, I will argue that this was part of his research into the 'Italian' language.

By reading *The Courtier* and learning from Tolomei, Hoby may have been encouraged to travel to observe the use of language beyond literature. In doing so, he could dismiss archaic Tuscan words and embrace words that followed the principle of 'sweetness' and were in use both in Tuscany and in other parts of Italy:

> I commende him, that beside the eschewing of many auncient Tuskane woordes, would applye himself also to use bothe in writing and speakyng, suche as now a daies are in use in Tuscane and in other partes of Italy, and that have some grace in the pronunciation.[241]

Hoby had the chance to check for himself who was right between, Castiglione and Tolomei on one side, and on the other the Florentine purists, like the Alessandro de' Pazzi who claimed in Tolomei's *Cesano*:

> […] if I wanted to walk across Italy from one extremity to the other, and in every place stop to compare the number of words, how they call things, the order of the words, the effort in speaking, the accent, the timing, the harshness of the pronunciation, and overall the difference of the voice itself. So you would see well if the Genovese is Tuscan, if the

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[239] Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 17.
[240] Ibid., pp. 37–38.
[241] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, sig. F.i[r].

> Apulian is Tuscan, if the Bergamo dialect is Tuscan, they are actually similar to each other as a monkey is to a human.[242]

Traveller Andrew Boorde's *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (1547) describes the experience of English people facing Italian variations even if with broad strokes and confusion about the geographical and political domains.[243] Proceeding from south to north, Boorde wrote that Sicilians and Calabrians were 'nayboures to the Italyons' but Calabria is a province of Italy and 'their mony and spech is much lyke Italy money and speche'. Napoleteans speaks 'Ytalion corrupted' although the city is 'joined to Italy'. Rome is 'chiefe cite of Italy' and here Boorde offered the English-Italian short dialogue mimicking a traveller phrase partially reported before (I.5.1). In Venice 'Theyr spech is Italion'. Florence is the chief town of 'Lombardy [*sic*]' and 'the people and the speche be lyke the Italyons'. And in Genova 'theyr spech is Italyon and French'.[244] Thomas also stressed the regional variations of Italian with a comparison to the linguistic situation in England:

> For norwithstanding that betwene the Florentine and Venetian is great diversity in speeche, as with us betwene a Londoner and a Yorkeshyreman, and likewyse betwene the Mylainese and the Romaine, the Napolitane and the Genovese.[245]

Furthermore, language variations follow not only geographical and political boarders (diatopic), but can also represent specific social groups and contexts (diastratic). This is a discussion in the *questione della lingua* that Tolomei presented in his *Cesano* and Hoby may have

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[242] '[...]se io volessi per tutta Italia a parte a parte caminare, et in ciascun luogo fermandomi paragonare quanto quel sia nel numero de' vocaboli, nel chiamare le cose, nell'orditure del dire, nel sprezzamento delle dittioni, ne gli accenti, ne i tempi, nella durezza del proferire, er in somma nella voce istessa differente. E ben vedereste s'el Genovese è Toscano, se'l Pugliese è Toscano, s'el Bergamasco è Toscano, i quali tanto nel vero se li rassomigliano quanto la Scimia all'huomo', Tolomei, *Cesano*, p. 28.

[243] Ladan Niayesh, 'From travel guide to self–discovery in Andrew Boorde's *The Fyrst Boke of the introduction of knowledge* (1547)', *Etudes anglaises*, 70.2 (2017), 138–146.

[244] Gamberini, *Lo studio dell' italiano*, pp. 57–58.

[245] Thomas, *History*, 3v.

experienced during his journey by witnessing both people communicating in 'public squares' and people 'at courts'. The fictional Bembo, in Tolomei's *Cesano*, argued that orators should collect words listening to common people in public squares and not from obscure philosophical discourses.[246] In opposition, in *Cesano* Castiglione asserted that the new common language of the Italian regions was called 'cortigiana' because the great minds of the Italian courts created it by heightening and purifying the vulgar tongue of the streets.[247] Thomas seems to agree that Italian gentlemen from every part of the peninsula speaking the 'cortisane' overcame the problem of the 'diversity in speeche': 'the conformitee of speeche that is among theim selves (consideryng what a noumbre of diversities they have in theyr tongue) it is a mervalle that in manner all gentilmen dooe speak the courtisane'.[248] However, it would be risky to consider a common Italian language a prerogative of the higher social classes in the peninsula. In fact, it is significant that Hoby never signalled in his diary any particular linguistic diversity and barrier, suggesting that intelligible variations of Italian intersected the social stratification.

By travelling, Hoby was certainly exposed to language that did not match the grammatical rules, and Tolomei could have prepared him to grasp this aspect in the 'use' of language as an opportunity for language-learning. In a section called *Del Fonte de la Frequenza* in his manuscript *Trattato della Lingua Toscana*, Tolomei wrote about the importance of observing high-frequency words in the spoken language even if they were not grammatically standard: 'From the frequent

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[246] Tolomei signalled in his *Cesano* that the original source for Bembo's idea to collect the words of the common people in streets was Cicero. On this idea the character of Bembo in Tolomei's *Cesano* seems to declare the opposite of what Bembo wrote in his dialogue *Prose* (Book I, XVIII). By creating this contradiction, Tolomei wanted to signal that Bembo was acting differently in real life than declared in his *Prose*? Valeriano described Pietro Bembo as a speaker that could adapt according to the occasions, so in practice he was not a purist as in his theory: 'even if he knew the Tuscan language, he uses only with the Florentines, and with moderation; with us, he uses the cortigiana language' my translation from Maria Luisa Giordano, 'Il Dialogo della volgar lingua di Pierio Valeriano (1529–1530). Introduzione a un trattato cinquecentesco sul volgare italiano', *Corpus Eve. Émergence du Vernaculaire en Europe* (2015), . Another possible explanation for this contradiction between *Prose* and *Cesano* is that the real opinion of Bembo was not always expressed within the *Prose* by the character of his brother as commonly accepted by scholars.

[247] Tolomei, *Cesano*, pp. 20, 22–23.

[248] Thomas, *History*, 3v.

use by not only writers, but also speakers, the Tuscan language receives words, about which it is difficult to offer a firm rule'. For a practical example of usage differing from grammar rules, Tolomei signalled 'Voglio' ['I want'] that often became 'Vo' in the spoken language. Thomas also inserted in his vocabulary this example of a verb contraction demonstrating that it was a useful example of use of language against grammar rules for an English speaker. Tolomei pointed the attention of his students towards high-frequency oral vocabulary, which is a principle developed in recent L2 teaching, even if the teaching of non-standard variations of language is still controversial but becoming progressively more accepted.[249]

Hoby may have agreed with Tolomei that observing the use of language can be more efficient than studying certain grammar rules. But considering Hoby's travelling for 'tung's sake' across the entire Italian peninsula, he seems to lean more towards Castiglione who wanted to dignify the use of different variations of Italian, and exclusively Tuscan, like Tolomei. By translating sentences like the following in his *The Courtier,* Hoby surely felt the need to travel to several regions of Italy to hear and collect language that caused 'delite':

> Do you not knowe that figures of speach which give suche grace and brightnesse to an Oration, are all the abuse of Grammer rules, but yet are receaved and confirmed by use, because men are able to make no other reason but that they delite, and to the very sence of our eares it appeareth they bringe a lief and a sweetenesse? And this beleave I is good custome, which the Romanes, the Napolitans, the Lombardes, and the rest are as apt to receave, as the Tuscanes.[250]

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[249] For example, Nation divides words into four categories (high–frequency words, academic words, technical words and low–frequency words) and argues teacher have to decide the cost/ benefit of teaching a particular word, see I. S. P. Nation, 'Research into Practice: Vocabulary', *Language Teaching*, 44.4 (2011), 529–539. For a recent review of high–frequency word lists and a study involving teachers and learners to supplement corpus–based information in the evaluation of high–frequency word lists, see Thi Ngoc Yen Dang, Stuart Webb, and Averil Coxhead 'Evaluating Lists of High-frequency Words: Teachers' and Learners' Perspectives', *Language Teaching Research*, 26.4 (2022), 617–641.

[250] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, sig. G.i^{v}.

Ironically, Tolomei's *Cesano* amplified this message through its character of Castiglione who insisted that Italian did not have a specific location and fixity. This offered a definition of Italian that encouraged travellers like Hoby to look for it, learn it and love it:[251]

> That [language] that you look for flows often across the Italian cities and does not stop anywhere, because it does not want places, it wants humans to love it; and each time the noble intellects, who have touched it and made it beautiful, will move [somewhere else], it will move with them again: not having greater love for a particular place than for another.[252]

Conclusions

Tolomei was one of the main 'Language Makers' of the sixteenth century, anticipating contemporary reflections on formation and regularisation of languages. The first part of this chapter presented Claudio Tolomei and what cultural capital–in term of linguistic skills joined with relevant subject knowledge and information, networking and credentials – he could offer Hoby for his Italian learning and professional mission. The lack of references to Hoby in Tolomei's writings does not allow us to establish neatly where direct influence shifts to indirect influence. However, by confronting their biographies and works, it emerges how Tolomei could convey to Hoby and to others, such as William Barker, practical awareness of the Italian vernacular culture and of Italian society. Hoby could use this awareness during his diplomatic missions and, back in England, for personal gain and in promoting the English language and

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[251] The character of Castiglione in Tolomei's *Cesano* is paraphrasing Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* (I, 16) to sustain the claim of Italian as a language in constant movement.

[252] 'Quella che voi cercate scorre spesso per le città d'Italia e in nulla si posa, perché non da' luoghi vuole essere, ma dagli uomini amata; e quantunque volte quei nobili ingegni, che l'averanno e carezata e fatta bella, si moveranno, ella con loro si moverà ancora: non avendo più a questo che a quel luogo amore alcuno', Tolomei, *Cesano*, pp. 23–24.

culture. Tolomei promoted a flexible and communication-oriented Tuscan variety among foreigners, informing them about the different positions of the Italian *questione della lingua* and stimulating a national debate on languages. Besides the linguistic aspects, the meeting with Tolomei probably prepared Hoby to visit Italy, in particular Tolomei's native Siena where he started to translate *The Courtier*, and to practise diplomacy with Spanish ambassador Mendoza. Tolomei's echoes can also be found in how Hoby was able to translate this experience into an English nationalist project based on religious reform and enhancement of the English language, as summarised in the introduction to *The Courtier*.

The second part of the chapter analysed in more detail Tolomei's linguistic pedagogy, building a hypothetical syllabus that may have informed how Hoby, Barker, and others learnt Italian. There was no difference in how Tolomei intended to teach Tuscan to Italians and non-Italians, English speakers included. Students could benefit from Tolomei's method of comparison/contrast with Latin, designed to help teachers and students navigate grammatical categories of words and sentence construction, vocabulary comprehension and pronunciation. A high level of Latin probably facilitated the Tuscan learning process, but Tolomei did not expect students of Italian to know Latin because learning Tuscan was enough for any purpose both in writing and speaking. Otherwise, the two languages could have been studied together, as young Hoby and Italian students did. Tolomei had an approach to teaching languages that we may currently call inductive, privileging the observation of the 'use' of language in written and spoken contexts over the focus on grammar rules.

Tolomei gave space to non-Italians to influence the *questione della lingua,* considering their learning needs and emphasising the use of the language for practical communication. Placing himself in the middle between standardisation and language pedagogy, Tolomei recognised in 'new speakers' a role as 'language makers'. In fact, in a multilingual and pre/proto-national

Europe, foreigners were not only consumers and connoisseurs of Italian culture, but also valuable speakers, interlocutors and co-creators of it.[253] Acknowledging Thomas Hoby's, Andrew Boorde's and other English individuals' ability and interest in moving between Italian varieties also helps us to understand the present and future of languages. In fact, it confirms McLelland's statement that 'there is good historical evidence of intermediate varieties in the past, so that seeming "destandardisation" today is not a new stage beyond some "natural" end-point of standardisation, but merely a continuation of diaglossia'.[254]

In the next chapter, we will see how Tolomei's ideas on pronunciation and use of language profoundly impacted upon Michelangelo Florio's Tuscan grammars (1553) written in London and dedicated to Jane Grey and William Herbert.

[253] Other examples of external influence on Italian linguistic reflection are Thomas Linacre's *De emendate structura latini sermonis* and the Welsh Dafydd Rhys's *De italica pronunciatione et orthographia libellus* (1569).
[254] Nicola McLelland, 'Language Standards, Standardisation and Standard Ideologies in Multilingual Contexts'. Also, McLelland references for this argument Gijsbert Rutten, Rik Vosters, and Wim Vandenbussche, *Norms and Usage in Language History. A Sociolinguistic and Comparative Perspective*.

CHAPTER II. MICHELANGELO FLORIO, REGOLE DE LA LINGUA THOSCANA (1553): LATIN AS CONTRASTIVE AND INTERMEDIARY LANGUAGE FOR AN ENGLISH READERSHIP[1]

The Florentine Michelangelo Florio lived in Jane Grey's household in London around November 1552 and dedicated a Tuscan grammar – *Regole et instituzioni de la lingua thoscana* (1553) – to her because she wished to 'intendere et parlare thoscano' ['understand and speak Tuscan'].[2] Jane's companion in Italian studies and dedicatee of another copy of Florio's manuscript grammar was her future brother-in-law: Henry Herbert (*c.* 1538–1601). This young man was 'studioso assai' ['very hardworking'] in the learning of Florio's 'native Tuscan language'.[3] Florio was a former Franciscan friar, persecuted in Italy for his religious beliefs, who fled to England in 1550, as did other Italian reformers like the former vicar-general of the Capuchins Bernardo Ochino.[4] Florio was confident that English learners and their tutors could benefit from his grammar even though

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[1] Michelangelo Florio, 'Regole er Institutioni della Lingua Thoscana' (Dedicated to Jane Grey undated), British Library, Sloane MS 3011. Michelangelo Florio, 'Regole et instituzioni de la lingua thoscana' (Dedicated to Henry Herbert London, 21 August 1553), Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.XI.46. As I was unable to analyse the two manuscripts in person, so for this chapter I have relied on Pellegrini's complete transcription of Michelangelo Florio's manuscript kept at Cambridge and on the transcription of the dedication to Jane Grey within the grammar at the BL. Pellegrini considered the Cambridge manuscript more 'complete'. In the future, I aim to carry out further analyses and a comparison of the two versions. 'Michelangelo Florio e le sue regole de la lingua thoscana', *Studi di filologia italiana*, 12 (1954), 72–201.

[2] On Florio and his *Regole*, see Carla Rossi, *Italus ore, Anglus pectore studi su John Florio*, 2 vols (London: Thecla Academic Press, 2018), I, <https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/158232/1/Italus_ore%2C_Anglus_pectore_Rossi.pdf> [accessed 15 April 2021], p. 67; Carmine G. Di Biase, 'Introduction: The Example of the Early Modern Lexicographer', in *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Carmine G. Di Biase (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 9–30 (p. 16–21); Owe Boersma, 'Florio, Michael Angelo (d. 1566x71), Reformed minister, author, and translator'*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). Sergio Rossi, *Ricerche sull'Umanesimo*, pp. 102–105. Florio revealed some biographical information about himself in his religious work *Apologia,* (Chamogascko [=Basel]: Stefano Catani, 1557).

[3] Florio, *Regole*, fol. 3[r].

[4] Michelangelo Florio wrote: 'Fuggendo d'Italia apena apena ch'io campai la vita' ('When fleeing Italy I barely saved my life'), *Regole*, fol. 108[r]. Firpo and Marcatto identified Michelangelo Florio with the franciscan friar Paolo Antonio da Figline, arrested for heresy in 1548, Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto, *Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone*, 3 vols (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2016), I, p. 368. On Italian reformers in England, see Rossi, *Ricerche sull'Umanesimo*, p. 69.

they could already access William Thomas' *Principal Rules* (1550), the first English-Italian bilingual grammar and vocabulary. In fact, Florio praised Thomas' *Principal Rules*, but believed his own *Regole* to be more thorough, expanding on grammatical feature such as in the section devoted to adverbs.[5] In contrast to *Principal Rules*, Florio's *Regole* used Italian as the main language for the paratext, grammatical explanations and exemplary sentences. To offer more support to his readers, Florio also translated the exemplary sentences into Latin: 'per maggior' chiarezza e intelligenza vostra, e di chiunque leggera questo libretto' ['For your better clarity and understanding, and for whosoever will read this little book'].[6]

This chapter will investigate the motivations for and practices of Italian language-learning in England emerging through a close reading of Florio's *Regole*. Florio targeted a wider potential readership than the two young aristocrats and wanted to print the manuscript – a detail often overlooked by scholarship, which tends to minimise its relevance as an indicator of English interest in the Italian language.[7] Many exemplary sentences within Florio's *Regole* promoted anti-Catholic feelings, which suggests an imagined reformist readership with further motivation to learn Italian in addition to the linguistic one. Part of this readership can be found amongst the English reformists, promoters of the Strangers' Church in England, and Florio's patrons who were also Italian learners: John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and *de facto* regent for Edward VI between 1550 and 1553; Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; William Cecil, King's Secretary; William Parr, Marquess of Northampton and patron of Thomas Hoby; and Katherine

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[5] Florio, *Regole*, fol. 103[r]. Also Pellegrini, 'Michelangelo Florio', pp. 100–101.
[6] Florio, *Regole*, fol. 103. For more early modern examples of English learners of Italian 'through the prism of Latin', see Gallagher, 'Ungrateful Tuscans', pp. 395–400.
[7] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 100, 212–213. Pizzoli excluded *Regole de la lingua Toscana* from her analysis of Italian grammars for English people because 'circulating in a small circle', *Le Grammatiche*, p. 11. Sergio Rossi considered Florio's *Regole* an isolated case, only interesting for the study of Italian language development and not for language teaching to foreigners, *Ricerche sull'Umanesimo*, pp. 105.

Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk and step-grandmother to Jane Grey.[8] Florio was one of those Italian reformers who 'were dependent (on others), in a strange country and most of them never learned to speak or write in English' so they needed 'powerful patrons, competent translators and enterprising printers to help spread their word'.[9] The return of Catholicism under Queen Mary I and the expulsion of reformist foreigners in 1554 blocked the publication of Florio's grammar.[10] Therefore, *Regole*, represents a valuable source to explore the close relationship between Italian learning and religious reformations under the reign of Edward VI.

First and foremost, this chapter will present Michelangelo Florio's life and works before and during his stay in England. When the Greys chose Michelangelo Florio as a tutor for their daughter, his religious beliefs in matters such as justification by faith, free will and his antipapal views were brought to the table.[11] A brief parenthesis on Bernardino Ochino's reception will explain the favourable context for Italian reformists, their religious works and language found by Florio in England and within the Grey household. In this context, I will argue that Tudor men and women learned Italian to acquire crucial cultural capital to participate in the main Reformation debates and connected power games. Michelangelo Florio's grammar, which was destined for Jane Grey and Henry Herbert, demonstrates that Tudor women could use the same learning materials as men.[12] In fact, Elizabeth Tudor and Anne Cooke's translations of Bernardo Ochino's *Sermons* show that English women learned Italian and practised their skill through the

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[8] The Italians used to pray in the Mercers' Chapel, at St. Thomas of Acon hospital, and with the Flemish (Dutch speakers) and Walloon (French speakers) communities formed the Strangers' Church of London.
[9] Overell, *Italian Reform*, p. 9.
[10] Jane Grey was deposed as Queen on 19th July 1553 and Mary was crowned queen on 1st October 1553. Protestants had 24 days to leave the country from February 1554. Florio left England 4th March 1554 and went to Strasbourg. See Rossi, *Italus ore*, p. 70.
[11] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 213.
[12] Some scholars point out a low level of literacy for women within the Tudor court, for example Smith estimated no more than fifteen high–profile learned women, see Hilda L. Smith, 'Reason's Disciples: Seventeenth Century English Feminists', *Science and Society* 50.4, (1982). See also Jacqueline Eales, *Women In Early Modern England*, 1500–1700 (London: Rouledge, 2016), pp. 12–13.

translations of key reformist religious works.[13] These translations from Italian assisted their language-learning process and provided valuable cultural capital in that specific historical juncture of the English Reformation. More generally, I will argue that these are signs that Tudor women had an 'Italian Renaissance' within the limits imposed by a patriarchal and often openly misogynistic society, and with specific English features.[14]

Finally, in analysing Florio's grammar I will attempt to reconstruct a sense of how the author intended the process of language-learning to take place. The book encouraged certain established practices such as memorisation, deriving rules according to 'principles' (such as *dolcezza* 'sweetness'), and reading authors (Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Agnolo Firenzuola, Livy). Florio demonstrated his experience as a language teacher and his take on the Italian *questione della lingua* when encouraging contemporary use and a certain flexibility of communicating with the Tuscan language against Bembo's prescriptivism. Florio's pragmatic approach in his grammar offers snapshots of how he meant to teach Tuscan in ways that recall Tolomei's approach in Italy.

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[13] Simonini declared with some surprise: 'A succession of Tudor polyglot women both within and outside of the courtier class is particularly striking'. For the period examined in this thesis Simonini enlisted Jane Grey, Elizabeth Tudor and Elizabeth Lucar, *Italian Scholarship*, p. 20. Queen Katherine Parr led the way with her English translation of John Fisher's *Latin psalms* (1525) published anonymously as *Psalms or Prayers* (1544), *Prayers or Meditations* (1545) published in her name, as afterwards also her *The Lamentation of a Sinner* (1547).

[14] By analysing literary sources Joan Kelly argued that women did not have a 'Renaissance', holding more power in the medieval period, Joan Kelly, 'Did Women Have a Renaissance?', in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), 137–164. For a different answer to Kelly–Gadol's question and a reassessment of the assumption that women intellectuals were a rarity, see Sarah Gwyneth, *The Birth of Feminism: woman as intellect in Renaissance Italy and England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

1. Michelangelo Florio: an Italian reformer working with English reformists[15]

This section will sketch Michelangelo Florio's biography, which demonstrates the union between language and politics in a period when religious reforms and reformations were shaking Europe. In this sense, Michael Wyatt's comment on Florio's *Regole* can be extended to its author life: 'Here the grammatical lesson drives home the confluence of linguistic usage and politics, connecting language practice to the realities of the world in which it functions […]'.[16] As a religious refugee, Florio was a different kind of immigrant compared to the Italian merchants and bankers that had traditionally operated in England since the thirteenth century CE.[17] He was born in Florence in 1518, probably into a family of Jewish heritage that had converted to Christianity.[18] As a Franciscan friar, around the 1540s he preached 'Christo senza maschera' ['about Christ with no mask'], in other words, he presented openly Protestant doctrines, in Naples, Padua, Venice, Rome and other Italian cities.[19] For these heretical activities, Florio was imprisoned in Rome from 1548 to May 1550, and according to him the story of his persecution moved Jane Grey to tears.[20] Before his arrival in England via Lyon and Paris on 1 November 1550, Florio had toured Italy from South to North (for example the Abruzzi, Naples, Apulia, Venice, Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, Pavia and Casale Monferrato) where several people – whom he did not name in

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[15] Ann Overell refers to 'reform' when there is the presence of only doctrinal debates and 'reformation' when the secular authorities support doctrinal changes with new laws, *Italian Reform*, p.3.
[16] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 213. On the relationship between the Italian vernacular and religious reform in Italy see Massimo Firpo, 'Riforma religiosa e lingua volgare nell'Italia del '500', *Belfagor* 57.5 (2002), 517–539.
[17] However, Florio still wrote some exemplary sentences that mimic daily life dialogues on commercial exchanges between Italy and England, *Regole*, fols 52^{v}–53^{v}.
[18] Carla Rossi, *Italus ore*, p. 26.
[19] Ochino also fled because he did not want to continue to 'wear the mask' concealing his religious belief as a 'nicodemite', see Overell, *Nicodemites*, p. 25.
[20] Michelangelo Florio, *Historia de la vita e de la morte de l'illustriss. signora Giovanna Graia* ([Middelburg], s.n., 1607), p. 28. Florio lists as his main persecutors Cardinals Gian Pietro Carafa (1476–1559, later on Pope Paul IV), Prospero Santacroce (1514–1589), Pier Francesco da Gagliano (1484–1559) and Francesco Sforndati (1493–1550). In *Apologia*, p. 73^{v}.

his writings for their safety – had met and helped him.[21] Florio's extensive travelling and local contacts confirm that he was part of a vast network of reformers spread throughout the Italian peninsula and beyond the Alps.

Scholars have linked Michelangelo Florio with the reformist environment around the English ambassador in Venice Edmund Harvel, in particular through Harvel's heretic physician Girolamo Donzellini and former Benedictine friar Vincenzo Maggi.[22] Florio also knew heretical Florentine banker Bartolomeo Panciatichi who was William Thomas' friend.[23] Harvel, Thomas and other English people might have become aware of Florio's doctrinal positions when he translated Saint Augustine's writings on free will, grace and justification by faith and gave the manuscript to Donzellini.[24] Florio's network clearly included contacts within the English evangelical party because Florio was able to reach England and immediately take up the position of minister of the Reformed Italian Church in London with an annual royal pension of 20 pounds and board and lodgings in Mincing Lane provided by the Italian congregation.[25] The Reformed Italian Church was part of the Strangers' Church which carried political weight, in 1550 becoming an independent religious entity under Edward VI outside of the control of the bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley.[26] Florio, therefore, became part of the group of reformers from the continent brought to England to support the reformation.

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[21] Pellegrini, 'Michelangelo Florio', pp. 77–78: Rossi, *Italus ore*, pp. 41–43.
[22] Florio taught Logic to Donzellini in Brescia, see Frederick C. Church, *I Riformatori Italiani*, volume I, p. 257; Overell, *Nicodemites*, p. 85; Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, *Medicine and the Reformation* (London: Routledge, 2002) p. 122.
[23] Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto, *I processi contro don Lorenzo Davidico : il processo vescovile a Novara (1553–1555), il processo inquisitoriale a Roma (1555–1557)* (Città del Vaticano: Archivio segreto Vaticano, 2011), p. 130.
[24] During an inquisition trial in Venice in 1560, Donzellini declared that he received Saint Augustin's manuscript translation by Florio, but it is not clear the exact date. On similar religious topics, Florio also translated Calvin, see Adriano Prosperi, *L'Eresia del Libro Grande (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2000)*, pp. 205, 222. What Michelangelo Florio thought about mass and transubstantiation and crucial biographical information also appeared in his *Apologia* (1557). See Pellegrini, 'Michelangelo Florio', pp. 79–82.
[25] Rossi, *Italus Ore*, p. 42.
[26] The Strangers' Church was superintended by the Polish Jan Łaski (1499 –1560) or Johannes à Lasco who visited Italy with his brother and diplomat Hieronymus between 1524 and 1526, probably meeting Cardinal Reginald Pole in Padua, see Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors*, p. 110.

Cranmer and Cecil offered political protection to Florio during his repeated troubles in London, which suggests that he was considered an important asset by the evangelical party. These troubles included not paying for his licence to preach during Lent 1551 according to the Mercer's Company. He also clashed with fourteen Italians for economic and religious reasons.[27] Finally, he was accused of sexually abusing a servant in his household who got pregnant. In a letter to William Cecil, Florio asked to be pardoned for his sin of the flesh - with no reference to acts of violence- and declared to be ready for public penance.[28] The terms of this penance are unknown but whatever they may have been Florio was believed fit to work and live as a tutor in Jane Grey's London residence in November 1552, probably thanks to the intercession of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.[29] During Northumberland's rise to power, Michelangelo Florio worked on the two Italian grammar manuscripts for Henry Herbert and Jane Grey – heirs to the main families supporting the Duke - demonstrating the intersection between the Italian language, pedagogy and the political-religious discourse in England.

Florio established his religious-political militancy through education with his *Catechismo* (1553), the first book entirely in Italian to be printed in England.[30] This book was a translation of John Ponet's *Catechism,* which Florio dedicated to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and to King Edward VI, who had requested the translation. According to Florio, the catechism was a 'specchio' ['mirror'] reflecting Dudley's religious virtues and political power: he was according to the text 'tra i principali […] all'hora che questo regno d'Inghilterra alle reliquie dell'Antichristianesimo rimaste ci fu dato bando […]' ['One of the main actors who banned the

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[27] The list of Italians in London who accused Florio included the powerful Genoese merchants Benedetto Spinola and Antonio Bruschetto, and two Florentine bankers from the Cavalcanti family. Rossi, *Italus Ore*, pp. 48–53.
[28] See Rossi, *Italus ore*, pp. 63–64. Rossi assumes that marrying the woman and recognising the child, John Florio, might have been part of the penance.
[29] On 20 November 1552, Thomas Cranmer wrote in a letter to William Cecil that he strongly recommended Florio to John Dudley, Rossi, *Italus ore*, pp. 64–67.
[30] Tomita, *A Bibliographical*, p. 15; Stefano Villani, 'Amaestrare i fanciulli?': traduzioni in italiano di catechismi della Chiesa d'Inghilterra nella prima età moderna', *Rivista storica italiana*, 129.1, (2017), 114–136 (p. 119–131).

anti-Christian relics in this kingdom of England'].[31] The original book was part of Thomas Cranmer's strategy of steering the English Reformation towards more Protestant positions. Ponet was Cranmer's chaplain, and his work was a religious-pedagogical book which - after the approval by a synod of Bishops and other religious authorities in 1552 - Edward VI set as a compulsory teaching text for all the masters of grammar of England and Ireland. Thanks to the format with questions and answers that was typical of several kind of pedagogical book, Florio's translation of Ponet's *Catechism* could become another source for Italian language-learning in England.[32] Tomita, as well, suggests that Edward VI himself might have used this book for his Italian learning.[33] As does his translation of *Catechism*, Michelangelo Florio's *Regole* clearly reflected its author's life as a persecuted religious reformer in Italy and a collaborator of the reformist party in England. Italian, or rather his native Tuscan, was a crucial element in this collaboration.

When Florio arrived in London in 1550, he took up the position as minister within the Italian Church in San Gabriel Fanchurch that was previously held by another Tuscan, Bernardo Ochino. Florio was able to transition from being a prisoner in Rome to a stable life in a new country relatively quickly, following Ochino's footsteps. For a brief period during Edward VI's reign, Ochino was the favourite propaganda weapon of the English evangelical party fighting to establish its power internally and internationally. Fuel and by-product of this phenomenon was an interest in the Italian language that allowed access to sources and people that could argue in favour of reformist ideas and against the papal authority. Ochino's message was particularly valuable because he brought radical religious ideas to England from the belly of the Catholic

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[31] Years later Michelangelo's son, Giovanni or John, confirmed his father's service for the Dudleys in the dedication of his Italian–English manual *Firste Fruites* (1578) to Dudley's son and favourite of Elizabeth I, Robert, earl of Leicester: 'Massime per èssere io uscito de le viscere di chi v' é stato fedel, e divoto Vassallo, e per consegvente essendo io restato Sucessore de la medesima servitú, e divotione [...]' ['Mainly because I came out of the loins of one who was loyal towards you, and a devote vassal, and so I am left as successor of this servitude and devotion'].

[32] An example of contemporary Italian grammar using the format with questions and answers was Giacomo Gabriele, *Regole grammaticali* (Venice: 1545). On catechisms in Latin and English used in England, see Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[33] Tomita, *A Bibliographical*, p.15.

beast. Florio clearly benefitted from Ochino's fame and probably, as an Italian reformer, he was expected to have a similar impact on religious matters in England. The next section will briefly present Ochino's success in England to explain the context that Florio might have encountered there and why it was deemed important for Jane Grey to learn Italian with him.

2. The English 'evangelical party' and Ochino (1547– 1553)

Bernardo Ochino's visit to England reveals how certain powerful individuals, sometimes defined as the 'evangelical party', co-opted the services of Italian reformers, their vernacular language included, as a justification for religious reformation and a way of scoring political points against the papacy. In England Ochino's anti-papism came to the fore in 1549, when bishop John Ponet translated into English for printing a series of Ochino's dialogues in which Henry VIII and Edward VI defeat Lucifer and the pope's evil project.[34] Ochino reached England together with Peter Martyr from Strasbourg in 1547 after meeting Thomas Hoby there. It was Hoby's patron, William Parr, who sponsored the two Italians' visit to England. Ochino and Peter Martyr helped Thomas Cranmer with his religious reforms and with the political ones by William Parr, Edward Seymour and John Dudley.[35] As Overell summarises: 'They were supplied with travel money, good jobs, translators, hospitality at Lambeth and audiences in London for sermons delivered in

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[34] Bernardo Ochino and John Ponet (trans.), *Tragoedie or Dialoge of the unjuste usurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome* ([London, Nicolas Hill for Walter Lynne], 1549). See Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 91–95. This dialogue by Ochino inspired Edward VI to compose a treatise against papal supremacy in French, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: Penguin, 2017), pp. 26–27.

[35] The two renegade Catholics contributed to develop the new national religion with university lectures at Oxford – where Peter Martyr became Regius Professor of Divinity – and Cambridge, epistolary exchanges, contributions to *The Book of prayer* (1552), sermons and written pieces until Mary's Catholic restoration. John Tedeschi and Grazia Biondi, 'I Contributi Culturali Dei Riformatori Protestanti Italiani Nel Tardo Rinascimento', *Italica*, 64.1 (1987), pp. 19–61.

Italian. Edward VI's reformation was open to experiments, Europhile – and radical'.[36] Many of Ochino's English supporters knew Italian, for example Cranmer, John Ponet, Thomas Hoby and Richard Morison who hosted him in his house in Whitefriars.[37] Thomas Cranmer knew the language having travelled throughout Italy in 1530 and having translated an Italian report about Cardinal Pole for Henry VIII in 1536.[38] In England, religious ceremonies and sermons were often a source of Italian language input, with Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, and William Parr regularly listening to Ochino's Italian sermons.[39] Another Italian theologian in England and Ochino's friend, Peter Martyr, also preached in Italian in his house in Oxford. Without a doubt, the forefront of the English reformation relied on Italian textual and personal encounters to acquire legitimisation and religious material especially in matters attacking papal legitimacy and promoting justification by faith alone.

The translation of 'the book of Italian reformation' – Marcantonio Flaminio and Benedetto da Mantova's *Il Beneficio di Cristo* (1542) – shows the English interest for what Ochino and the Italian Catholics' *spirituali* movement thought about justification by faith alone.[40] The book stressed the centrality of faith and Christ's death for human salvation, relying on John Calvin, Martin Luther and Juan de Valdes, but could also satisfy certain Catholics maintaining the

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[36] Overell, *Italian Reform*, p. 205.

[37] For Cranmer's translation of a document word for word from Italian into English in 1536, see *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. by John E. Cox, (Cambridge: University Press, 1846), pp. 330–32. Also Overell, *Italian Reform*, pp. 43–44. On Morison hosting Ochino see Tracey A. Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England the Careers of Sir Richard Morison, c. 1513–1556* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 153.

[38] Park, 'The Genesis', pp. 532–533. On Cranmer in Italy with Thomas Boleyn, John Stokesley, Edward Lee and William Benet, see Fletcher, *Our Man in Rome*, p. 119.

[39] Van der Delft letter to Charles V 23, February 1548. See Massimo Sturiale, *I Sermons di Anne Cooke: versione 'riformata' delle Prediche di Bernardino Ochino* (Catania, Università degli studi di Catania, 2003), pp. 18, 20.

[40] In addition to *Il Beneficio*, recent scholarship has found that another religious work by Marcantonio Flaminio on Saint Paul and justification was translated and printed in England within Anne Seymour's household: Marcantonio Flaminio, *Pie et christiane meditationi et orationi formate sopra la Epistola di san Pavli ai Romani* (Venice: s.n., 1548); Thomas Becon, *Christen Prayers and Godly Meditacions* (London: John Wyer, 1550). See Jonathan Reimer, 'The Lost Works of Thomas Becon', *The Library*, 21.4 (2020), 477–497.

importance of good works as a manifestation of faith.[41] Ochino himself influenced and was influenced by *Il Beneficio di Cristo* and abandoned the Catholic faith in 1542 due to his religious convictions around justification by faith.[42] In the *spirituali* movement there were different points of view: Edward Courtney probably believed he could improve his situation by learning Italian and translating *Il Beneficio di Cristo* from the Tower where he had been imprisoned since 1538. Courtney dedicated his manuscript, *The Benefit of Christ's Death* (1548), to Anne Seymour in order to find a protector who could sponsor his liberation, probably her husband, the Lord Protector Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset and uncle of King Edward VI.[43] Edward VI himself read Courtney's translation and noted on its pages 'Faith is dede if it be without workes'.[44] Edward VI's comment shows how the young king noticed the core message of *Il Beneficio di Cristo*, which was half-way between the Protestants' and Catholics' positions on the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Although coming from the *spirituali* environment, Ochino brought to England a stronger position in favour of justification by faith alone.

Translations into English of Bernardo Ochino's works were a reaction to the circulation in Italian of his *Prediche* (1543) and his preaching in the Italian vernacular in England.[45] Ochino made a point of writing and preaching in the vernacular, as he wrote in one of the introductions

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[41] The story of the creation of the final version of *Il Beneficio di Cristo* after the intervention of several authors and editors is an extraordinary window on the complex scenario of Italian and European reformation and geo–politics. See Carlo Ginzburg and Adriano Prosperi, *Giochi di pazienza: un seminario sul Beneficio di Cristo* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1977); Massimo Firpo and Guillaume Alonge, *Il Beneficio di Cristo e l'eresia italiana del '500* (Rome: Laterza, 2022).

[42] On Ochino and *Il Beneficio di Cristo,* see Firpo and Alonge, *Il Beneficio di Cristo*, pp. 128–140; Carlo Ossola, 'Nei 'labirinti' del 'Beneficio di Cristo', *Cultura e societa nel Rinascimento tra riforme e manierismi,* ed. by Vittore Branca and Carlo Ossola (Florence: Olschki VI, 1984), pp. 409–422.

[43] Overell, *Nicodemites*, pp. 115–130. Anne Seymour, as wife of Edward Seymour, Lord Protector of England (1547–1549) at that time considered herself as Queen (Courtney addressed her in the book as 'Princes'), in a higher position than Katherine Parr who, after Henry VIII's death, had married Edward Seymour's younger brother, Thomas Seymour. Courtney's manuscript is transcribed, in Aonio Paleario and John Ayre, *The benefit of Christ's death: originally written by Antonio Paleario; now reprinted from an ancient English translation* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1880).

[44] Edward the VI also wrote on the manuscript of *The Benefit of Christ's Death* 'Live to die, and die to live again' and signed both notes 'your loving neueu Edward'.

[45] Thomas Smith has a copy of Ochino's *Prediche* in his 1566 library inventory, see John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith, Kt. Doctor of the Civil Law, Principal Secretary of State to King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth* (London: Printed for A. Roper, 1698), p. 274.

of his *Prediche*: 'Oh Italy of mine, since at the moment I cannot preach there with living voice, I will be keen to write, and I will do so in the vernacular language, in a way that will be more extensively shared and I will think that Christ wanted it to be so'.[46] The use of Italian captivated his English readership's imagination with a new esoteric flavour promising to access a related but linguistically and religiously different truth from the one provided by the Latin of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, not everybody could understand Italian, so it was necessary to translate Ochino's prophetic truth into English so as to reach 'all men', according to Anthony Skoloker (d.1593), printer and perhaps co-translator of six sermons by Ochino with Richard Argentine in 1548.[47] Argentine, an Ipswich schoolmaster, dedicated this English translation to the Duke of Somerset confirming how top English reformists welcomed translations of Ochino as an aid to their internal and foreign policies. Women also belonged to the English reformists group and some of them, such as Elizabeth Tudor and Anne Cooke, translated Ochino's *Prediche* too.

3. Elizabeth Tudor, Anne Cooke and their translations of *Prediche* (1543) by Bernardo Ochino: Tudor women did study Italian

Elizabeth Tudor and Anne Cooke translated Ochino's *Prediche* and their example, as reformists and learned women, could explain Jane Grey's motivations to learn Italian and in particular with

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[46] 'Dapoi adunque Italia mia, che con viva voce, non posso per hora piu predicarti, mi sfarzarò scrivere, & in lingua vulgare, acciò sia piu comune, & pensaro che Christo habbi cosi voluto [...]', Bernardino Ochino, *Prediche di Bernardino ochino da siena. Nouellamente ristampate et con grande diligentia riuedute et corrette. Con la sua tauola nel fine* (Basel: Peter Perna, Michael Isengrin, ca. 1549), sig. a2^{v}. USTC displays incorrectly most of the Italian works by Ochino as written in Latin language.

[47] 'God [..] doth sende unto us hys Prophetes oute of straunge countreis that the congregation therby maye be edifyed and moost bounde to render thankes unto his for his infinite mercy. Amongest the which Bernardinus Ochinus and Petrus Martyr men of great learninge whiche are nowe come unto us. And for as moch as the sayd Bernard preachech in the Italyan tongue which all men understand not I have seth forth syx of his Sermoons oute of this tongue into Inglysh. Intendinge to set forth the rest very shortlye (yf these shalbe thankefully receaved) to the intent that his nature tongue therby may be made oures and that the glory of God maye the better be set forth.' from Richard Argentin, *Sermons of the Ryght Famous a[n]d Excellent Clerke Master Bernardine Ochine, Borne within the Famous Vniversyte of Siena in Italy, Nowe also an Exyle in this Life, for the Faythfull Testimony of Jesus Christ* (Ipswich: Anthony Scoloker, 1548), sigs a2^{v}–a3^{r}.

the supervision of a known reformer such as Michelangelo Florio and an anti-Catholic text such as his *Regole*. These translations of sermons challenge the theory of Tudor women's alleged disengagement with Italian, suggested by the absence of specific manuals designed for women.[48] Furthermore, other scholars tended to minimise the Italian cultural and linguistic influence on Tudor women, especially in the first part of the sixteenth century, labelling these sermons as 'marginal and minor genres' in comparison with epic poems.[49] On the contrary, I argue that Elizabeth Tudor and Anne Cooke showed that Italian skills offered an opportunity for Tudor women's voices to be heard on the main topics of the time such as justification by faith alone - even if through the 'protection', 'control' and 'restriction' that the authorship of a popular male author such as Ochino provided. This opportunity happened thanks to the development of Italian as an international language of culture, the expanding printing-press market, the doctrinal and practical changes of the Reformation, and the improved literacy.[50] By presenting a context where Tudor women learned Italian and translated religious material, it is easier to understand why Jane Grey asked the reformer Michelangelo Florio for help to learn the Tuscan grammar.

Elizabeth I's legitimacy and power came from her religious knowledge and her public image as a pious woman that she built thanks, in part, to interaction with Italian religious sources and respected authorities in England like Ochino. 'Indeed, I studied nothing else but divinity till I

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[48] For example, Lucilla Pizzoli, considering only manuals specifically targeting women, sets the eighteenth century as the beginning of English women's interest for the Italian language, in *Le Grammatiche di italiano*, pp. 60–61. However, Gallagher shifts the beginning of the phenomenon back to the middle of the sixteenth century, see Gallagher, 'Ungrateful Tuscan', pp. 398–399, 410.

[49] Pamela Joseph Benson, 'Italian in Tudor England: Why Couldn't a Woman Be More Like a Man?', in *A Companion to Tudor Literature* (2010), 261–275 (p. 262). See also, idem, 'The Stigma of Italy Undone: Aemilia Lanyer's Canonization of Lady Mary Sidney', in *Strong Voices, Weak History: Early Women Writers and Canons in England, France, and Italy*, ed. by Pamela Joseph Benson and Victoria Kirkham, pp. 146–175. On the crucial cultural role of sermons in Tudor England, see Lucy Wooding, 'From Tudor Humanism to Reformation Preaching' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by, Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Susan Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[50] Massimo Sturiale, 'Translation an Elizabethan 'female art'?', in *Thou sittest at another boke: English studies in honour of Domenico Pezzini*, ed. by Giovanni Iamartino, Maria Luisa Maggioni and Roberta Facchinetti (Monza: Polimetrica: 2008), pp. 85–97.

came to the crown,' said Elizabeth in a speech defending her right to discuss her marriage and succession in 1566.[51] An early sign of princess Elizabeth Tudor's application of her Italian learning is her translation into Latin of one of Ochino's sermons on Christ's grace (*Che cosa è Christo*) in 1547, which she dedicated to Edward VI. The fact that Elizabeth respected the original wording, and only a few sentences were omitted, suggests that this was a linguistic exercise.[52] Elizabeth's Italian practice on religious subjects did not stop at the written medium. She conversed with Ochino in person to clarify the subject of predestination and she revealed to him 'her beautiful, rare, and subtle intelligence: but also the ardent wish to know the high and deep secrets of God.'[53] Elizabeth's devotion and doctrinal curiosity, in line with her step-mother's, Queen Katherine Parr, became a precious political asset at the time of religious transformation in England and Europe. Elizabeth had already explored the figure of Christ as a means to salvation in 1544, in her English translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* (1531), in 1545, in a multilingual translation (Italian, French, Latin) of Katherine Parr's *Prayers or Meditation* (1545) and in a translation from French into English of John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian religion* (1541). [54] The young princess's religious translation of reformed works signalled her

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[51] Marcus, Mueller and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, p. 96

[52] Gabrieli already suggested that translating the 'simple language of Ochino' would have been a valid linguistic exercise, Vittorio Gabrieli, 'Bernardino Ochino 'Sermo de Christo'. Un inedito di Elisabetta Tudor', *La Cultura*, 21.1 (1983), 151–174. See also Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I. Translations*, 296–297. Moreover, in 1569 Elizabeth might have expressed her religiosity in Italian by composing three prayers, see Marcus, Mueller and Rose, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 143–144, 152–154.

[53] See Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel, *Elizabeth I. Translations, 1544–1589* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 300–327. This edition provides Ochino's original Sermon in Latin, its English translation and comments. Another transcription of the original with comments is in Vittorio Gabrielli, 'Bernardino Ochino: 'Sermo de Christo', un inedito di Elisabetta Tudor', *La Cultura,* 21 (1983), 151–174. For other suggested dates of composition, see Brenda M. Hosington, 'The Young Princess Elizabeth, Neo–Latin, and the Power of the Written Word', in *Elizabeth I in Writing: Language, Power and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. by Donatella Montini and Iolanda Plescia (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 11–36, (pp. 29–30). Ochino described his meeting with Elizabeth in his book on free will *Prediche di M. Bernardino ochino senese, nomate laberinti del libero, o ver seruo arbitrio, prescienza, predestinatione, & libertà divina, & del modo per uscirne. Non mai per l'adietro stampate* (Basel: Peter Perna,1561), sig. A3^{r-v}.

[54] Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* was a mystical poem based on self–contemplation, a personal relationship with Christ and reformist arguments such as salvation by faith alone that Elizabeth translated into English prose in an embroidered manuscript with the title *The Miroir or Glasse of the Synneful Soul* for Katherine Parr in 1544. For Elizabeth New Year's gifts see Jane A. Lawson, 'This Remembrance of the New Year: Books Given to

candidacy as the future leader of the evangelical party in England, at the time led by archbishop Thomas Cranmer. Thanks to her education, Elizabeth represented the main hope for English evangelicals during Mary's reign and a promising ally for anti-Catholics, and even reform-oriented Catholics such as the *spirituali*, in Europe. The textual and personal encounters with Ochino through the medium of Italian were part of Elizabeth Tudor's education.

Elizabeth Tudor was not an isolated learner of Italian but was probably an above-average student of languages who knew how to use them to her advantage. Previous English generations had already established learning languages as beneficial to education, politics and diplomacy for women, too. For instance, Elizabeth Tudor's mother, Anne Boleyn, wanted her daughter to be trained in 'the knowlege of all tounges, [as Hebrue, Greeke, Latyne, Italian, Spanishe, Frenche]' so that 'she might in after tyme be hable sufficiently to judge of all maters and embassages'. [55] And Mary Tudor learned Italian (in addition to English, Latin, French and Spanish) but, according to Venetian Ambassador Giovanni Michieli, she was afraid to speak it publicly despite having good comprehension skills.[56] Elizabeth employed Italian for 'ambition', winning the linguistic competition with her step-sister, Queen Mary I, according to a 1577 report by the Venetian ambassador: 'She [Elizabeth] is more proficient than the queen [Mary] in her knowledge of languages because, in addition to Latin together with an anything but mediocre knowledge of Greek, she speaks the Italian language better than the queen, and she is so pleased to do so that with Italians, because of her ambition, she always wants to use it [instead of other languages]'.[57] This shows that as well as the ability to understand and discuss specific matters, simply showing

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Queen Elizabeth as New Year's Gifts', in *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing*, ed. by Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo (London: British Library, 2007), pp. 133–171 (pp. 138–139).

[55] William Latymer, 'William Latymer's Cronickille of Anne Bulleyne,' *Camden Miscellany*, 30.39 (1990), 23–65 (p. 63).

[56] Giovanni Michieli 'Relazioni d'Inghilterra del clarissimo Giovanni Micheli' in *Relazioni degli ambasciatori*, ed. by Albèri, p. 323.

[57] 'Supera la regina nella cognizione delle lingue, perchè oltra che con la latina abbia congiunta non mediocre cognizione della greca, parla, di più che non fa la regina, l'italiana, nella quale si compiace tanto, che con gl'Italiani, per ambizione, non vuol mai parlar altrimenti', ibid.

her Italian skills publicly gave a certain political edge to Elizabeth Tudor. Similar reasons for learning Italian probably animated the 'party' behind Jane Grey's claim to the throne of England.

Italian language-learning and translating Ochino's *Prediche* were not the prerogative of queens and princesses alone. Members of the upper middle class practised language-learning too as a means of defining their status and seeking preferment, women included. In 1548, Anne Cooke (Bacon by marriage in 1553), who was one of the four studious daughters of the humanist and linguist Anthony Cooke, translated into English five Italian sermons by Ochino revolving around justification by faith alone, and attacking the Catholic Church's hierarchies and the sacrament of confession.[58] The Cooke family was traditionally part of the powerful companies of merchants that governed the city of London and for whom learning languages was important for professional reasons related to business and commerce.[59] However, Anthony Cooke mainly shifted his career in the complementary directions of education, diplomacy and administrative roles for the monarchy. Anthony Cooke encouraged his daughters to learn languages, Tuscan included. Visiting the Cooke household, Latinist Walter Haddon felt 'to be living among the Tusculans, except that the studies of women were flourishing in this Tuscany'.[60] Italian was a desirable language skill in the emerging gentry groups, and this is reflected by the fact that at least four out of five Cooke sisters married Italophile husbands.[61]

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[58] Anne Cooke, *Sermons of Bernardino Ochine of Sena* (London: Roger Car for William Riddel, 1548). Cooke translated sermons xxi, ix, x, xli, xi from Ochino's *Prediche* (Genève, Jean Gérard, 1542), see Sturiale, *I Sermons*, p. 32; Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), p. 64.

[59] Anne Cooke's mother, Anne Fitzwilliam (d.1553) was the daughter of London Merchant Taylor and sheriff of London William Fitzwilliam (c.1460–1534). Anne Cooke's great–great–grandfather was Sir Thomas Cooke a member of the Worshipful Company of Drapers and Lord Mayor of London in 1462–3.

[60] Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p. 18.

[61] Mildred Cooke (1526–1589) married William Cecil as his second wife in December 1545. Anne Cooke (c. 1528–1610) married Nicholas Bacon (1510–1579) as his second wife in February 1553. Elizabeth Cooke (1528–1609) married Thomas Hoby on 27 June 1558. Katherine Cooke (c. 1542–1583) married Henry Killigrew of Cornwall (d. 1603) on 4 November 1565. Cecil, Bacon, Hoby and Killigrew all knew Italian. I could not find confirmation of any knowledge of Italian by Ralph Rowlett who married Margaret Cooke (d. 3 August 1558) a few weeks before her death.

In her translation of Ochino, Anne Cooke revealed in the anonymous introduction to her reader that she was just a beginner and that translating would help her to improve her knowledge:

> pardon my grosse tearmes as of a begynner, and beare wyth my translation, as of a learner obteynynge thys of the good reader I shalbe redye and wyllynge hereafter when god geveth better knowlege (accordyng as my talent wyll extende) to turne mo godly sermons of the sayd mayster Barnardine into Englishe for the enformacion of all that desyre to know the truth.[62]

Afterwards, around 1550, Anne Cooke translated a further fourteen sermons of Ochino focusing more on the Calvinist theme of predestination.[63] The anonymous editor G.B., in the introduction of the *Fourteen sermons* (1551?), justified possible mistakes in the translation noting that Anne was 'a woman' living in her father's house which she never left to learn the language:

> 'If oughte be erred in the translacion, remember it is a womans yea, a Ientyl womans, who commenly are wonted to lyue Idelly, a maidens yt neuer gaddid farder them hir fathers house to learne the language'.[64] Anne Cooke's example demonstrates that it was not only noble but also wealthy merchant-class women who had enough language input to learn Italian in their homes.

The prospect of printing and authorial fame was not the main reason for women to attempt translations from Italian, so it would be a mistake to consider only printed translations as signs of women's interest in the Italian language. As well as a linguistic exercise, a private translation was a means to understand controversial subjects and develop a personal opinion. This is what another Cooke sister, Elizabeth (Hoby/ Russel), meant to achieve by translating one of Ponet's works on transubstantiation. Elizabeth explained to her daughter Anne in the introduction: 'Surely at the first I meant not to haue set it abroad in Print, but my selfe onely to

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[62] Cooke, *Sermons*, Aiii[v].

[63] Cooke, F*ouretene sermons concernyng the predestinacion and eleccion of god: very expediente to the settynge forth of hys glorye among hys* creatures (London, John Daye and William Seres, 1551). Here, Cooke translated sermons from xxvii to xli (xxxviii excluded) from the second part of Ochino's *Prediche*. A later edition collected these five old translations and fourteen new translations by Anne (also adding six by the Argentine's edition in 1548): *Certayne Sermons of the ryghte famous and excellente Clerk Master Barnardine Ochine* (London: John Day, 1551). See Sturiale, *I Sermons*; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 58–59.

[64] Anne Overell suggests Gulielmus Baldwinus or William Goldwin as G.B., *Italian Reform,* p. 55. See also Sturiale, *I Sermons*, p. 57.

haue some certaintie to leane vnto, in a matter so full of controuersie, and to yeeld a reason of my opinion'.[65] Beyond the classic 'modesty trope' in relation to the printing of this introduction, Tudor women privately translated in order to develop and express their opinions. Coming back to Anne's translations of *Prediche*, an analysis of the verbs demonstrates that she turned to Ochino's words to express her precise opinion when this might slightly diverge from the Italian version.[66] Bearing in mind that printing was not the main priority for women writing, we can assume that more women were able to practise with now lost manuscript Italian translations for language-learning and in order to expand their religious knowledge.

Anne and her sisters showed that education was 'a way in which individual women could negotiate the patriarchal restriction placed upon them by early modern society'.[67] Yet not all women approved. Anne's mother, Anne Fitzwilliam (d.1553), did not favour her daughter's Italian learning. Anne refers to her mother in the dedication of *Fourtene Sermons* and hopes to address her concerns by reassuring her of the importance of language-learning for piety:

> Wherein amonge the rest it hath pleased you, often, to reproue my vaine studye in the Italyan tonge, accompting the sede thereof, to haue bene sowen in barayne, vnfruitful grounde (syns God thereby is no whytte magnifyed) I haue at the last, perceiued it my duty to proue howe muche the vnderstandynge of youre wyll, could worcke in me towardes the accomplyshynge of the same.[68]

Piety was a field that enclosed and silenced feminine voices in moments of strict religious orthodoxy, but during the English Reformation a woman's opinion could find its way. Later in the century, the public 'window' associating Italian religious material and Tudor women seemed to close. In fact, Anne Bacon did not officially translate anything else from Italian, with her sole

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[65] Elizabeth Russell, *A way of Reconciliation* (London: R. Barker, 1605). Elizabeth dedicated her translation from John Ponet's *Diallacticon* (Strasbourg, 1557) to her daughter Anne Herbert (d. 1639). See Sturiale, *I Sermons*, pp. 60–61.
[66] Sturiale analysed the occurrence of Italian words expressing necessity (bisognare, necessitare) and obligation (dovere, 'avere da') in Anne's translation into English. He concluded in these kinds of expressions is it possible to catch Anne's personal thoughts beyond Ochino's ideas, *I Sermons*, pp. 71–96.
[67] Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p. 10.
[68] See also Sturiale, *I Sermons*, 64–65.

translation in print being from Latin: John Jewel's *Apologie of the Church of England*, translated in 1564.[69] On the other hand, Anne Bacon and her sisters continued to exercise political influence thanks to their education. For example, from her Gorhambury estate, Anne controlled the clerical advowson in Hertfordshire; Elizabeth took over the ambassadorial functions of her husband Thomas Hoby, when he died in service in Paris in 1566; and Mildred was a close collaborator of her husband William Cecil, the Queen's Principal Secretary and Treasurer.[70] Although women restricted their translational activity to religious sermons and topics, their linguistic and intellectual ambition went hand-in-hand with high levels of agency and practical ambitions.

Elizabeth Tudor's and Anne Cooke's translations of Ochino's *Prediche* represent the most visible output from Tudor women's interests in the Italian language. Italian religious material attracted Tudor women's attention and gave them an opportunity to develop and practise their linguistic skills as readers, dedicatees and translators. More generally, Tudor women – even if to different degrees and in different ways - felt the effects of the new cultural waves coming from the Italian peninsula, where women had more access to education and literary achievements, also thanks to the codification and rising prestige of Italian vernacular.[71] According to Sanson,

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[69] Additionally, Anne wrote the introductory poems with three of her sisters (Mildred and Elizabeth in Greek, Anne and Katherine in Latin). Anne Locke and her second husband, the preacher Edward Dering, also added their poems, in Latin and Greek respectively) to her translation of the Italian manuscript of Bartholo Sylva's 'Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato' (Cambridge, MS. CUL Ii.5.37). In February 1571, Petruccio Ubaldini illuminated the Italian, and on 24 May 1572 another hand added the poems. The manuscript is 'a tour de force of scholarship', planned by Leicester to please Elizabeth I, see Chris Laoutaris, 'The Radical Pedagogies of Lady Elizabeth Russell', *Performing Pedagogy in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kathryn M. Moncrief, Kathryn Read McPherson (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 81–100, (pp. 77–78); see also Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p. 170.

[70] Ibid., pp. 124–159.

[71] On 'The uses of literacy in early modern Italy', see Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (New York: Cambridge University Press 1987), pp. 110–131, for women literacy see pp. 129–130. When researching women's literacy in England, Cressy indicated that in 1500 only 1% of women (10% men) could write a signature, see David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). However, the limitations of Cressy's methodology have been contested and the results of several studies imply that women's literacy increased substantially in the sixteenth century. For an overview, see Jaqueline Eales, 'Women in Early Modern England', pp. 35–46. In the sixteenth century the work of two hundred Italian women appeared in print, compared to seventeen in England, see Axel

vernacular Italian encouraged female education in Italy: 'recent studies have shown how in the course of the sixteenth century the field of vernacular grammar, initially the preserve of an elite male readership, opened up also to the less learned and, among these, to women'.[72] Italy was, after all, 'whear the ladys and gentle wymen are so enclyned to learnenge and vertue' according to William Barker's dedication of his *The Nobility of Women* (1559) to Elizabeth I.[73] And it is not by chance that Barker's examples of learned Tudor women included Elizabeth Tudor, the Cooke sisters and Jane Grey.

This is the context, then, in which Jane Grey comes to learn Italian: like Elizabeth this language helped her to participate in the reformation process, and their knowledge of multiple languages provided a less mediated access to biblical sources, Church fathers' texts, sermons and contemporary commentaries. Jane Grey's relatively short life does not allow us to fully appreciate the advantages that she might have had by studying Italian. However, after acknowledging her accomplishment in education and use of other languages, in the next section I will suggest her reasons for studying Italian and possible uses of it. It is possible to compare Elizabeth Tudor's learning and use of Italian with Jane Grey's experience when considering their Protestant religious piety and shared connections and destiny as queens of England. Moreover, the fact that Michelangelo Florio used the same grammar for Jane Grey and Henry Herbert shows that young women could learn with the same materials and practices used by young boys.

Erdmann, *My Gracious Silence, Women in the Mirror of 16th Century Printing in Western Europe* (Luzern: Gilhofer & Ranschburg 1999); also Virginia Cox, *Lyric Poetry by Women of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2013). For women in Italian academies, see Virginia Cox, 'Members, Muses, Mascots: Women and Italian Academies', in *The Italian Academies*, 150–187.

[72] Helena Sanson, "Orsù, Non Più Signora,[...] Tornate A Segno': Women, Language Games, And Debates In Cinquecento Italy', *The Modern Language Review*, 1 (2010), 103–121 (p. 103).

[73] Barker, *A Dyssputacion*, f. 88.

4. Michelangelo Florio and Italian language in the education of Jane Grey

Given his dual role as religious minister and expert in the Tuscan language, it is easy to argue that Michelangelo Florio found employment in the Grey household to facilitate Jane Grey's religious studies where the Italian vernacular played a crucial role. Jane Grey may have started to learn Italian in order to emulate the religious translations of her cousin Elizabeth Tudor and impress Katherine Parr, who had married Grey's guardian Thomas Seymour.[74] And Florio may have envisioned for Jane Grey the same advantages that Elizabeth Tudor had gained by learning languages. Michelangelo wrote that from a young age Elizabeth: 'could understand and listen to different nations without interpreters and dangers of being deceived [...].'[75] Jane seemed to be on a similar educational path. If we take the linguist Thomas Chaloner's claim seriously, Jane Grey spoke eight languages: Hebrew, Arab, Chaldean or Aramaic, Greek, Latin, French and 'Tuscan'.[76] Michelangelo Florio's count of Jane Grey's languages is more conservative, enlisting Latin, Greek and Hebrew in addition to his 'Tuscan'.[77] Jane Grey was four years younger than Elizabeth Tudor and was probably expected to reach her level in Italian in addition to learning other languages. Parr and other English reformists knew that the present and future of the monarchy and of the English ruling classes required the understanding, adaptation and practical execution in the

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[74] Between 1547 and 1548, Jane Grey spent time in Katherine Parr's household, also in the company of Elizabeth Tudor. See Nicola Tallis, *Crown of Blood: the Deadly Inheritance of Lady Jane Grey* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2016), pp. 48–49, 64–74. On Elizabeth Tudor and the Italian language see Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 125–140; Alessandra Petrina, "Perfit readiness'.

[75] '[...]infino dalla sua giovane etade, la V.M.S. s'è ingegnata d'intendere, e parlare questa mia lingua, di quello che fatto s'abbia la Greca, la Franzese, & la Latina, per meglio potere da se stessa, senza la mezzanita d'interpreti con pericolo di essere ingannata intendere & ascoltare le nazioni diverse [...]', Florio, *De l'arte de metalli partita in XII libri* (Basel: Hieronimo Frobenio et Nicolao Episcopio, 1563), 2^{r}–3^{v}. The dedicatory letter to Elizabeth I dated 12 March 1563 is present only in the copy kept at the University of Basle.

[76] Thomas Chaloner, *De republica anglorum* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1579), p.298. Also Nicola Tallis, *Crown of Blood*, p. 49.

[77] Florio, *Historia de la vita*, p.26.

English context of the multilingual theological discussions pervading Europe and influencing government politics.

Florio wrote his grammars for Jane Grey and Henry Herbert in 1553, when she was preparing to be the next English queen, supported by the army of Henry's father, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and the influence on the Council of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.[78] The Greys envisaged a royal role for their daughter Jane by trying to sponsor a marriage with the new king, Edward VI, immediately after Henry VIII's death in 1547. [79] The main supporter of this plan was Thomas Seymour in his triple position of Edward VI's uncle, Jane's warden and new husband of the dowager queen Katherine Parr. The plan failed when Thomas Seymour was executed on 20 March 1549 due to conflicts with his brother Edward Seymour, Lord Protector of England, and other members of the regency council. A new chance to advance Jane's candidacy to the throne came with the execution of Edward Seymour in January 1552 and the rise of John Dudley as leader of the Council, supported by the evangelical party. Following the news of Edward VI's illness, John Dudley saw an opportunity to place Jane Grey on the throne after she married his son, Guildford, on 25 May 1553. On the same occasion Jane's sister, Katherine, married Florio's other pupil, Henry Herbert.[80]

When Florio was teaching Italian in their households, the Greys, the Herberts and the Dudleys could benefit from a closer relationship with Italian States such as Venice and Ferrara in

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[78] Venetian ambassador Michieli described Herbert as 'the most powerful personage in England' for his influence on the king's Council and prominent military strength to the Venetian Doge in 1551, see Charles R. Straton, *Survey of the Lands of William First Earl of Pembroke*, 2 vols (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1909), I, pp. xxxiv–xxxv. On William Herbert's military forces, see Narasingha Sil, 'The Earl of Pembroke and the Crisis in Queen Mary's Reign, 1553–58', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, 12.3 (1986), 159–179, (p 172–173). See also Jane Whitaker, 'An old Arcadia: the Gardens of William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton, Wiltshire', *Garden History* (2014), 141–156 (p. 144).

[79] Teenager Jane Grey had royal Tudor blood from her mother's, Lady Frances Brandon (1517–1559), the daughter of Mary Tudor, sister of king Henry VIII. Frances married Henry Grey (1517–1554), marquess of Dorset, in 1533, in the same year when he had the role of king's sword bearer at the coronation of Anne Boleyn.

[80] A third couple was married on that day in order to consolidate Northumberland's climb to power: his daughter Katherine married Lord Henry Hastings, son of the Earl of Huntingdon and of Katherine Pole. Henry Hastings was another Italianate individual who would become the dedicatee of Thomas Hoby's *The Courtyer*.

order to legitimise their coup d'état. Their Italian language skills, in fact, facilitated this diplomatic operation. For example, Italian speaker Henry Sidney (1529–1586), John Dudley's son-in-law, dealt with the Venetian ambassador Giacomo Soranzo and the ambassador of Ferrara in London during the delicate phases of preparing for Jane Grey's reign.[81] Soranzo was guest of honour at Jane Grey's wedding at Durham Place in Chelsea, describing it as 'in royal style' ['con apparato regio'].[82] The English evangelical party considered Venice their best international ally, because of its tolerant religious positions, longstanding diplomatic relationship and similar position in foreign policy that generally opposed the Papal states, the Empire and France, and made it clear that the future of the monarchy was in Dudley's hands. According to Soranzo, everybody at the time of the wedding was expecting King Edward VI to die of 'etisia' ['tuberculosis'] within that year. The king died the 10 July and the nine days of Jane Grey's reign started. Florio wrote his Tuscan grammars and Italian *Catechism,* dedicated to Dudley, in this political context as part of a project where religious and Italian pedagogy were complementary to English propagandistic goals.

Jane Grey's education started early in the 1540s and revolved around religious and philosophical subjects with the study of languages as a complementary tool. Jane's first official tutor was Dr. Thomas Harding, who was her father's chaplain, but his Catholicism cost him his tutoring position and Jane's respect.[83] John Aylmer, Cambridge scholar and future bishop of

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[81] Henry Sidney acted as contact between the ambassador of Ferrara in London ('The Count of Ferrara' perhaps Alfonso, Marquis of Montecchio, bastard son of Alfonso I, Duke of Ferrara), John Dudley and the English Court. Rumours also reported that Sidney was planning an imminent trip to Italy in May 1553. See *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11, 1553*, ed. by Royall Tyler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916), 37–48. British History Online, <http://www.british–history.ac.uk/cal–state–papers/spain/vol11/pp37–48> [accessed November 23, 2023].

[82] Giacomo Soranzo, 'Relazione d'Inghilterra (1554)' in *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato: raccolte, annotate, Serie I,* 6 vols, ed. by Eugenio Albèri (Florence: Società editrice fiorentina, 1853), III, pp. 29–87 (p. 38). On the wedding, see also 'Due lettere riguardo La Signora Iana Graia d'Inghilterra, scritto in Londra in Luglio di 1553' in *Lettere di Principi, le quali si scrivono o da principi, o ragionano di principi. Libro Terzo* (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1577), p. 222^{v}.

[83] Alison Plowden, *Lady Jane Grey: Nine Days Queen* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2003), p.26. See Jane Grey's accusatory letter to Harding, in James D. Taylor Jr., *Documents of Lady Jane Grey: Nine Days Queen of England 1553* (New York: Algora, 2004), pp. 115–121.

London, became the new family chaplain and Jane Grey's main tutor. Aylmer was open to collaboration, asking religious men for pedagogical advice regarding the tutoring of the potential future queen.[84] The first collaborator, on a day-to-day basis, was the Greys' Protestant chaplain James Haddon.[85] Another of Jane Grey's educational collaborators from a distance was theologian Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), the main religious authority in Zurich and a disciple of Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531).[86] Bullinger sent another Swiss reformer and scholar, John ab Ulbis, to visit Jane Grey at Bradgate at least three times.[87] Michelangelo Florio, therefore, joined an extended formal and informal educational team that included in-person tutors in and learned correspondents coordinated by John Aylmer. Florio respected Aylmer's expertise in Latin and Greek and praised his Protestant devotion in helping Jane to access the Bible.[88] Florio covered the Italian linguistic area and could also mediate the world of Italian reformers, their texts and political influences. In the manuscript Tuscan grammar dedicated to Jane Grey, Florio stated this dual role as linguistic and religious tutor, promising that 'un'altra volta durarla maggiore in scrivergli di quelle cose che veramente s'appartengono di sapere al pio Christiano' ['next time he would make a more sustained effort to write to her about all the things that a pious Christian really needs to know'].[89]

The existence of a formal and informal educational team, with overlapping areas of competence, suggests that others may have taught Italian to Jane Grey in addition to Michelangelo Florio, such as, for example, Henry Iden (d.1568) who taught Italian to Henry Herbert. In his translation of Giovanni Battista Gelli's *La Circe* (1548), Iden's introductory epistle

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[84] Tallis, *Crown of Blood*, p. 108.
[85] See Lawrence V. Ryan, 'Walter Haddon: Elizabethan Latinist', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 17.2 (1953–4), 99–124.
[86] The 'Zurich letters' are three letters from Jane Grey to Henry Bullinger. Copies of the English translations are in Taylor Jr., *Documents*, pp. 9–15. On Bullinger see Pamela Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness: Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy 1535–1575* (Bern: P. Lang, 1991), pp. 35–37.
[87] For example see Tallis, *Crown of Blood*, pp. 59, 102–103.
[88] Michelangelo Florio addressed John Aylmer as 'Giovanni Elmero', *Historia*, pp. 26–27.
[89]Florio, 'Regole er Institutioni della Lingua Thoscana', fol. 94^{v}.

dedicated to Henry Herbert states: 'I have of longe time heretofore served in your education […]somewhat apte for your conference in the Italion or other tounges, tho whiche already you well taste and favour.'[90] This shows that not only Italian native speakers could teach Italian in England. Moreover, the role of 'informal' tutors in Jane Grey's Italian education has to be considered as well. As with Princess Elizabeth and Mary Tudor, Katherine Parr contributed to Jane Grey's desire to learn Italian and other languages in connection with devotional texts.[91] It can be assumed that the same network of Italophile English people around Elizabeth Tudor surrounded Jane Grey and replicated similar dynamics. Aylmer, Iden, Haddon, and others, could have used Michelangelo Florio's *Regole* in order to teach Jane Grey thanks to its Latin exemplary sentences and its comparison between grammars.

Jane Grey spent long periods of time in self-study and sought the advice of several learned and religious individuals. By several accounts, reading in multiple languages was a soothing exercise for her, complementing the exploration of philosophical and devotional topics. Florio wrote that Jane had many 'libri Greci, Latini, et Hebrei, d'hostorie [sic], e di poesie' ['Greek, Latin and Hebrew books of history, and poems'].[92] In the summer of 1550 at Bradgate Park, scholar and pedagogue Roger Asham found Jane deeply and happily reading Plato in its original language whilst her parents were enjoying a hunt.[93] Yet, the Bible remained her favourite reading material, considering that before her execution, she sent a Bible in Greek as a gift to her

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[90] Gelli, *Circes*, trans. by Henry Iden (1557), pp. 2v–3r.
[91] On Katherine Parr and Italian language, see Susan James, *Catherine Parr: Henry VIII's Last Love*, (Stroud: The History Press, 2014), pp. 19, 24–30. Also, Anne's and Katherine's mother, Maud Parr (1495–1531, nèe Green), taught to the children of the nobility in the Blackfriars precinct 'French and other language', in Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, p. 87.
[92] Florio, *Historia*, p. 281.
[93] Tallis, *Crown of Blood*, p. 99.

sister Katherine followed by a letter in the same language enlisting her reasons for reading the Gospels.[94]

Her engagement with religious topics in multiple languages took place not only through reading, but also in translations, epistolary exchanges, mnemonic study and debates. Jane Grey knew that there were several ways to learn a language and she wanted to understand which one was the most effective in each language. Once again, she turned to religious figures in order to get advice regarding the language-learning process in specific languages. She did so when she requested Florio's Tuscan grammar, and on two separate occasions she enquired as to what 'the best method' to learn Hebrew was.[95] In 1551, at the age of fourteen, Jane Grey started to exchange letters in Latin and Greek with the theologian Bullinger, showing that she knew how to use languages to create a network of advisers and influential supporters in religious and political matters.[96] Also, particularly relevant to Jane Grey were Bullinger's 'sixth Decade', which she memorised in its entirety, and the treatise *Christian state of matrimony* (1540), that she translated into Greek as a New Year's gift for her father in 1550.[97] Jane Grey showed her extended religious studies when debating with the Catholic chaplain John Feckenham, (*c.* 1515–1584) whom Mary I sent to the Tower of London to convert her before her execution.[98]

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[94] Florio, *Historia*, p. 282. See Jane Grey, 'Lettera de Giovanna Graia gia Regina d'Inghilterra, a la Signora Caterina', Ibid., p.117.
[95] Jane Grey asked John of Ulm in person and Bullinger in a letter, see Tallis, *Crown of Blood*, pp. 113–114.
[96] As potential future queen of England, it was normal for Jane Grey to open a dialogue with Bullinger, who had been in contact with Henry VIII since the 1530s. Attempting to give scriptural basis to the English Reformation, balancing the power of the monarch at the top of an anti–papist Episcopal structure, Heinrich Bullinger dedicated *De Scripturae sanctae authoritate* (Tiguri: 1538) to Henry VIII.
[97] Jane memorised the sixth of Bullinger's fifty sermons on Christian faith collected in the *Decades* (Tiguri: Christoph. Froschaueri, 1552). This volume, dedicated to Edward VI, was about the role of the church, the Bible and government, drawing a parallel between the young king and the biblical King Josiah (Book of Two Kings 23). See the letter from John Banks to Bullinger in Tallis, *Crown of Blood*, p.114. *Christian state of matrimony* original title was *Der Christlich eestand* (Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1540). On Jane Grey's translation, see Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 224.
[98] Michelangelo Florio, *Historia*, pp. 120–130. This dialogue is also reported in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* and Hoby's, *The Travels*, pp. 98–101. To my knowledge, there has not been any scholarly comparison of the three versions of this text, nor a cross–reading with Florio's *Catechismo.*

Her early death made it impossible for Jane Grey to leave traces of long-term use of Italian comparable to Elizabeth Tudor's. Scholarship of her study and use of Italian is further hampered by the fact that the *damnatio memoriae* of Mary I's reign might have erased precious documents about Jane Grey's Italian learning and use. Florio contributed to keeping Jane Grey's memory alive by writing her biography, showing once again that he served a wider religious-political scenario beyond his role as an Italian teacher.[99] Florio did not to describe in detail how Jane Grey acquired her allegedly extraordinary language skills, perhaps because he had to insist that they were a sign of her godly 'predestination'. Whereas Jane was at the centre of Dudley's rise to power merely for her royal bloodline, for a few years she became the hope of several Europeans reformers thanks to her application in the study of languages and religion.

5. Henry Herbert as the other dedicatee: a paradigmatic and challenging case study

In the absence of a full biography of Henry Herbert, it is difficult to pin down the early stages of his life and education.[100] In his dedication to 'Arrigo Harbart', Michelangelo Florio wrote in his grammar *Regole de la lingua Toscana* that 'in this kingdom and in any other you may happen to be,

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[99] When he fled England, Florio travelled through Antwerp and spent one year in Strasburg living with English protestant refugees such as James Haddon and John Banks, who gave him Jane Grey's papers to include in her biography. See Christina Hallowell Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 78–79, 169–170.

[100] 'History has not been especially generous to Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke. He has never been the subject of a full biography. Penry Williams surveyed his career for the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in little more than a thousand words. He is now remembered less for his own achievements than for his relatives: his wife Mary Sidney, who gathered a brilliant literary and artistic circle at Wilton, and his sons, William and Philip, luminaries of the early Stuart period', in Neil Younger, 'Henry Herbert, Second Earl of Pembroke and Noble Leadership in the Elizabethan Provinces' in *Leadership and Elizabethan Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 121–139, (pp. 121). As a partial explanation for the scarcity of scholarly work on Henry Herbert, Neil Younger pointed at the fire that destroyed the family archives in 1648, see also Brian O'Farrell, *Shakespeare's Patron: William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke, 1580–1630* (London: Continuum, 2011), p. viii.

you seem older than your years and experienced in government'.[101] I could not find any direct reference to his use of Italian, however Henry's multilingualism and mature attitude, as signalled by Florio, seem to have worked in his favour early on. Henry Herbert was Queen Katherine Parr's nephew through his mother, Anne Parr. From the same family line, Henry had a male model of an Italian learner – his uncle William Parr who controlled Italophile English diplomats abroad, such as Philip and Thomas Hoby. As had his mother's prestigious siblings, William and Katherine Parr, Henry Herbert was probably motivated to learn Italian for religious, political and diplomatic reasons.

Knowledge of Italian would have helped Herbert display an appropriate 'courtly demeanour' to the Spanish envoy Marquis de las Navas and become a gentleman of the chamber to King Philip in June 1554.[102] Furthermore, learning persuasion was at the root of classical and Italian language-learning and Herbert's education emerges in his rhetorically powerful letters. He wrote these letters when managing the counties where he was lieutenant for the Queen: twelve in Wales, four in the Welsh Marches, two in England.[103] Also, speaking Welsh and being accepted as part of this nation made him a good fit for the position of lieutenant in those counties. This hidden link between Henry Herbert's languages seems to emerge in the Welsh grammar *Dosparth byrr ar y rhann gyntaf i ramadeg Cymraeg* printed in Milan in 1567 and inspired by Pietro Bembo's *Prose* (1525). The author, Robert Gruffydd [Griffith Roberts] (fl. 1558-1598), dedicated it tohis father William Herbert.[104]

Being surrounded by English people who knew Italian and accessed Italian culture, Henry Herbert probably took advantage of these common interests during his entire life. For

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[101] '[…] in questo regno, e in qualunque altro dove vi troverete, vi fanno parere vecchio d'anni, e isperimentato ne governi', Florio, *Regole*, fol. 2[v]

[102] William H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1957), I, p. 57.

[103] Younger, 'Henry Herbert', pp. 126–128.

[104] Hayes, Heledd M., 'The Literary Works of the Welsh Exiles in Italy in Sixteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Manchester, 1983), p. 84.

example, among the overseers of his father's will and the people present at the latter's funeral in 1567, we can find Italian learners Robert Dudley, Walter Mildmay, William Cecil and Nicholas Bacon.[105] Herbert's residences and art collections also reflected his Italophile taste. The Italian painter Federigo Zuccaro recounted a visit made in 1575 at the London residence of Henry Herbert, probably Baynard's Castle in the company of other artists, where he admired impressive paintings and art.[106] Furthermore, Wilton House with its Italianate architecture and garden deserved the praise of the Venetian Ambassador Giacomo Soranzo and in 1580 inspired Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, dedicated to his sister Mary (1561–1621) who married Henry Herbert in 1577.[107]

It is difficult to establish Herbert's proficiency and use of Italian through the analysis of secondary literature. However, this can exemplify how the study of Italian among young aristocrats was a common practice in Edwardian England that did not imply clear output such as translations and imitations during their lifetime. On the other hand, these individuals created the conditions for the 'Italianate' characters of Elizabethan England, such as Philip Sidney, to express themselves.

6. An imaginary readership of language-learners and religious reformists

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[105] See Narasingha P. Sil, 'Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke (1506/7–1570), soldier and magnate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

[106] 'Thus Karel van Mander reports in his Schilder–boeck of 1604 a conversation between Federigo Zuccaro and Hendrick Goltzius' in Elizabeth Goldring 'An Important Early Picture Collection: The Earl of Pembroke's 1561/62 Inventory and the Provenance of Holbein's 'Christina of Denmark", *The Burlington Magazine*, 144.1188 (2002), pp. 157–160 (p.157). For Baynard's Castle as a place for political plotting, see Alan Stewart, *Philip Sydney*, p. 218.

[107] For Giacomo Soranzo's praise, see Narasingha Sil, 'Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke', *Welsh History Review/ Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, 11 (1982), p. 103. After the dissolution of his marriage with Katherine Grey, in 1554, in 1563 Henry Herbert married Katherine Talbot and, after her death, in 1575, Mary Sidney. On Wilton House and the Sidney siblings, see Alan Stewart, *Philip Sydney*, pp. 218, 201–202, 226–229.

Florio wrote his Tuscan grammar on two manuscripts for the Grey and Herbert households, but he also addressed a more general readership: 'chiunque leggera questo libretto' ['whoever will read this little book'].[108] This kind of internal evidence suggests that Florio's Tuscan grammar circulated beyond its two young dedicatees, in their households and among their friends and in general among anti-Catholics in England. Florio may have planned to print his grammar with the same printer of his *Catechismo* (1553), Dutch religious refugee Steven Mierdman (*c.* 1510–1559) who produced Protestant, educational and botanical books in several languages (English, Latin, Dutch, German, Spanish, Italian, French).[109] However, Florio could not publish his grammar in London since the new Queen, Mary I ordered the execution of Jane and banished Protestants from England. As a consequence, in March 1554 Florio had to flee once again, starting a new life in Soglio, in the Swiss Grisons. Although Florio's *Regole* remains an imaginary printed book, a close reading of the manuscript suggests as a target a general readership with anti-papist leanings interested in language-learning and the teaching of Italian.

The topic of anti-popism permeates the entire grammar, subconsciously inviting the readers to see a virtuous resemblance between Florio as a refugee and his potential readership of reformists in conflict with Rome. An example of these inflammatory sentences is: 'Quando fui tenuto in pregio dal Papa, non ero amato da Dio. Hora che dal Papa sono perseguitato, son' certo che da Dio sarò tuttavia difeso' ['When I was appreciated by the pope, I was not loved by God. Now that I am persecuted by the Pope, I am sure that God will defend me'].[110] These models that

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[108] Similarly in the dedication to Jane Grey, Florio wrote: 'chiunque le leggerà [le regole], potrà facilmente impararla, possederla, e parlarla [la lingua toscana]' ['whosoever will read them [the rules], will be able to easily learn, own, and speak it [the Tuscan language]'], Florio, 'Regole er Institutioni della Lingua Thoscana', fol. 2^{r}.

[109] Mierdam (also known by the pseudonym of Niclaes van Oldenborch) had to flee England after Mary's ascension and continued to print books in Emdem. On Steven Mierdman's activity in Antwerp before moving to London in June 1546, see Willem Heijting, 'Early Reformation Literature from the Printing Shop of Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdmans', *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis/ Dutch Review of Church History*, 74.2 (1994),143–161.

[110] Florio, *Regole*, fol. 92^{r}. See also fol. 54^{r}. Other sentences allude to contemporary events in England and abroad that Florio may have heard or discussed at the time, such as talking about a new parliament that year, fols 43^{v}–44^{r}, 90^{v}; war between the Emperor and the King of France, fol. 44^{r}; war in Italy, fol. 90^{v}; the rebellion against the Emperor by

were created to demonstrate grammatical points (which in the previous model sentences are passive sentences and past participles) offered Florio the chance to fashion himself so as to deserve the favour of his new anti-Catholic English protectors, who were the Greys, the Herberts, William Cecil Lord Burghley and John Dudley Duke of Northumberland. As well as these powerful actors, Florio's grammar targeted any anti-Catholic who might be interested in the Tuscan language.

Most of Florio's exemplary sentences reveal the author's status as a religious refugee and also the need to monetise his skills, Tuscan language included, in order to escape poverty in a foreign country.[111] These sentences also demonstrate that Florio's book was not only intended for students of Italian, but also for potential language teachers like him. In his own words, for 'chi mestier gli facesse insegnar questa lingua' ['who as their profession teach this language' or 'who is in need to teach this language'].[112] According to John Florio's dictionary, the word 'mestiere' translates as 'profession'- as in modern Italian. However, John's dictionary indicated that 'mestiere' could be 'used also for neede or necessity', which is the same semantic option that his father Michelangelo often employed in his writings.[113] Florio himself probably considered the activity of Italian language teacher as connected to circumstances and secondary to his main identity as a reformed religious professional.[114] Once again, this suggests the fluidity of the Italian language tutor's position which was not always covered officially and extensively in early modern England. Furthermore, Florio does not specifically mention Tuscan or Italian native speakers as

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the Prince of Naples, Ferdinando Sanseverino (1507–1568), who refused to allow the Spanish Inquisition in his territory, fol. 116^{r}. The latter event was described by Roger Asham in his *Report of the Affairs of Germany*, see Asham, *The Work*, pp. 18–22.

[111] Numerous Florio's sentences related to being poor seem a request for patronage, 'Giammai non pati tanta poverta' (I have never suffered so much poverty), *Regole*, fol. 116^{v}. See also, fols. 109$^{r–v}$,111^{r}, 120^{v}, 121^{r}.

[112] Ibid., fol. 10^{r}.

[113] For example, ibid., fols 74^{v}, 102^{v}.

[114] Further evidence that Michelangelo Florio did not see himself primarily as an Italian teacher is that once in Soglio from 1555 and until his death Florio took up the positions of Church minister and *imperiali auctoritate notarius*.

sole tutors of the Tuscan language. Anyone with some knowledge of Italian (better if paired with Latin, but not necessarily) could have used his *Regole* to teach Tuscan grammar.

In the *Proemio* of his grammar, Michelangelo seems to want to 'evangelise' as wide a readership as possible to the Tuscan language. He opens to an international and multilingual readership explaining that jingoist biases are an unjust common place in all the countries: 'the eye of reason purged and cleansed from that excessively sloppy phenomenon, that used to force almost everyone to praise more highly the habits, the essence and the customs of his country, even if they are awkward and rough, and to despise the beautiful and honourable [customs] of others.[115] Most people, Florio complained, preferred to preserve their 'sregolata, e goffa favella' ['unruly and clumsy language'] than learn the 'bella e regolata' ['beautiful and regulated'] language of others. He therefore encouraged anyone to explore personally why the Tuscan language is particularly worthy of being learnt without prejudice.[116] Florio's practical approach to teaching grammar and use of language resemble his religious beliefs, which were based on a process of personal discovery of textual sources.

Florio believed that similarly to students of Tuscan, Christians needed to find the truth for themselves in their readings of the Bible even if this meant going against the authorities. This emerges from the sentence: 'La dottrina del Vangelo piace à ognuno in fuori che al papa' ['Everyone likes the doctrine of the gospel except for the Pope'].[117] In a similar fashion, according to Florio, the beauty of Tuscan is not affirmed by any authority. There were doctrinal grey areas in languages, too. Florio stated his preferences and other grammarians' preferences too on several grammatical points, but he often admitted that it was impossible to provide the students with one

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[115] 'L'ochio de la ragione ha purgato e netto da quel'troppo disordinato affetto, che per ordinario muovere, e forzar' suole quasi ognuno à lodar' piu l'uso, l'essere, e i costumi de la sua patria, ancor' che goffi e rozzi sieno, e biasimar' gl'altrui belli, e honorevoli', Florio, *Regole*, fol. 4[r].
[116] Ibid., fol. 4[v].
[117] Ibid., fol. 115[v]. For other anti–papist sentences, see fols 88[r], 105[v], 107[r], 108[r], 110[r].

'regola ferma' ['firm rule']. In these disputed cases the students or the teacher had to choose what was convenient for their language-learning process and effective communication.[118] Ultimately, students had to find their grammatical truth by reading Italian authors: [...] 'qui potrei confermar' quanto v'ho detto con l'autorità di Dante, del Boccaccio, e del Petrarca; ma sarei troppo lungo; leggendogli voi troverete la verità.' ['Here I could confirm what I told you using the authority of Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch. But that would take too long; reading them you will find the truth'].[119] In his *Catechismo*, Florio defended himself from possible accusations of not translating Ponet's book word for word and not being a 'schietto scrittor thoscano' ['pure Tuscan writer'] which means not respecting all the theoretical rules of the Tuscan language as codified by Pietro Bembo's *Prose* (1525). His answer to this accusation was that he tried to make the concepts easier to understand by young students without betraying their original meaning.[120] After all, 'Le cose divine a regole humane sottoposte non sono' ['Divine matters are not subjected to human rules'].

As seen, in his *Regole* Florio included Italian exemplary sentences with Latin translations for 'maggiore chiarezza' ['greater clarity'], following each explanation of grammatical rules on articles, nouns, verbs, adverbs and other parts of speech.[121] Yet, in some cases, Florio provided simplified solutions for those 'volesse spacciatamente imparare, insegnare questa […] lingua à chi non avesse piu che tanto de la lingua latina' ['who wanted to learn quickly and teach this language to those who did not fully master the Latin language'].[122] For example, he suggested the option of considering the combination of prepositions ['segno dei casi'] plus articles ['articolo'] as a simple article in order to disentangle the complexity given to students starting with weaker grammar

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[118] For its stress on the use of language, Michelangelo Florio's grammar could be defined as 'descriptive', see A. P. R., Howatt and Henry George Widdowson, *A History of ELT* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 277 n.12.
[119] Florio, *Regole*, fol. 30^{v}.
[120] '[...] Laonde in molti luoghi per far' la cosa piu facile, quella licentia che à chi scrive cosa nuova si suol concedere presami sono: cio e con parole accomodatissime di far' piu che puo facile il suo concetto. [...] ma ben vedrai che punto dal senso dell'autore scostato non mi sono', Florio, *Catechismo*, A3^{v}.
[121] Florio, *Regole*, fol. 103^{v}.
[122] Ibid., fols 9^{v}–10^{r}.

knowledge.[123] Therefore, Florio considered the interconnection with Latin if this could help the learning and teaching process, but at the same time the vernacular possessed its own dignity and independence, and Latin could have been by-passed.

Florio thought that a flexible and functional Tuscan language could complement or even replace Latin as the main language of the reformation in Europe. Latin, after all, was the language that helped to enforce 'the cruel and unjust laws of the diabolical Papacy' and prevented people from understanding the words of God and 'prayng publicly in the vernacular'.[124] Florio believed that Tuscan was a language apt to access the truth through the practice of translation from Latin, Greek and Hebrew – the languages of the scriptures. The translation process into Tuscan allowed full appreciation of each detail of the topic: 'Anyone who has proper knowledge of Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, if they will try and translate them into the vernacular, they will find that they will not be able to speak of those languages properly in every fine point, unless with our Tuscan language'.[125] Florio presented his *Catechismo* as 'comodo à quei che la Latina non intendono, ma si bene l'Italiana' ['convenient for who does not understand Latin, but understands Italian well'] suggesting a reformed international readership: Italians in England and on the continent and English and non-Italians keener on the Italian language than on Latin. Florio was convinced that the Italian language had global appeal because a few lines later he rhetorically asked his dedicatee John Dudley: 'E con qual' miglior' modo di questo mostrar' à tutto'l mondo havrei io potuto che'l vostro nome come cosa sacra per i gran meriti vostri riverisco e honoro?' ['And what better

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[123] A preposition joined with an article is what nowadays is called *articolata* preposition. For example preposition 'di' + article 'il' = 'del' *articolata* preposition ['of the' preceding a masculine singular noun].

[124] '[...] noi predichiamo una dottrina dissimile à la vostra, non vogliamo ubidire à le leggi crudeli & ingiuste del diabolico Papato, & appartati da quello ci raguniamo à predicare & udir la parola di Dio, à far le publiche preghiera in lingua volgare intesa da tutti senza organni, pifferri, o tamburi', Florio, *Apologia*, p. 20^{v}.

[125] 'Tutti coloro che della Latina, greca, ò hebrea hanno sano conoscimento, se faranno la prova con il tradurla in volgare, troveranno che con qual si parlare non potranno di quelle lingue si propriamente ogni minutezza, se non con il nostro thoscano parlare', Florio, *Regole*, fol. 8r.

way could I have used to show the entire world that I revere and honour your name as a holy thing for your great merit?'].

Florio's grammar was never printed because of Mary I's reintroduction of Catholicism in England. However, as mentioned, the manuscript portrays a wide imagined readership, from the young aristocratic dedicatee who wanted to learn Tuscan, to language tutors regardless of their nationality. Readers should have been anti-papists, so as to navigate Florio's provocative exemplary sentences without excessive displeasure. Knowledge of Latin helped readers but was declared non-compulsory and, therefore, alternative options were presented. On the contrary, Florio wanted to demonstrate that Tuscan was an intrinsically beautiful and clear language that could help anyybody to access grammatical and religious truth. By reading Florio's grammar and the authors suggested, a reader could theoretically transition from being a beginner student to a language tutor without the mediation of educational authorities. The next section will clarify the practice that Florio's *Regole* suggested to an Italian learner looking for 'linguistic truth'.

7. Practice: Tuscan use of language

First of all, clarifying Florio's positions in the debate about vernacular language helps to understand his language teaching approach and practice which, I argue, mainly overlapped with Claudio Tolomei's pragmatic approach in teaching a Tuscan language currently in use. Scholars tend to identify two stages in Michelangelo Florio's linguistic position in the Italian *questione della lingua*. According to this interpretation, in the first stage Florio wrote his Tuscan grammar

allegedly following Bembo's precepts around the models of Petrarch and Boccaccio.[126] Afterwards, in the second stage, Florio allegedly rebelled against Bembo – starting from his translation of Agricola's *De Re Metallica* (1563) – by promoting the use of contemporary language against rigid fourteenth-century Florentine models.[127] Florio, indeed, looked at Pietro Bembo's *Prose* (1525) and extracted relevant parts to develop his own grammatical framework as did all the Italianists of the time.[128] On the other hand, I argue, Michelangelo Florio's position regarding the *questione della lingua* remained consistent within his works and reflected Claudio Tolomei's vision more than Bembo's *Prose*. Michelangelo Florio and Tolomei agreed – against Bembo's opinion -– on the name 'Thoscana' for a common Italian vernacular and on the need for pronunciation to unequivocally resemble spelling.[129] In this section, I will show how Florio followed Tolomei's theory of the modification of languages through time which implies that the Tuscan language cannot have a firm rule and the consequent pedagogical use of general 'principles'.

Florio's *Regole* uses each chapter, called *considerazioni*, to cover each part of speech following an order modelled on Latin grammars, thus offering learned students a familiar path to navigate the grammar.[130] The first chapter of Florio's *Regole* ('Degl' articoli de Nomi') shows that Italian has articles and lacks noun declensions in comparison with Latin.[131] When possible, the

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126 For the relationship between Florio's *Regole* and Pietro Bembo's *Prose*, see Pellegrini, 'Michelangelo Florio', pp. 101–102; Gamberini, *Lo studio dell'italiano*, p. 71.

127 Francis Yates indicated the late influence of Lodovico Castelvetro on Michelangelo Florio to explain his change of position in the *questione della lingua*, *John Florio*, pp. 22–25. See also Rossi, *Italus ore*, pp. 134–140; Pizzoli, *Le Grammatiche*, pp. 27–28, Rossi, *Ricerche*, pp. 103–104; Luigi Firpo, *Scritti sulla Riforma in Italia* (Naples: Prismi, 1996), p. 259.

128 Florio relied on Bembo's *Prose*, for example, in the four verbs chosen as models for the four conjugations (*Amare*, *Valere*, *Leggere*, *Sentire*).

129 Florio, *Regole*, fols 5^{v}–6^{r}. Also, Michelangelo Florio echoes Tolomei when he asked rethorically against Bembo's ortography: 'Perchè si dee metter il t, dove la pronunzia si serve del z? ['Why it is necessary to write 't', when the pronunciation uses a 'z"], Florio, *De l'arte de metalli partita in XII libri*, 6^{r}.

130 Latin was also used also to describe English grammar. For example in Paul Graves, *Grammatica anglicana* (1594). For this and XVII examples, see Clementina Marsico, 'A Ciascuno il suo: Discussioni e Rivalità nelle Grammatiche Latine dell'Inglese' in *Una lingua morta per letterature vive: il dibattito sul latino come lingua letteraria in età moderna e contemporanea. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 10–12 dicembre 2015*, ed by Valerio Sanzotta, (Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2020)

131 Florio, *Regole,* fols 8^{v}, 14^{v}.

title of the chapter offered further help by displaying the Latin translation of the part of speech discussed (for example: 'Del pronome Ille, Illa, Consi[derazion]E. XVIIJ'). William Thomas' *Rules* had a similar order of chapters, which Florio praised because 'Guilielmo' set the parts of speech 'non senza sua fatica' ['without his effort']. This was a standard structure for Italian grammars, which immediately highlighted the macro differences between Latin and Italian with clear pedagogical benefits, like for example in Acarisio's *Vocabolario, grammatica e ortografia della lingua volgare* (1543). As for Tolomei and William Thomas, the comparison between Latin and Tuscan was the basis of the teaching process, although the students might not have been fully aware of it if they were not educated in classical languages.

Although they were imprecise and fragmented within the chapters of *Regole*, Florio gave instructions to students and tutors regarding the use of his grammar and approach to Italian language-learning. He probably believed that it was not necessary to state the obvious application of established pedagogical theories and practices based on classical (Socrates, Cicero), early Christian (Apollinaris the Elder) and contemporary Italian (Bembo and Tolomei) sources. English people learning and teaching languages, such as Jane Grey and Roger Ascham, were familiar with these practices of memorisation, progressive learning and reading of authors for grammatical and rhetorical learning. The main declared didactic goals of Florio's grammar were 'intendere questa nostra lingua, parlarla, e scriverla correttamente come se in Thoscana coi foste nato' ['to understand our language, speak it, and write it correctly as if you had been born in Tuscany'].[132] These goals roughly seem to cover the modern model proposing four language skills that encompass passive comprehension skills, such as reading and listening, and active production ones, such as speaking and writing.[133] The main features of his 'method' were

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[132] Ibid., p. 98[r].

[133] The active skills are writing and speaking, and the passive ones are reading and listening. See for example, *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: learning, teaching, assessment* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 57—72.

practising memorisation, progressive learning, student independence, the principle of 'dolcezza' ['sweetness'] when in doubt, and the reading of the 'migliori scrittori' ['the best authors'].[134] Moreover, Florio gave space to metalinguistic analysis as an important element of language-learning, adding references about the different kinds of Italian (different periods, places, and social/educational status) and the *questione della lingua.*[135]

At the end of his work Florio stated that memorising through practice was essential to learn the 'regole thoscane' ['the Tuscan rules'] and 'far' gran' frutto' ['employ them fruitfully'].[136] When translating Ponet's *Catechism,* Florio wrote that the method based on questions and answers with one's tutor was an easy and clear way to teach, learn and 'non mettere in oblio' ['do not forget'] like 'Socrates did in philosophy and likewise by Apollinaris the Elder [fourth century CE] for Christianity' ['non pur da Socrate nella Philosophia, ma da Apolinario altresi nella nostra religione fu seguitato'].[137] Repetitive silent and vocalised reading, writing and recitation of the rules, answering the tutor's grammatical questions would have been the exercises to help memorisation. These were established learning practices that did not require specific mention. In fact 'Memoria' was 'the guardian of all the parts of rhetoric' according to Cicero.[138] Ascham also presented the importance of memory for education and wrote that 'a good memorie is well known by three properties: that is, if it be quicke in receiving, sure in keeping, and redie in delivering forthe again'.[139] In some cases, Florio pointed out specific details to memorise – 'Vi fa mestieri mettere memoria' ['you need to memorise'] – such as, for example, that the first person of all the verbs in the present tense ends with the letter *o*. Furthermore, by grouping words,

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134 Florio, *Regole*, fol. 102v.
135 Florio articulated his linguistic stances defending himself from the accusations of not following Bembo, Fortunio, Dante and Boccaccio in the introduction to his *De l'arte de metalli*, 3v–6r.
136 Florio, *Regole*, fol. 124r.
137 Florio, *Catechismo*, A6r.
138 Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Book III), trans. by Harry Caplan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 205.
139 Ascham, *Scholemaster* in *The English work*, p. 215.

Florio used rhetorical devices to help with the memorisation of examples. For instance, to teach adjectives, he propose the use of pairs of opposites: 'Buono' vs 'Tristo, 'Nero' vs 'Bianco', 'Caldo' vs 'Freddo', 'Bello' vs 'Brutto', 'Ricco' vs 'Povero' ['Good' vs 'Bad', 'Black' vs 'White', 'Hot' vs 'Cold', 'Beautiful' vs 'Ugly', 'Rich' vs 'Poor'].[140] We might imagine Jane Grey and other English learners attempting to memorise these suggestions by Florio, also considering that in the sixteenth century it was common to try and excel in this skill.[141]

To facilitate the students' memorisation and first approach to language-learning, Florio's grammar explicitly encouraged progressive learning, in other words teaching complex concepts in short chunks with deliberate imprecisions and adding progressively more detail as the students gradually improved. Regarding crucial topics for his students such as verb conjugation, Florio wrote 'Io non m'obbligo à darvene regola infallibile; ma si bene à far' piu che si potrà facile quello che è difficile' ['I do not force myself to give you an infallible rule; but rather to try and make what is difficult as easy as possible'].[142] For example, Florio provided students with a simplified rule to choose between the auxiliary verbs 'essere' and 'avere' ['to be' and 'to have'] in compound tenses. Even today, this is still a key issue for Italian learners, which Florio sorted out by presuming the precise knowledge of verb properties by students: that transitive verbs require 'avere' and intransitive ones 'essere'. On the other hand, Florio immediately warned the students by quoting an exception in Petrarch: 'Ho corso' ['I have run'] instead of 'Son'corso' when the verb describes a kind of action instead of a movement.[143] And whilst discussing the conjugation of the second person of verbs, he suddenly stops, justifying himself: 'per hora che sia di soverchi

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[140] Another example is parts of the body and feminine nouns 'Ancilla', 'Bocca', 'Lingua', 'Gota', 'Spalla', 'Gamba' ['Armpit', 'Mouth', 'Tongue', 'Cheek', 'Shoulder', 'Leg'].
[141] Developed memory skills were common in the early modern period. For example, Jane Grey memorised an entire volume of Bullinger's sermons, as seen in note 97 of this Chapter. Also, Elizabeth I memorised 'many stanzas' of Torquato Tasso' *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581), Bajetta, *Elizabeth I's Italian Letters*, p. xiii.
[142] Florio, *Regole*, f. 73^{v}.
[143] Ibid., fols 97^{v}–98^{r}.

parmi, per cio lo lascio' ['For the moment this seems overwhelming, so I leave it out']. [144] To avoid the risk of 'con troppe regole aggiragli il cervello' ['making [the students'] heads spin for too many rules'] and cultivate progressive learning, Florio insisted on few 'principles'.[145]

Florio's grammar was not intended to be comprehensive and it trusted the students' ability to extrapolate rules by themselves, following the 'principle of sweetness' and 'of clarity' which could be followed by mastering three elements: 'misura, numero, e peso' ['measure, number and weight'].[146] For instance, Florio believed that the principles of sweetness and clarity helped students to navigate the numerous exceptions in verbs without the need for him to list them.[147] Finding the right 'misura' meant refusing extremes. According to Florio, the French and German languages embodied negative linguistic extremes by not pronouncing all the written letters and producing an 'unnatural' sound and accent.[148] Florio did not make any comment on the English language, which was considered similar to German for pronunciation, because he probably did not want to displease his hosts.[149] In Tuscan, by contrast, Michelangelo and Claudio Tolomei suggested that all the choices aimed to produce a pleasant and sweet sound that corresponded with the written language.[150] In pursuing sweetness for the ear, in some cases, a speaker also had the option of eliding the last vowel of 'almost any word', according to Florio (for example, 'maggior guadagno' ['major gain'] instead of 'maggiore guadagno').[151] Florio

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144 Ibid., fol. 76^{r}.
145 Ibid., fol. 102^{v}.
146 Referencing Solomon, Florio believed that the perfection of all things, including languages, was made with the order of these three elements: 'misura, numero, e peso', Ibid., fols 4v–5r. Furthermore, these three elements are at the base of Plato's doctrine that Marsilio Ficino, and other Neo–Platonists, revived at the end of the fifteenth century and become basics of the Italian humanist conversation. See Marsilio Ficino, *Tomo secondo de le lettere di Marsilio Ficino* (Venice: G. Giolito, 1548), fol. 77^{v}. Also, Paul Natorp, *Dottrina platonica delle idee: una introduzione all'idealismo* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1999), pp. 271–271;.
147 Florio, *Regole*, 3^{v}.
148 Ibid., fol. 5^{v}. Cf. In many places Tolomei advocated the need to write Italian as it was pronounced, for example *Polito*, p. XIV^{r}.
149 On English pronunciation similar to German according to Italian sources, see Chapter V.2.
150 To achieve sophisticated and sweet sounds, in his *Polito* (1525) Tolomei carefully investigated the interrelation between the letters, words and sounds that the human body generates through the speech organs, see Chapter I.1–2.
151 Florio, *Regole*, fols 28^{v}–29^{r}.

believed that the element 'Numero' (which we might losely identify with our 'syntax') was also essential to achieve clarity: this consisted of placing the parts of speech in such a way that any 'concetto dell'anima' ['concept of the soul'] could be understood.[152] In line with Tolomei, Florio claimed that to satisfy the intellect and the ear equally, it was necessary to 'abbellire e ornare l'orazione' ['embellish and decorate the sentence'] by adding, removing and moving elements.[153] Rather than warning about any 'regola ferma' ['firm rule'] about the position of adjectives (whether before or after nouns), Florio suggested just to ensure 'che il parlare sia sonoro, e dolce à l'orechio' ['that the speaking be clear and sweet to the ear'].[154] Finally, 'peso' was the register of words, accents and rhetorical structure which need to serve and agree with the topic. Florio exemplifies the concept by explaining that a description of a 'bloody battle' cannot be in the same register as an 'account of the passion of Christ'.[155] Florio's principles of sweetness and clarity were not rigidly prescriptive for the learners who had to focus their attention on the elements of 'misura', 'numero' and 'peso' and, thus, develop patterns sustaining both the language-learning process and effective communication.

Florio trusted students' independence in filling certain 'information gaps' in his *Regole* by giving them short hints. Students could overcome information gaps by eliciting already acquired grammatical knowledge (for example the regular formation of Italian plurals) and/or by reading reputable authors. Florio did not want to waste 'carte, e inchiostro' ['paper and ink'] explaining concepts 'si facili da intendere; che li lascio al giudizio vostro' ['so easy to understand that I leave them to your judgment'] such as the plurals of 'Cotesto' ['This'] and 'Stamane' ['This present morning'] and their usage in context.[156] Some examples are 'facili da trovare' ['easy to find'] by

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[152] Ibid., fol. 7r.
[153] Ibid., fols 70v–71r.
[154] Ibid., fol. 27r.
[155] Ibid., fol. 7v.
[156] Ibid., fols 65v–67v.

reading the recommended authors – for example how to assign number and gender to verbs in the past participle form.[157] Florio also suggested that students learned the prepositions looking at examples of verbs that use prepositions in the works of exemplary authors.[158] Perhaps Florio simply wanted to save paper and ink by avoiding further explanations and examples, but it is also true that giving the students tasks to carry out independently encouraged their active learning.

Reading reputable authors, therefore, helped the students to find examples of language and answer to their grammatical questions. Which authors were these 'buoni scrittori' ['good writers'] that Florio suggested they read? There were two categories of authors: 'antichi, e moderni' ['ancient and modern']. The ancient ones included the established traditional trio of fourteenth-century Tuscan authors: Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Dante. The modern authors included Pietro Bembo, representing the connection between ancient and modern with his analysis and recovering of the *Tre Corone* literary tradition for the standardisation of the Italian language.[159] The other two modern authors on Florio's list – Florentine Agnolo Firenzuola (1493–1543) and Roman historian Livy (59 BCE–17 CE) – seem less predictable for twenty-first-century scholarship, revealing different reading pathways for students of Italian.[160]

Firenzuola shared similar ideas on the Italian language as his friend Claudio Tolomei and expressed them in his *Discacciamento de le nuove lettere* (1524), a polemic treatise against Gian

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[157] Ibid., fol. 93r. For an example of gendering and pluralisation of Italian verbs' past principle in the *tense passato prossimo* (which is a combination of auxiliary verb in present tense + past principle): 'sono andato' ['I went' masculine singular subject], 'sono andata' ['I went' feminine singular subject], 'sono andati' ['they went' masculine plural subject], 'sono andate' ['they went' feminine plural subject].

[158] 'ogni studioso della nostra lingua facilmente leggendo I buoni scrittori conosciute saranno' ['any student of our language can find out about them [the prepositions] by reading the good writers'], Ibid., fol. 19^{v}. See also fols 23^{r}, 24^{r}, 30^{v}, 95^{v}.

[159] On Bembo see Patota, *La Quarta Corona*.

[160] 'Vi fa mestieri leggere i buoni scittor di questa lingua antichi, e moderni; come sarà il Petrarca, Il Bocaccio, Dante; e de moderni Tito Livio, il Firenzuola, il Bembo, ne quali quanto v'ho detto troverete esser' vero' ['You need to read the good ancient and modern writers of this language such as Petrarch, Boccaccio, Dante; and among the modern ones Titus Livy, Firenzuola, Bembo, where you will find that what I said is true'], Tolomei, *Regole*, fol. 124v.

Giorgio Trissino's reform of the alphabet with the addition of Greek letters.[161] Firenzuola was part of a particularly crucial period during the debate on the Italian vernacular which took place in 1520s in Rome, before the Sack of Rome in 1527, with figures such as Claudio Tolomei, Pietro Bembo and Baldassare Castiglione as seen in Chapter 1. Also, Firenzuola was author of eclectic works such as the adventurous novella *Asino d'oro* (1549?), an adaptation of Apuleius's *Asinus aureus* (second century CE); the *Ragionamenti* (1548), a courtly dialogue with six characters presenting and discussing the *questione della lingua*, Platonic love, poems and novellas;[162] *Delle bellezze delle Donne* (1541) a dialogue based on an articulate objectification of female bodies;[163] *I Lucidi* (Florence: Giunti, 1548) and *Trinuzia* (Florence: Giunti, 1552) which are two *commedie*; *Rime* (Florence: Giunti, 1548), a collection of poems; [164] and *Discorsi degli Animali* (Florence: Giunti, 1548), a collection of novellas.[165] Florio probably suggested students read his fellow Florentine Firenzuola for his wide range of works in different registers and on different topics as well as their shared ideas on the *questione della lingua*.

When presenting Roman historian Livy (first century BCE) as a modern author in the Italian vernacular, Florio was probably referring to Jacopo Nardi's translation of Livy's *Ab urbe*

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[161] For an example of Tolomei referencing Firenzuola against Trissino, see *Polito*, pp. VIII^{r-v}.

[162] On Fiorenzuola's *Ragionamenti* and women discussing *la questione della lingua* see Sanson, "Orsù, non più signora', p. 115.

[163] In 1548, in Venice, Bernardo Giunti printed an edition of Agnolo Firenzuola's *Delle bellezze delle Donne* and *Ragionamenti* with the title *Prose* and an introduction by Ludovico Domenichi. Women and linguistic issues were also discussed in Agnolo Fiorenzuola *Epistola in Lode delle Donne* (1525) dedicated to Claudio Tolomei. See Helena Sanson, "Orsù, non più signora', pp. 115–118.

[164] In England four poems by Agnolo Fiorenzuola were used for English imitations in Thomas Watson, *Passionate Centurie of Love* (London: John Wolfe, 1581), see Mary Augusta Scott, 'Elizabethan Translations from the Italian: The Titles of Such Works Now First Collected and Arranged, with Annotations. II. Translations of Poetry, Plays, and Metrical Romances', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 11.4 (1896), 377–484, (pp. 392, 395, 396); Also, Patricia Thomson saw a connection with Surrey's verses, see 'Firenzuola, Surrey, and Watson', *Renaissance News*, 18.4 (1965), 295–298.

[165] *Discorsi degli Animali* by Fiorenzuola originated from the Sanskrit collection of animal fables *Panchatantra* (200 BCE – 300 CE). In the thirteen century Giovanni of Capua translated it into Latin from Hebrew with the title *Directorium Humanae vitae* (1480). Also, Antonfrancesco Doni translated it into Italian in *La moral filosophia del Doni* (1552) and Thomas North into English from Doni's edition with the title *The Fables of Bidpai* (1570).

condita, into *Le Deche delle historie romane* (Venice, Giunti 1540).[166] The prestige of Nardi's vernacular version reflected his participation in the Accademia degli Orti Oricellari in Florence with authors and linguists such as Machiavelli, Trissino, Benedetto Varchi and Luigi Alemanni.[167] In addition to Nardi's Tuscan, *Le Deche* was appreciated as a pedagogical book for the historical teachings on the art of government, the public sphere and laws, war campaigns and funding, and geopolitical strategies in the Italian peninsula and Roman provinces.

Although Florio recommended reading Firenzuola and Livy's translation, many examples of spelling options or grammatical uses came from the canonical sources: Boccaccio and Petrarch.[168] Both authors already had an established readership in England which made it easier and more appealing to access their works for language study. For instance, Florio used an excerpt from Petrarch's *Canzoniere* to explain the use of 'il' as a pronoun (with the meaning of 'him'), which would have resonated with an Italophile English readership of this text.[169] And perhaps Florio could also rely on the fact that Petrarch's verses were used for popular song lyrics, thus giving more power to the second example of the use of 'il' as pronoun. Particularly fascinating is the fact that Florio quoted 'S'il dissi mai ch'io venga in odio a quella' which represents the title of a *canzone* from Petrarch's *Canzoniere* that Bartolomeo Tromboncino set to music.[170] Florio's possible reference to a famous *canzone* suggests the importance of Italian music for language-

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166 Pellegrini, 'Michelangelo Florio', p. 102. Nardi (1476–1563) was a Florentine historian, follower of Savonarola, working for the Florentine republic and exiled to Venice with the return of the Medici in 1530. Pointing out Livy as modern author, Florio might have also referred to Niccolò Machiavelli *Discorsi* (Giunti, 1531) which are comments on the first ten books of Livy's *Ab urbe condita*. Machiavelli had been known to Nardi since their common experience in the academia of Orti Oricellari in Florence.

167 The *questione della lingua* was often debated in the environment of the Orti Oricellari for example commenting Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*. See Machiavelli, *Discorso o dialogo intorno alla nostra lingua* (1524).

168 Florio, *Regole*, fols 24^{r}, 62^{r}, 72^{r}.

169 'Cieco non gia, ma faretrato' il vidi', Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, CLI.

170 Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, CCVI. Initially published in Venice in 1509, the song 'S'il dissi mai ch'io venga in odio a quella' appeared in several music books during the sixteenth century.

learning, in order to facilitate listening skills and memorisation.[171] For example, Jane Grey's passion for music was so ardent that her tutor was worried about it and wrote a letter to Bullinger asking for advice, and Elizabeth I inscribed part of a madrigal from Petrarch's *Trionfi* at the end of her psalter.[172] Aside from the speculations about this specific *canzone* and the use of music in the learning of Italian, in general many of Florio's examples came from Boccaccio's and Petrarch's works that were also well known in England.

Florio presented examples of different Tuscan variations in use, thus preparing the students for effective communication in real life contexts. Florio mentioned three, or perhaps four, models of language usage, followed by examples, although he is not always clear in their definitions: 'il popolaresco' ['language of the lower classes' that were contemporary to Florio']; 'i migliori parlator' thoscani' ['the best contemporary Tuscan speakers'];[173] 'Dotti e regolati parlatori' ['Learned and correct speakers'. It is not clear if these are merged with the previous category or if they are non-Tuscan learned men as, such as for example the Venetian Pietro Bembo)']'[174]; 'l'uso de gl'antichi' ['The use of the ancient', such as, for example, the *Tre Corone*].[175] From Florio's explanations of different variations and uses of Italian, we can glean his linguistic theories and a sort of hierarchy of social capital that can be acquired by knowing variations of Italian. It can be noted that these four models of language usage overlap to a large extent with the current classification of language variations in three groups: diastratic (social group related), diatopic (location related), diachronic (time related). The variable of time was crucial to Florio:

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171 On how French songs and Italian madrigals could favour language learning and memorisation, see Kate van Orden, 'Music as a Sonic Record', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 82.1 (2019), 17–42.

172 On the last leaf of her Psalter Elizabeth wrote 'Miser è chi Speme in cosa mortal pone' ['Wretched is he who places hope in mortal thing'] which is a line from Petrarch, *Trionfo della morte* (Triumph of Death). See Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I*, p. 400. Orlande de Lassus madrigal 'Miser chi speme in cose mortal pone' appeared in print in *Libro Quarto de Madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Antonio Cardano, 1567).

173 For an example of expressions that Florio recognised in use by both groups, see Florio, *Regole*, fol. 44^{r}.

174 Ibid., fol. 64^{r}.

175 Ibid., fol. 50^{r}. Cf. Claudio Tolomei's manuscript *Trattato della Lingua Toscana* in Belladonna, 'Some linguistic theories', in particular pp. 238–240. See also Subri, 'Gli scritti grammaticali inediti'.

'Time causes as many changes in the way of speaking as it does to clothes fashion. This translation of mine must not be read by Boccaccio's times, but by the present age'.[176] Overall, Florio wanted to offer students a practical compromise between the contemporary use of 'buoni scrittori e parlatori thoscani' ['good Tuscan writers and speakers'] and what 'È usato in Italia pur'assai da Lombardi, e Viniziani, ed altre nazioni; che per natura sregolatamente parlano' ['it is often used in Italy by Lombards and Venetians, and other nations too; who by nature speak without respecting the rules']).[177]

Florio's examples of variations are few and specific, suggesting that English learners might have asked questions about these cases. An exemplary case presented to readers was a typical *questione della lingua* dilemma: should one write the preposition and article separately or together when in sequence? (for example: 'Dell'anima' or 'De l'anima'). Florio appreciated the opinion of contemporary 'Achademici fiorentini' ['members of Florentine *accademia*'] who wanted to separate preposition and article in contrast with 'il parer de piu vecchi' ['the opinion of the elders']. However, he declared 'se chi che sia altri vorrà attenersi [...] potrà farlo; e parlerà anche egli thoscano senza tema di biasimo' ['whoever wants to follow others, can do it; and he will also speak Tuscan without fearing criticism'].[178] Regarding the local variations of the language, Florio's grammar warned students that people that are not Tuscan-born need to be 'piu che dotti' ['more than learned'] and 'avezzi à parlarlo' ['used to speaking it'] to avoid certain recurrent mistakes – such as for example in correctly choosing between 'Costui' ['This person' when close] and 'Cotesto' ['This person' or 'this object' when at a distance].[179] Also, Florio identified remnants of

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176 'I tempi non meno astringono altrui a mutare i modi del parlare, che i panni.[...] questa mia traduzione non dee esser letta da l'età del Boccaccio, ma da la presente', Florio,*De l'arte de metalli*, 5v.
177 Florio, *Regole*, fol. 14r.
178 Ibid., fol. 17r.
179 Ibid., fols 64r–v. Another early modern example of how English learners were made aware of the existence of vernacular variations is the French tutor Claude Hollyband who, in his *French Littelton* (1578), promoted his variety of French as the 'most appropriate' among the others, see Gallagher, "To Heare it by Mouth': Speech and Accent in Early Modern Language Learning', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 82.1 (2019), 63–86, (pp. 82–83).

how the 'ancients' spoke, for example, in Siena, where people still said 'Ellino' ['They'] instead of a more common 'Eglino' ['They'] as in other parts of Tuscany.[180] This final reference seems to address English travellers such as Hoby and Barker, who made Siena their main Italian base, as we have seen in Chapter I. In general, Florio's incursions in the language variations revolving around the central pole of Tuscan demonstrate that the Italian language was not learned in England as a finite product. On the contrary, approaching some of the linguistic complexities of the Italian peninsula with awareness and pragmatism was part of the learning process.

Conclusions

This chapter investigated the Florentine Michelangelo Florio's *Regole*, a Tuscan grammar dedicated to Jane Grey and Henry Herbert. Italian was used as the metalanguage of the text, suggesting that more advanced students could directly engage with this kind of material in England. However, Florio also provided a comparison with Latin in the book structure, in his grammatical comments, by comparing Latin and Italian, and in bilingual exemplary sentences for the more educated students. English people seemed to appreciate this solution afterwards, considering that Scipione Lentulo's grammar (1567) took it to extremes by displaying Latin as the main language, also using it for the grammatical explanations and the paratext, as a result of his teaching Italian grammar 'to two French and an English gentleman' in Geneva.[181]

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[180] Florio, *Regole*, fol. 60^{v}.

[181] Scipione Lentulo, *Scipione Italicae praecepta* (Geneve: Ioannem Crispinum, 1567). Trascription and Italian translation of the Proemio in Palermo and Poggiogalli, *Grammatiche*, pp. 85–88. Migliorini, *Storia della Lingua Italiana*, p. 346. Lentulo's work also had some success in England where, in 1575, Henry Grantham dedicated an English–Italian version to Mary and Frances, the daughters of Lord Henry Berkeley: Scipione Lentulo, *An Italian grammer written in Latin by Scipio Lentulo a Neapolitane: and turned in English*: by H[enry] G[ranthan](London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1575). See Pizzoli, *Le Grammatiche di italiano*, p. 30.

Florio's *Regol*e and his translation of Ponet's *Catechism* in Edwardian England confirm that the cultural capital and political support that the Italian reformists could provide intertwined with the understanding, learning, use and translation of their vernacular language. Other faces of this phenomenon were Edward de Courtney's translation of the *Beneficio di Cristo* and Princess Elizabeth Tudor and Anne Bacon's translations of Ochino's *Prediche*. In times of religious, political, and cultural upheaval, when male opinions were being reconsidered and sometimes rejected, brilliant female individuals found avenues to express their views on the most pressing issues of the day also thanks to their personal and textual Italian encounters. Elizabeth Tudor used Italian to translate religious works, but also to communicate in written and oral form in her personal life and for diplomacy. She gifted us with more documents than any other sixteenth-century English woman, but it would be a mistake to consider her interest in the Italian language as an exceptional case.

Young male and female high aristocracy – Henry Herbert and Jane Grey – and their families considered Italian as a tool for their power seizing plans. Therefore this group of English reformists represented the immediate potential readership of Florio's *Regole*. In addition to the need to please his patrons in the paratext and text, Florio revealed an unfulfilled editorial plan addressing a more generic readership of anti-Catholics regardless of their nationality and social status. Within Florio's grammar, the boundaries between language learners and tutors were blurred, sometimes addressing an imaginary reader who also has to teach the language.

Florio's attitude towards religious and linguistic authorities was similar: Christians and students of the Italian language should read the bible and the canonical authors (*Tre Corone*) to elaborate their final truth. In other words, self-study and critical analysis were crucial. The students faced progressive learning with few grammatical rules that they could refine afterwards with readings and practice. This position in the *questione della lingua* and in pedagogy was practical

and stated the importance of use over prescriptivism, according to the stance of Claudio Tolomei. Florio gave sporadic advice on how to use his grammar (for example, he suggested to memorise certain passages) and principles in order to approach the language acquisition process in terms of pronunciation, syntax and register ('dolcezza, peso, numero, misura'). Although relying on prescriptive grammars like Bembo's *Prose*, Michelangelo Florio's grammar intended to celebrate the intrinsic beauty of Tuscan, highlighting how people from different locations, social classes, and levels of education shaped it through years of use.

Florio was open to the possibility that his readers could use his *Regole* with William Thomas' *Principal Rules* (1550) and that was the best example of specific material for Italian learning printed in England at that time. Florio used Latin as an intermediary language to better clarify his exemplary sentences, whilst Thomas used English both to translate the examples and explain the rules. The next chapter will show how the use of English translations and/or intermediary languages like Latin and French in polyglot dictionaries allowed Italian-learning, especially with one edition printed in England in 1537 and one edition printed in Venice in 1541.

CHAPTER III. MULTILINGUAL PEDAGOGICAL BOOKS: LEARNING ITALIAN IN EUROPE (1510–1558)

Several Italianists, Classicists, and French language scholars have long tried to establish once and for all in their favour which was Elizabeth I's 'favourite language' beside English.[1] In other words, what was Elizabeth's second-language (L2) according to formalist approaches to language acquisition that label the languages in chronological order of acquisition (eg. L1 or native language, L2, L3, etc. or Lx)? Answering this question is a misleading objective because English, Latin, Greek, and French created with Italian an interconnected and polyfunctional system of learning, communication, and self-fashioning in Elizabeth's life. A formalist framework usually implies a unidirectional transfer that creates crosslinguistic influence from the L1 to L2, from L1 and L2 to L3, and so on, and a progressive decrease of proficiency when following the order of languages.[2] If we fully embrace the formalist framework, it would make sense to establish Elizabeth's favourite language, to focus our major attentions there and after looking at the other acquired languages through the lense of this L2. However, recent research that studies the

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[1] For example, Wyatt argues for Elizabeth preferring Italian, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 125. However, Elizabeth's translations from Latin seems more numerous especially in her later years, see Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544–1589*; and idem, *Elizabeth I: Translations*, *1592–1598* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009). On Elisabeth's Greek translations, see Ellis, 'The Juvenile Translations', p. 159. Although it does not exist a definitive collection of Elizabeth I' letters, Guillaume Coatalen argues that French seems the foreign language more used by Elizabeth, in "Ma plume vous pourra exprimer': Elizabeth's French Correspondence' in *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 83–104. Scholars' known and preferred languages tend to influence their collection, analysis and presentation of the data, which is understandable, but problematic when their conclusions claim to be comprehensive and definitive. For example, I should disclose that I have ignored in this thesis the possibility of English people using German and Dutch as intermediary language to learn Italian and I cannot exclude it due to my ignorance in these two languages (and the Flemish variations). On German learning in Britain, see Nicola McLelland, *German through English Eyes: A History of Language Teaching and Learning in Britain 1500–2000* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015). Lelland declares that there is no textual evidence of English–German language materials before the seventeenth century, p. 22. For German in Europe, see Helmut Glück, 'The History of German as a Foreign Language in Europe: (Translated and with Additional notes by Nicola McLelland)', *Language & History*, 57.1 (2014), 44–58.

[2] Eloi Puig–Mayenco, Jorge González Alonso, and Jason Rothman, 'A Systematic Review of Transfer Studies in Third Language Acquisition', *Second Language Research*, 36.1 (2020), 31–64.

language-learning process has challenged the formalist framework and pointed to the possibility of bi-directional transfer and convergence within a multilingual system.[3] When Elizabeth Tudor started to develop her multilingual system from the late 1530s to the 1550s, polyglot pedagogical sources reflected the presence of an ecosystem of languages for communication and learning in England and Europe that need to be investigated to understand how she and other English people acquired the Italian language.[4]

This chapter will show how early modern polyglot dictionaries (editions from 1474 to 1541) proposed a comparative/contrastive way approach to Italian language-learning for written and oral communication, which also benefitted English individuals. These kinds of polyglot sources represent in their *mise-en-page* with parallel texts both the linguistic fixity and fluidity of early modern Europe.[5] Languages appear in parallel columns that can each be read vertically, as separate linguistic systems with names that recall early modern geographical, political, economic and cultural entities. Whilst English represented the political and cultural power of the King of England and his London court, Italian language loosely represented the geography of the entire Italian peninsula and an elusive cultural entity that Dante Alighieri's *De vulgari eloquentia* (1302–1305) attempted to define theoretically for the first time. Labelling the languages and dividing

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[3] Aneta Pavlenko and Scott Jarvis, 'Bidirectional Transfer', *Applied linguistics,* 23.2, (2002), 190–214. Ad. Backus, 'Convergence as a Mechanism of Language Change', *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 7.2 (2004), 179–181; Barbara E. Bullock, and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, 'Introduction: 'Introduction: Convergence as an Emergent Property in Bilingual speech', *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 7.2 (2004), 91–93.

[4] I use the term 'ecosystem of languages' within the framework of 'Language ecology', a field that studies the interaction between languages and their environments i.e. people that learn it, use it, and transmit it to others. See the seminal paper by Einar Haugen, 'The Ecology of Language', *Linguistic Reporter*, 13.1 (1971), 19–26; see also Stig Eliasson, 'The Birth of Language Ecology: Interdisciplinary Influences in Einar Haugen's 'The Ecology of Language'', *Language Sciences*, 50 (2015), 78–92. For recent overviews of this field that engage anthropological linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics, see Hildo Honório do Couto, 'Ecossistema cultural', *Ecolinguística: Revista brasileira de ecologia e linguagem (ECO–REBEL)*, 4.1 (2018), 12–26; Wenjuan Zhou, 'Ecolinguistics: A Half-Century Overview', *Journal of World Languages*, 7.3 (2022), 461–486. For Language ecology and language teaching, see Claire Kramsch, 'Ecological Perspectives on Foreign Language Education', *Language teaching*, 41.3 (2008): 389–408; Sin Wang Chong, Talia Isaacs and Jim McKinley, 'Ecological Systems Theory and Second Language Research', *Language Teaching*, 56.3 (2023), 333–348. For the presence of other languages in England and their influence on English language, see Laura Wright, ed., *The Multilingual Origins of Standard English* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2020).

[5] For a general definition and comparison of the two terms see Jürgen Jaspers and Lian Malai Madsen, 'Fixity and Fluidity in Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice', in *Critical Perspectives on Linguistic Fixity and Fluidity: Languagised Lives*, ed. by Jaspers and Lian Malai Madsen (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 1–26.

them with parallel vertical lines is an attempt to give them fixity through the written medium, but by reading the polyglot pages horizontally the fluidity of languages with their multidirectional relationships characterising oral early modern communication emerges.[6] In other words, polyglot pedagogical sources visually show the human capacity to create linguistic boundaries and bridges to socially separate, include, dominate, and resist specific groups or individuals. The *mise-en-page* with parallel columns reveals that the authors and translators, editors, printers (more in general the 'print agents') behind polyglot pedagogical editions wanted the readers to learn languages by noticing linguistic boundaries and bridges.[7] In this scenario an English individual that knew more languages beside their native one had more ways, or 'doors', into Italian learning.

The popular European 'family' of polyglot dictionaries that I will present originated in Venice with an Italian–German dictionary: *Introito e porta* (1474) ['Entrance and door'].[8] The multicultural port of Venice and its 'satellite' university Padua attracted many foreigners, and among them English individuals, making the city an ideal location for the production, updating, and circulation of these polyglot dictionaries. Among the polyglot dictionaries, I will consider in particular two editions of *Sex linguarum* dictionaries. The first dictionary was printed in Southwark (from now on '*Southwark 1537*') and is the first known dictionary in England with the pairing of English and Italian among other four languages (the columns order is: Latin, Flemish/Dutch,

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[6] For linguistic 'fixity' and 'fluidity' in Early Modern Europe, see Auger and Brammall, *Multilingual Texts and Practices*, pp. 1–6. See also Guyda Armstrong who examines the information design of several Italian parallel–text and polyglot language–learning manuals and books that were published in England between the years 1570s and 1590s, in 'Coding continental'.

[7] For the term 'print agents', see Andie Silva, *The Brand of Print: Marketing Paratexts in the Early English Book Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p. 4.

[8] *Vocabularius Introito e porta* (Venice: Adam von Rottweil, 1477). For a wide survey of the *Introito e porta* family of polyglot dictionaries see Alda Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*. For general overviews see also Alda Rossebastiano, 'La tradition des manuels polyglottes dans l'enseignement des langues'; Claudio Marazzini, 'The teaching of Italian in 15th– and 16th–century Europe'; Werner Hüllen, 'Textbook–families for the Learning of Vernaculars between 1450 and 1700', in *History of Linguistics 1999: Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (Fontenay–St. Clou, 14–19 September 1999*), ed. by Jocelyne Arpin, et al., (Amsterdam: John Benjamins
, 2003), pp. 97–107. In the field of Italian language–learning by English individuals only Gamberini briefly mentioned the existence of these dictionaries as potential sources for Italian learning, *Lo studio dell'italiano*, pp. 49–50.

French, Spanish, Italian, English).[9] The second *Sex linguarum* dictionary was printed in Venice in 1541 (from now '*Venice 1541*') displaying a column with English for the first time in Italy - the six languages are in order Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, English, German.[10]

I will discuss the uses of *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* as potential sources for English learners of Italian thanks to analysis of the materiality of the book, the 'information design', and a close reading of paratext and lexical units. The ordering of the entries reflects not an alphabetical compilation, but a 'thematic' (or topical) compilation.[11] This suggests a use that was similar and complementary to early modern commonplace books, which were handwritten texts ordered by subject headings for 'future use'.[12] Whilst an alphabetical compilation of bilingual material could aid with translation of a foreign text by clarifying unknown words, a thematic compilation supports people that mean to prepare 'a text productively'. They 'know what to say (if only

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[9] *Sex linguarum, Latinae, Gallicæ, Hispanicæ, Italicæ, Anglicæ, et Teutonice* (Southwark: James Nicolson, 1537). See Rossebastiano Bart, A*ntichi vocabolari plurilingui d'uso popolare: La tradizione del 'Solenissimo Vochabuolista'* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1984), pp. 122–123; M. Jesús Redondo Rodríguez, 'Primer contacto de las lenguas española e inglesa: el Sex linguarum Latinae, Teuthonice, Gallice, Hispanice, Italice, Anglice, dilucidissimus dictionarius', in *Proceedings of the XIII EURALEX International Congress (Barcelona, 15–19 July 2008),* ed by. Janet Ann De Cesaris and Elisenda Bernal (Barcelona: Institut Universitari de Lingüistica Aplicada, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2008), pp. 1181–1187; Gabriele Stein, *Word Studies in the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 104–129.

[10] *Sex linguarum, Latinae, Gallicæ, Hispanicæ, Italicæ, Anglicæ, et Teutonice* (Sessa, Venice: 1541). There are two issues: one of which names Renys on the title page (STC 6832.1) and one without name (STC 6832.2). Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, pp. 132–133. Outside England the first polyglot dictionary to include English might be *Sex linguarum, Latinae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, Anglicae, & Teutonicae,* printed in Augsburg by Philipp Ulhart, with the earliest date conjectured 'ca.1530' by the British Library, or 1537–1538 by Stein. However, this is a controversial datation, for example Rossebastiano suggested 1541–1557. In this case the seven–language edition printed in Antwerp: *Septem linguarum, Latinae, Teutonicae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, Anglicae, Almanicae, dilucidissimus dictionarius* (Antwerp: Ioannes Crinitus, 1540) could be the first edition outside England displaying English language.

[11] Tom McArthur, 'Thematic Lexicography', *The History of Lexicography*, ed. by Reinhard Hartmann (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986), p. 157–166. This kind of compilation and dictionaries can be called by contemporary lexicographer also *onomasiological*, *conceptual*, *ideographical*, and in the early modern period *thesaurus* and *nomenclator*, see Werner Hüllen*, English dictionaries*, p. 13.

[12] The accumulation of material 'for future use' in commonplace is explained by the famous humanist Desiderius Erasmus in his *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo* (Paris, Jean Barbier et Jean Petit, 1512). Also, the Italianist Henry Sidney gave similar instructions to the son Philip, in Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 145. Other examples of thematic multilingual dictionaries in England are William Caxton's French and English *Vocabolarius* (or *Dialogues*) (1483), see Hüllen, *English dictionaries*, pp. 93–104. Another example is John Withals's English and Latin dictionary, *A Shorte Dictionary for Yonge Begynners* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1553), see ibid., pp. 169–201.

vaguely), but they do not know how to say it', which is the condition of the foreign language learner who wants to communicate.[13]

Moreover, among the pedagogical practices that this text elicited, I will show how reading different lexical units in sequence could build fragments of dialogues in certain parts of the dictionaries. This overlooked dialogic aspect of polyglot dictionaries could lead to them being reassessed as phrasebooks.[14] Some of these representations of 'chunks of speech' seem to mimic conventional 'formulaic sequences' that have an important function in the process of first and second language acquisition and oral production (for example, from *Southwark 1537* in the Italian and English columns: 'Che tene pare?'/ 'How thinkest thou?').[15] This emphasis on common language patterns in certain cases developed into longer sequences of entries (re)presenting specific real-life situations (e.g. being arrested and have a trial). In fact, according to Culpeper and Kytö early modern pedagogical dialogues are examples of 'face-to-face spoken interactions […] embedded within written texts. The result is even greater functional richness, as we have the functions of the original (or imaginary) interactions embedded in a text which in turn has its own interactive functions with readers'.[16] These short representations of real-life situations and the focus on a core basic vocabulary produced learning material apt to recreate a sort of 'proto-

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13 Hüllen, *English dictionaries*, p. 13.

14 Carla Marello was the first to observe the polyglot dictionaries also as a phrase book in *Dizionari bilingui con schede sui dizionari italiani per francese, inglese, spagnolo, tedesco* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1989).

15 A 'formulaic sequence' can be defined as: 'a sequence, continuous or discontinous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar', in Alison Wray and Michael R. Perkins, 'The Functions of Formulaic Language: An Integrated Model', *Language & Communication*, 20.1 (2000), 1–28 (p. 1). I do not intend to provide a comprehensive report on the complex and still open theoretical debate on formulaic sequences and its application in the contemporary L2 classrooms. However, it is essential to establish that research in the last 30 years agrees that formulaic sequences have an important role in the development of L2 spoken language. See for example, Alison Wray, 'Formulaic Sequences in Second Language Teaching: Principle and Practice', *Applied linguistics*, 21.4 (2000), 463–489; Regina Weinert, 'The Role of Formulaic Language in Second Language Acquisition: A Review', *Applied linguistics*, 16.2 (1995), 180–205; James R. Nattinger and DeCarrico, Jeanette S., *Lexical Phrases and Language Teaching* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

16 Culpeper, Jonathan, and Merja Kytö, *Early Modern English Dialogues: Spoken Interaction as Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 9. For an example of the use of Culpeper and Kyto's framework in the field of Italian learning in England, Donatella Montini analysed John Florio's dialogues, see 'Didattica della lingua e mise en page nei dialoghi anglo italiani di Florio', in *Lingue europee a confronto: la linguistica contrastiva tra teoria, traduzione e didattica*, Vol. 54, ed. by Daniela Puato (Rome: Sapienza Università Editrice, 2016), pp. 225–242.

situational learning method'.[17] Polyglot dictionaries represented and enhanced the broader multilingual tendency of the early modern period thanks to the extended use of a comparative/contrastive approach and several updated editions thrived in cities with predominant language mixing or 'languaging' such as London, Venice, Rome, and Antwerp.[18]

1. Learning Italian, Latin and French in England: competitive and symbiotic relationships

As Elizabeth I's example showed at the beginning of the chapter, scholarship rarely considers polyglot sources as valid resources for English individuals engaging with Italian learning in the early modern period. Scholarship has been more concerned in establishing the superiority of one language in Tudor England. Policies that promoted intranational monolingualism and the extended formalised study of few foreign languages in the twentieth century – usually French in England with the addition of Latin for the elite – can partially explain why scholarship tended to ignore the early modern ecosystem of languages and comparative learning approaches.[19] Simonini believed that the presence of Latin, French, and in minor part Greek learning excluded any possible space for Italian vernacular in England before the second part of the sixteenth century. Therefore, for Simonini the cultural influence from the Italian peninsula on England was limited to what early English humanists visiting Italy and learning classical languages could bring from the peninsula. Dowling warned that a discrepancy lay between self-representations of early

[17] British applied linguists Harold Palmer and A.S. Hornby developed this method between the 1930s and 1960s, see Howatt and Richard Smith, 'The History of Teaching English', pp. 75–95; Albert Sidney Hornby, 'The Situational Approach in Language Teaching (I)', *ELT Journal*, 4.4 (1950), 98–103.

[18] I use the term 'languaging' to state that multilingualism is the norm, and it is not convenient to study separately multiple languages as separate linguistic codes. On the other hand, it has to be appreciated that polyglot dictionaries attempted to separate linguistic codes into individual named languages in their parallel columns.

[19] For an overview of the languages taught in England especially in the 20th century see Nicola McLelland, 'The History of Language–learning and Teaching in Britain', *The Language–learning Journal*, 46.1 (2018), 6–16.

sixteenth century English learned individuals as 'classicists' and their complete linguistic skill-set including modern languages: 'A rather surprising omission is the mention of modern languages. […] In reality many gentlemen knew French, and some learned Italian and Spanish. Indeed, the real renaissance gentleman was a somewhat different creature from the one depicted by the theorists'.[20] In fact, English people might know just Italian and not Latin as for example the diplomat Richard Shelley (1513–1589) friend of Richard Morison and cousin of Philip Sidney.[21] Despite Dowling's warnings and biographical proofs, Simonini's assumption still persists also when considering the presence of Italians in England across the entirety of the Tudor period. If English people cannot speak and understand Italian, Italians in England cannot speak Italian. For example, Wyatt described Italian visitors in England only as expert classicists (for example the Secretary of Latin and historian Polidoro Virgilio) that started to have a vernacular voice only from the 1540s onward with the Protestant refugees like Michelangelo Florio.[22]

On the other hand, Francis Yates pinned down the main issue with Simonini's conclusions early on: the phenomenon of Italian language teaching in England does not seem related to a 'larger context'.[23] This larger context was also linguistic in which languages could work in synergy and therefore Italian could have been learned and used in England *thanks* to the presence of other languages, like Latin and French. Yates highlighted that Simonini did not consider how the Italian humanists, such as Pietro Bembo already at the beginning of the sixteenth century, switched part of their interests from neo-Latin to the 'examination and

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[20] Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 190.
[21] Alan Steward, *Philip Sidney*, p. 120.
[22] 'One not entirely transparent consequence of the religious history that we have been considering is its uneasy relationship with Italian Renaissance vernacular culture, the legacy of which came to be transmitted to later Tudor England largely through the agency of the Italian Protestants who found refuge there', Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 94–95.
[23] Francis A. Yates, 'Review of R. C Simonini, *Italian Scholarship in Renaissance England*', *Comparative Literature*, 7.3 (1955), 281–283, (pp. 282–283).

purification' of the Italian tongue and imitating Petrarchan poetry.[24] Thanks to this switch, Yates argues that 'Italian scholarship in England […] was, of course, a derivation of Italian Italian [sic.] scholarship' i.e. Italian vernacular sources. Yates used Pellegrini's article on Michelangelo Florio's *Tuscan grammar* (1553) to support her argument against Simonini. By using Latin to translate exemplary Tuscan sentences and compare grammars rules, Florio's book shows that Latin learning in England was complementary to Italian learning. Florio followed the already consolidated humanistic principles of learning languages together: Latin could help to learn Italian, but also vice versa. As seen in the first chapter, this was also Hoby's approach when he declared that he wanted to study the Italian language 'to have a farther entrance in the Latin' in 1547.

Simonini argued that French, alongside Latin, limited the space for Italian language in England in a fiercely competitive linguistic landscape: 'The closer proximity of the two countries, the flourishing commerce of the time, and the easy passage across the Channel made it more expedient for the ordinary Englishman to learn French rather than Italian'.[25] In this case Simonini's source for this still alive assumption that Italian was subordinated to French, and again exclusive to upper-classes in England, was Kathleen Lambley who stated in 1920: '[Italian] was widely known for the sake of literature, it was never so widely spoken or so universally popular as French […] seriously cultivated by the Tudor group of distinguished linguists, and so became a sort of fashion, which, spreading to more frivolous circles, soon degenerated into mere affection'.[26] According to Lambley's view, French culture and language *must* act as gatekeepers of

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[24] See for example, Marco Faini, 'War, Grammar and Philology: From Leonardo to Bembo via Fortunio', *The Italianist*, 36.3 (2016), 375–391.

[25] Simonini, *Italian Scholarship*, p. 17. Michael Wyatt maintains a competitive vision of languages, but states that French became a foreign language in sixteenth century England, and this opened the space to the study of other languages as Italian, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 158.

[26] Kathleen Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920), p. 64. Simonini states that during Henry VIII's reign 'members of the court preferred Italian to French', *Italian Scholarship*, p. 19. For more recent research on medieval and early

Italian with intermediary translations.[27] And in linguistic pedagogy French *must* be the second-language working as a bridge towards the learning of Italian as foreign language.[28] French could have a crucial intermediary role, and my thesis show this by examining, for example, Mazzocchi's polyglot dictionary (1510), but it was not *always* so.[29] However, English people could be more proficient in Italian than French. For example, William Barker asked the Florentine banker Ridolfi to translate a French letter into Italian for him because he could not understand some tricky passages.[30] Another possibility was studying French and Italian at the same time, as Philip Hoby did through the exercise of double translations with a translation of Cicero in Italian and another one in French.[31] Although French was favoured by the Anglo–Norman legacy, geographical proximity, and fifteenth-century political and cultural interactions, the persistent 'French favoured over Italian' position might reflect more the English twentieth-century scholastic system ignoring a comparative approach than the objective early modern reality.

Polyglot sources suggest pedagogical aims linked with a more complex story of languages interactions that the very Simonini sensed. In fact the idea for this chapter starts from an idea that he did not explore further when presenting a list of books for Italian language-learning in

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modern French in England, see Douglas A. Kibbee, *For to Speke Frenche Trewely*: *the French French Language in England, 1000–1600: Its Status, Description, and Instruction* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991). For the 'competition' between French and Italian 'for the top spot among vernaculars', p. 106.

[27] For an example of Tudor scholarship considering the geographical positioning of the three countries as the main proof of the inevitability of a French filter to Italian culture in England, see Eric W. Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: 'the most happy'* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 22–23. However, recent scholars are debunking this 'endemic myth'. For example, Chris Stamatakis challenges the assumption that Wyatt encountered Alemanni's *Opere Toscane* in the Lyons edition proposing a Giunta Florentine edition thanks to textual links to the printer *impresa*, in 'Image to Text', p. 86.

[28] For example, Parks assumes that the translator John Clerk took up 'Italian after French', 'The Genesis', p. 534.

[29] Also in terms of material culture Bolland showed that sometimes England could take the role of 'bringing Italy to France'. For example, at Henry VIII and Francis I meeting at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520, *Italian Material Culture,* p. 95.

[30] Barker, *Xenophon's 'Cyropedia'* ed. by Grogan, p. 19.

[31] Philip Sidney refers to Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Le epistole famigliari tradotte secondo i veri sensi dell'auttore, & con figure proprie della lingua volgare* (Venice: in casa haer. Aldo I Manuzio, 1551). Lawrence, *Who the Devil*, p. 24; Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 108–109.

England.[32] But Simonini limited his perspective considering only some editions of the Barlement's tradition of dictionaries in Antwerp.[33] He also ignored the possible use of intermediary language when English was not among the languages and dismissed in general the pedagogical effectiveness of their format probably due to the scarce grammatical information and lack of instructions for practical exercises. However, this format had a functional pedagogical rationale considering that the polyglot dictionaries tradition had developed in the environment of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in Venice - a German merchants' enclave where several tutors used to teach languages, early literacy and other skills necessary for merchants and chancellor secretaries.

2. Printed Polyglot Dictionaries: Origin of the Genre, Paratexts and Potential Readership

The mysterious Adam von Rottweil was the author and/or printer of the bilingual Italian–German dictionary, *Introito e porta* (1474), derived from eight manuscripts used for language teaching.[34] The German Master Giorgio (also 'Zorzi', 'Iorg', and 'Georg') of Nuremberg

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[32] Simonini, *Italian Scholarship*, pp. 26–27. Also, Simonini suggests 'books written on special subjects in multilingual form might be considered' mentioning as earlier example the multilingual Juan de Flores's *L'histoire d'Aurelio et Isabelle* (Antwerp, 1556). Ibid, pp. 28–29.

[33] Three other long lasting 'families' of dictionaries that I do not consider in this chapter are the dictionaries/dialogues by Noel Berlaimont (d.1531), Ambrogio Calepino (1435–1511), and Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575). The first reported edition of the Berlaimont (Flemish–French) is in 1527, at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (recorded as 'Garlainmot, Noël van: Vocabulare'). English was added among the Barlemont languages perhaps in 1567 or 1578, see Gamberini, *Lo studio dell' Italiano*, pp. 48–49. On the Barlemont's tradition, see Colombo Timelli, Maria, 'Aspetti didattici nei dizionari plurilingui del XVI–XVII secolo: il Berlaimont', in *Lessicologia e lessicografia nella storia degli insegnamenti linguistici* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2006), pp. 123–134; Susan E. Phillips, 'Schoolmasters, seduction, and slavery: Polyglot dictionaries in pre–modern England', *Medievalia et Humanistica,* 34 (2008), 129–158. The first edition of the *Calepino* was a Latin dictionary printed untitled by Dionigio Bertocchi in Reggio Emilia in 1502, however Italian was added to the *Calepino* in 1545 and English only in the 1580s. See Martine Furno, 'Du commerce et des langues: latin et vernaculaires dans les lexiques et dictionnaires plurilingues au XVI e siècle', *Histoire et civilisation du livre*, 4 (2008), 93–116. For John Higgins' English addition in Hadrianus Junius's dictionary see Gabriele G. Stein, 'The English Edition of Hadrianus Junius' Nomenclator (1585)', *Lexicographica*, 21(2005), 35–46.

[34] Rossebastiano Bart briefly sketches these eight Italian–German manuscripts for language teaching, but she admits more research is necessary to map the relationships between them and the first printed edition of the polyglot dictionary, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, pp. 27–35. See also idem, *Vocabolari Veneto–Tedeschi del secolo xv* (1983); Barbara Bruzzone, 'Sui primi manuali didattici per l'insegnamento del tedesco come lingua straniera nella Venezia del XV

composed at least two of these manuscripts, *Sprachbücher*, between 1424 and half fifteenth century. The main common feature of the eight manuscripts is the presence of lexical units in Italian and German on two separate facing columns grouped by thematic headings. The manuscripts were divided into two parts: a word-list and dialogues between Italian and German merchants. The printed version *Introito e porta* (1474) simplified the text by summarising and eliminating most of the dialogic parts of the manuscripts leaving fragmented phrases among one-word entries without matching them with precise speakers. McLelland suggested that this printed version 'might reflect a lack of understanding of their values as models of specifically oral language use, with all its pragmatic and cultural complexities, and an increasing emphasis instead on correct, context-free mastery of a given set of lexis and phrases'.[35]

I would slightly modify McLelland's quote, suggesting that the given set of lexis and phrases of the printed version did lose part, but *not the entirety*, of their pragmatic and cultural values for oral language by reducing but *not completely* eliminating the role of the context of the manuscript version. This part of the chapter dedicated to the polyglot dictionaries will suggest that this simplification process did not reflect the lack of understanding of the dialogues' values as a model of oral language; but it meant to encourage a different and more flexible uses of these pedagogical materials for Italian and German learning beyond the domain of Italian–German cloth commerce, thanks to the representation of more generic/universal contexts delimited by thematic headlines.

By observing the paratexts of the first and second editions we can observe the relationship with Latin pedagogical books and heritage, the international scope of the Italian and

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secolo : la tradizione di Giorgio da Norimberga', *reCHERches. Culture et histoire dans l'espace roman*, 5 (2010), 29–46; Hüllen, *English dictionaries*, pp. 326–331.

[35] Nicola McLelland, 'Dialogue and German Language–learning in the Renaissance', in *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, ed. by Dorothea Heitsch and Jean–Francois Vallee (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 206–225 (p. 215).

German languages and a wide targeted readership. Once printed, the polyglot dictionaries maintained a link with pedagogical Latin grammars in their Italian title, *Introito e porta,* which echoes the popular tradition of medieval Latin grammars commonly called *Ianua* ('door' or 'gate') based on Donatus' *Ars minor* and Priscianus's *Institutiones*. In the incipit of the first edition, Italian and Latin languages are even conflated: 'Questo libro el quale si chiama introito e porta de quelle che voleno imparare e comprender todescho a latino cioe taliano el quale e utilissimo per quele che vadeno a pratichando per el mundo el sia todescho o taliano.[36] ['This book that is called entrance or door for the people who want to learn and understand German and Latin which is Italian that it is very useful for the people practising (or conversing) around the world both German or Italian']. It is necessary to notice that the 'taliano' of the first edition was a language with strong Venetian influences that would shift more towards Tuscan/Roman variations with the following editions.[37] Although far from a univocal standardisation, this introduction attests to the status of Italian as proxy of Latin as international language and suggests that polyglot dictionaries were a tool 'for merchants and travellers'.[38]

But building on the first introduction, the second edition titled *Solenissimo Vochabuolista* (Bologna: Domenego de Lapi, 1479) explained that this kind of manual could also substitute school literacy for certain social groups (e.g. craftsmen and women) showing a wider imagined readership: '[...] utilissimo a imparare legere per quelli che desiderase senza andare aschola Como eartesani e done.' ['very useful to learn reading for the people who wish to learn not going to school such as craftsmen and women'].[39] Following editions tend to maintain this kind of

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[36] This is my transcription with not abbreviations of the incipit, for a diplomatic transcription of this edition's and other editions' incipit, see Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, pp. 42–43.
[37] Melchiorre Sessa printed an edition in Venice in 1513 displaying in the title among the five languages 'Tusche' (Tuscan) instead of the usual 'Italicae' (Italian) in other editions, Ibid., p. 77.
[38] Gamberini, *Lo studio dell'italiano*, p. 50; Palermo e Poggiogalli, *Grammatiche di italiano*, p. 9.
[39] In regard to the German translation, John Considine wrote that: 'The German parallel text refers only to *hantwercksz liit* ('workmen'), and not to ladies, presumably because this edition was printed and marketed in Bologna, where Italian women might encounter German–speaking travellers, whereas German–speaking women would not be

introduction (except the one without incipit as *Southwark 1537*) just adding more languages and in certain cases (as *Venice 1541*) new printers' letters to the readers. A wider targeted readership hints at a certain flexibility in the pedagogical practices that these early modern texts allowed. In fact, 'Different readers may correlate different languages/columns, and some of them may concentrate on a single language. It must have been difficult to anticipate the reader's linguistic need or preference, and it seems to have been equally difficult to anticipate the reader's class, gender, age, and occupation'.[40] I agree with Hüllen that 'this simply shows how little alphabetization coincided with the acknowledged institutions of education and certainly with modern ideas about the so-called upper and lower strata of society'.[41]

However, I cannot agree with Hüllen when he oversimplifies the target readership of the dictionaries concluding that 'the envisaged users were not bookish people who lived in monasteries or at universities'.[42] Other early modern sources show that also highly literate people, according to our modern standards, should be included among the readership of the polyglot dictionaries. For example, Francesco Alunno in his *Ricchezze* probably used an edition of this polyglot dictionaries printed in Venice as a source for his Italian-English word list section; and perhaps also during his teaching to the young trainees of the Chancery of the Council of Ten of Venice.[43] Also in England, linguists used materials from the polyglot dictionaries tradition as a base to create their own manuals as for example the anonymous author of the Spanish manual

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expected to deal with speakers of Italian, because they would not be travelling alone', *Sixteenth–Century English Dictionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2022), pp. 104–105.

[40] Belén Bistué, *Collaborative Translation and Multi-version Texts in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 99.

[41] Hüllen, *English Dictionaries*, p. 338

[42] Ibid.

[43] Several samples give encouraging feedback regarding Alunno's dependence on the polyglot dictionaries tradition for his *Ricchezze*, although a in depth comparative analysis is due. For instance, in both texts appear the same anomaly: some English entries are composed by the indefinite article 'a' + noun. All the entries in Alunno's list with this characteristic can be found in the polyglot dictionaries. On Alunno's *Ricchezze* and its English entries, see Chapter V.2.

Book of English and Spanish (1554?).[44] The paratexts were, therefore, vague and specific at the same time targeting a diverse potential readership with different background, level of education, and language skills including women, craftsmen, people who had not received an official education, authors, and linguists who used the dictionaries in different ways. A more generic context, not strictly related to Italian–German mercantile cultures, made the polyglot dictionaries more convenient for the addition of other languages that expanded the potential readership and ways to use the books.

Following the evolution of this tradition of polyglot dictionaries, Latin and French appeared, for the first time, in addition to Italian and German in Giacomo Mazzocchi's *Utilissimo vocabuolista* (1510). Latin took the first column of the page which confirms its role as the European intermediary language of pre-Reformation Christianity and its relationship with Italian positioned in the second column.[45] Whilst French comes third in the order of languages after Italian, and before German, helping to visually compare the two romance languages. Polyglot English individuals, therefore, could use this edition with Latin and/or French as intermediary languages to learn Italian, with no need of English explanations or translations.[46] In fact, English society offered several occasions where the study and use of Latin and French was the norm, from religious and bureaucratic matters to literature and private letters.[47]

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[44] *Book of English and Spanish* (London: Robert Wyer, 1554?). See R. J. Roberts, 'Two Early English–Spanish Vocabularies', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 34.3/4 (1970), 86–91.

[45] In this case Latin as first in the language order seems to confirm the theory (although not always valid), that 'the elements placed on the left are presented as Given, the elements placed on the right as New', in Kress and Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, p. 187. For a discussion on language positions in different editions, see Gabriele Stein, *Word Studies in the Renaissance*, pp. 107–109.

[46] Also, I encourage to consider the possibility of the use of German as intermediary language by English individuals, although I did not encounter in my research clear examples of this process.

[47] For a sixteenth century example of Latin and French lexicography in England in the area of justice, see John Rastell (d.1536)'s dictionary providing in alphabetical order locutions relative to law in French and Latin with explanations in French, *Expositiones terminoru[m] legu[m] angloru[m]* (London:1527).

Mazzocchi personally added the French and Latin columns, and few rules on Italian and French pronunciation in the introduction.[48] The rules for French pronunciation are written in a mixture of French and Italian demonstrating the permeability among these two languages and a glimpse of the 'languaging' of the early modern period.[49] These books promoted spoken communication and for this reason pronunciation linked with spelling was crucial as the Sienese academy was discussing around those years (see Chapter I). Given the impossibility of describing in written form certain Italian sounds represented by the graphemes 'ch' and 'sch', Mazzocchi suggested that student find 'any person that can write and read' in Italian and ask them 'to declare them [the graphemes] not with the pen but with the mouth.[50]

Afterwards, Mazzocchi dedicated a second edition of his dictionary to the Sienese Pietro Genuccio in 1521–22 suggesting relationships with the Sienese linguists in Rome such as Tolomei. Mazzocchi in this introduction praises the linguistic ability of Ulysses and the king Mithridate and presents the main reasons to learn languages. Speaking was the only characteristic setting humans apart from animals, Mazzocchi argued, and so his book meant to gather some languages that could be useful to 'ogni gentil spirito o per negociar, o per delectarse' ['every kind soul for business or for enjoy themselves'].[51] Thanks to the addition of Latin and French, Mazzocchi made the polyglot dictionaries a more powerful tool for Italian language-learning in the multicultural city of Rome where English lived among many other nationalities.

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[48] Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, pp. 231–233. Also, Anna Maria Finoli found mistakes in the French translation with some regional element from Picardy or more generally northern France, in 'Aspetti didattici nei dizionari plurilingui del XVI secolo: L'Utilissimo Vocabulista', in *Lessicologia e lessicografia nella storia degli insegnamenti linguistici* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2006), pp. 111–122 (pp. 120–121).

[49] 'La primiere littere de difference si est .c. el qual liray pour .s. quant il sera a la fin de la parole comme fusse commence. E cosi ou tu troverri in franzoso ch'el besone pronuntiare per .z. verbi gratia dimenche idest domica [...]', excerpt from the introduction of Mazzocchi's *Utilissimo vocabuolista*. Transcript in Rossebastiano, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, pp. 232–233.

[50] 'Le differentie in questi doi figure.ch.sch. le quale non se puo dechiarare con la penna ma bocca ciaschaduno che sa scrivere et legere el sara dichiarare'.

[51] On Mazzocchi's edition and its legacy, see Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, pp. 71–72, 232–238. Letter to dedicatee Pietro Genucci: p. 237.

Although a definitive proof of the use of Mazzocchi's dictionary in England is missing, English individuals knew him and his books. He was a librarian of the Sapienza University and linked with the cosmopolitan Roman *Curia* – animated also by English individuals that knew Italian as for example Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge (*c.* 1463–1514), his secretary Richard Pace (*c.* 1482–1536), his chaplain John Clerk (d.1541), and the scholar William Latimer (*c.* 1467–1545).[52] A polyglot dictionary would have been useful also to pilgrims, for example Robert Langton, a travelling writer who visited his cousin Cardinal Bainbridge in Rome in September 1514.[53] Mazzocchi's books in general circulated in England: Thomas Wyatt's *The Quyete of Mynde* (1528), a translation of Plutarch, derives from Guillaume Budé's *De tranquillitate et securitate animi* printed by Mazzocchi in 1510.[54] And, indeed, Mazzocchi's dictionary influence reached England when it became the original model for most of the following editions around Europe including our *Sessa 1541* and *Southwark 1537* editions.[55]

Southwark 1537 edition has a minimal paratext with no introduction, but we know that the editor, John Renys (d.1545), was a book seller and binder from Wageningen, a province of Gelderland in the Low Countries.[56] He managed a book shop at the 'sign of St. George' at St. Paul's Churchyard and became one of the most important stationers in England with a stock valued at over £1000 according to his will (1545). The printer of *Southwark 1537* was the Dutch James Nicolson, previously a glass maker, who had tight relationships with Antwerp and the

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[52] Richard Pace wrote letters in Italian as for example to Hannibal Duke of Bourbon on 8th February 1514, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 4, 1524–1530*, ed. by J S Brewer (London, 1875), pp. 35–41.
[53] Lutton, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing', p. 348.
[54] According to Jason Powell analysis of accidentals referenced in Stamatakis, 'Image to Text', p. 87. For more connections between Thomas Wyatt and Plutarch's translations in the cultural environment of William Latimer, John Stokesley, and Richard Pace in Rome see, Susan Brigden, *The Heart's Forest*, pp. 135–136.
[55] Other examples of editions derived by Mazzocchi's four languages dictionary are the almost identical four editions that Erhart Öglin printed in Augsburg from 1516 to 1518.
[56] E. G. Duff and Anita McConnell, 'Reynes, John [formerly Jan Rijens] (d. 1545), bookseller and bookbinder', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008); Redondo Rodríguez, 'Primer contacto de las lenguas española e inglesa'.

Protestant circle of the rich merchant Jacob van Meteren, and the English reformist translators William Tyndal and Myles Coverdale operating there. [57]

A five-language dictionary (Latin, Flemish/Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian) printed by Joannes Steelsius in Antwerp in 1534 was the basis for *Southwark 1537* confirming the close connection between the Low Countries and English printing production and market.[58] Steelsius' dictionary circulated in England although the English language was absent: Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, (1512–1580) owned a copy.[59]

In 1541, sixty-two years after the first edition and after forty-three editions had been printed in several European cities (i.e. Perpignan, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Krakow, Lyon, and Antwerp), there appeared, in Venice, a six-language edition with Italian and English alongside Latin, French, Spanish, and German. Before this polyglot dictionary, the printer Melchiorre Sessa (1502/6–1555) had published already at least three other related dictionaries with no English among the languages (two bilingual, and one five languages) and other works of grammar and lexicography.[60] *Venice 1541* maintained the same introduction of the first edition *Introito e porta* underlining the importance of learning and using Italian when travelling 'the world'. Sessa added a message to the readers giving us more information regarding the target readership: 'mercanti e

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[57] In fact, Nicolson printed translation of the Bible in 1535 with the approval of Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell: Biblia the byble, that is, the holy scrypture of the olde and new testament, faithfully translated in to englyshe (1535). London, J. Nycolson]. Retrieved from https://www.proquest.com/books/biblia–byble–that–is–holy–scrypture–olde–new/docview/2240929749/se–2?accountid=8630. Also, see Redondo Rodríguez, 'Primer contacto de las lenguas española e inglesa', p. 1184.

[58] *Dictionnaire Quinque linguarum, Latinae, Teuthonicae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae* (Antwerpen: Joannes Steelsius, 1534). In the Steelsius edition for the first time appeared Flemish instead of German, see José Van der Helm 'Il Quinque linguarum del 1534'; M. Jesús Redondo Rodríguez, 'El Qvinque/Lingvarum, Latinae, /Teuthonicae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, /Dilucidissimus Dictionarius (...) de J. Steelsius, heredero del Introito e Porta de A. Rottweil y base de los anónimos plurilingües del siglo XVI', in *Cuatrocientos años de la lengua del 'Quijote': estudios de historiografía e historia de la lengua española: actas de V Congreso Nacional de la Asociación de Jóvenes Investigadores de Historiografía e Historia de la Lengua Española*, ed. by Marta Fernández Alcaide and Araceli López Serena (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), pp. 533–546.For Steelsius editions, see Linde Marie Brocato, 'Publishing, Typography and Politics: Mena's Works and the Parallel Editions of Antwerp, 1551' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 2011).

[59] See Sears Reynolds Jayne and Francis R. Johnson, *The Lumley Library: the Catalogue of 1609* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1956), p. 203 (item 1717).

[60] Example of other works of grammar and lexicography printed by Sessa are Donato, *Ianua* (1515); Costantine Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis* (1521); Niccolo Perotti, *Regulae grammaticales* (1521).

passegieri' ['merchants and travellers'] have many issues relying on 'dinterprete & estraneo, & forse nimico' ['an interpreter, a stranger, and perhaps an enemy'].[61] In Sessa's dictionary an interpreter is defined in English as an 'expositoure' within the chapter xvii dedicated to 'marchauntes and craftmen', so these two were likely the professions that employed translators and interpreters. A possible user of the Sessa's dictionary in Venice was the English merchant and diplomat Gabriel Harvel who did not rely on interpreters thanks to his Italian skills. The poet, diplomat, and 'expositoure' Thomas Wyatt was also a custumer of Sessa's shop under the sign of 'la gatta' ['the female cat'] with a mouse caught in its mouth.[62] Although it is difficult to find confirmation, we can imagine that the relevant presence of English people in Venice and the numerous Tudor students of Padua, finally induced, and perhaps even helped, Sessa to add the English language to his six-languages dictionary.

English speakers willing to learn Italian could find polyglot dictionaries with both languages also outside Italy and England. Firstly in Antwerp, Joannis Crinito printed another dictionary of our family with seven languages (Latin, Flemish, French, Spanish, Italian, English,

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[61] Transcription of Sessa's letter to the readers: 'Veggiamo comunamente quanti incomodi patiscano mercanti e passegieri i quali o per non curarsene, overo non havendo potuto, quella sola lingua sanno, la quale con il latte hanno bevuta la onde a loro e vuopo volendo nelloro occorente negociar servirli dinterprete & estraneo, & forse nimico. Alche volendo provedere, mi e paruto mandar fuori il presente trattato di sei lingue. tanto piu da esser havuto caro. quanto con minor danno a tutti sara lecito da qui innanci con sua lingua dare effetto a suoi negoci, ne sara costretto piu d'altrui con suo periglio fidarsi. Pigliate adunque humanissimi lettori il libro piu che ogni altro verissimo, accioche & voi nell'altrui partie? viviate, intendendo li popoli, securi, & io nella mia maggior cose apprestandovi viva lieto' ['We commonly see how many inconveniences merchants and travellers suffer who, either for not caring about it, or not having been able to, only know the language which they have drunk with their mother's milk, so that they are forced to use an interpreter to negotiate in their own country, and perhaps an enemy. To remedy this, I have thought it best to publish the present treatise of six languages. The more to be esteemed, as with the least injury to all, it will henceforth be lawful to give effect to one's business with one's own tongue, and one will no longer be forced to trust another at one's own peril. Take therefore, most humanist readers, this book, the truest of all, so that you may live in other parts of the world, understanding the people, secure, and I may live happily in my own country, preparing greater things for you']. An example of mistrust of translations and, at the same time, of the relevance of Italian language in the area of business and commerce in England was a letter to Cardinal Wolsey. In this letter the sender 'Has sent an account of the errors, and the accounts relating to merchandize, in Italian, as he cannot trust any one to translate them into English', in J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII,* Volume 4, 1524–1530, 5977.

[62] Chris Stamatakis argues that Thomas Wyatt found visual inspiration in Sessa's *la gatta* device for his paraphrase of Alamanni's *Satira X* when he departed from the original. *Satira X* was in the second volume of Alemanni's *Opere Toscane* that Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio printed for Melchiorre I Sessa in 1533, Chris Stamatakis, 'Image to Text'.

and German) in 1540.[63] English travellers could also find this material in France, where editions of polyglot dictionaries featuring Italian and English appeared in Paris and Lyon.[64] Later on, editions appeared displaying up to eight languages, but the most popular set-up was still six languages. Italian was always present among the languages of the polyglot dictionaries and, considering that they came from editions printed in the Italian peninsula, we can assume that it was a satisfactory imitation of the spoken language and not an unrealistic translation.[65] Whilst English seldom appeared and sometimes the translations had poor quality, this probably did not discourage multilingual English users that wanted to learn other languages.[66] The numerous European editions of polyglot dictionaries from this family originating in Venice suggest that they were considered effective tools and a remunerative investment for printers across several decades.

3. *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* Polyglot Dictionaries: Materiality of the Books and Table of Contents

This section will analyse *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* attempting to reveal pedagogical approaches and connected practices behind these editions and in general this family of polyglot dictionaries. Observing the chapter divisions and analysing some lexical units of these polyglot dictionaries, my argument is that these two polyglot dictionaries served as aids for language-learning for two reasons: 1) early modern readers found familiar and pedagogically sound their

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[63] *Septem linguarum latinae, teutonicae, gallicae, hispanicae, italicae, anglicae, almanicae dilucidissimus dictionarius, mirumque utilis, ne dicam necessarius, omnibus linguarum studiosis* (Antwerp: Joannis Crinito, 1540).

[64] Editions printed in Paris displaying both Italian and English among the languages are by Pasquier Le Tellier (1546, 1548) and Jean Ruelle (1548), Guillaume Thibout (1550,1552), Veuve de Guillaume Le Bret (1552); in Lyon, Michel Jouve (1558). One of the first polyglot dictionaries in France, without English, was by Francesco Garrone (Lyon: 1542). See Martine Furno, 'Du commerce et des langues'.

[65] Italian language did not appear only in a Catalan–German edition printed in Perpignan by Hans Rosenbach in 1502, Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari*, pp. 66–69.

[66] For an example of Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari*, p. 268; Considine, *Dictionaries*, p. 106.

hierarchical thematic structure of the chapters; 2) a wide range of grammatical models and useful formulaic sequences are placed within brief representations of real-life speech in specific contexts (e.g. the city, the house).[67] Expanding further this second point, I suggest that they were composed according to a 'proto-situational' learning method that manuals such as John Florio's *First Fruits* (1578) would refine at the end of the sixteenth century.[68]

The fragmented nature of the polyglot dictionaries is the result of several layers of editorial manipulations, translations, omissions, additions, and errors. Rossebastiano shows that *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* both stemmed from Steels' edition (1534) developing two different English parts. Some lexical differences or absences in the English translations of the two editions are the result of a different origin of the English translation.[69] The English part of *Venice 1541* seems to derive from the Nuremberg edition of Hans Gunther (1541) with some differences. The differences are due to the fact that *Venice 1541* translated into English from the Italian column whilst Gunther's edition went from German into English. This suggests the intervention of English speakers working as editors in Venice.[70] For this reason, I would not consider *Venice 1541* one of those Continental editions in which 'English-language material'

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[67] Tom McArthur stated: 'The thematic mode, […], is the older, broader tradition, with its roots in the classical traditions of Plato, Aristotle, and Pliny, and with strong foundations in the world of medieval Scholasticism' in *Worlds of Reference. Lexicography, Learning and Language from the Clay Tablet to the Computer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 157.

[68] Montini shows that also Florio created sometimes incoherent and fragmented dialogues, for example in *Second Fruites* (Ch.5), because his main aim was to provide 'lexical richness', 'Didattica della lingua', pp. 235–236. Also, Richard J. Watts noticed the 'dialogic nature of some parts of the overall text' *Book of English and Spanish* (1554?) and he connects it with a seven languages dictionary edition printed in Venice in 1548 that I could not trace, 'Refugiate in a strange countrey: Learning English through Dialogues', in *Historical Dialogue Analysis*, ed. by Andreas H. Jucker, Gerd Fritz and Franz Lebsanft (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), pp. 215–242 (p. 220). See also R. J. Roberts, 'Two Early English–Spanish Vocabularies', pp. 86–91.

[69] For example, *Southwark 1537* edition does not translate the Latin 'pannicum' ['bread'] and 'milium' ['millet'] in the English column, whilst the Venice edition added the English translations 'panche' and 'mile'. Examples of different translations are 'blue' (*Southwark 1537)* 'asure' (*Venice 1541*); 'applemonger' (*Southwark 1537*); 'appleman' (*Venice 1541*), 'oates' (*Southwark 1537*) 'haver' (*Venice 1541*). For other examples see also, Gabriele Stein, *Word Studies*, p. 121.

[70] Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, pp. 265–267, 281. Also, *Southwark 1537*, and *Venice 1541* all displays the interesting addition of the first–person possessive pronoun in some English parts in the chapter xi 'le nozze' derived from Steels' edition, cf. Gabriele G. Stein, *Sir Thomas Elyot as Lexicographer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 149–151.

'would have been more ornamental than useful'.[71] Apart from the diverging English column, overall *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* are similar in their lexical content and *mise-en-page* and they relate to other European editions offering a valid case study.

An examination of the materiality of the dictionaries shows that both editions were pocket-sized books in octavo format with *Southwark 1537* displaying a blackletter typeface and *Venice 1541* a Roman typeface.[72] The difference in typefaces of the two dictionaries followed the difference in local production of that time in England and Venice. Rossebastiano warns that Roman characters could sometimes puzzle the readership from northern Europe like the humanist Joost Lambrecht who complained about it in 1539.[73] On the other hand, getting familiar with Roman and Italic typefaces was part of the Italian learning experience.[74] Roman and Italic typefaces became common also in northern Europe with later editions of the polyglot dictionaries that matched specific languages to each different typeface: usually Italian and French in italic, Latin and Spanish in Roman, and English and Dutch in blackletter.[75] This distinction within the same book emerged also in material for Italian learning printed in England, such as John Clerk's *De Mortuorum Resurrectione* (1545), which will be discussed in the next chapter, and William Thomas's grammar (1550) which uses italic for Italian and black letter for English.[76] The compact size of *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* encouraged frequent engagement and the

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[71] Considine, *Dictionaries*, p. 106

[72] For an example of a research considering the information design of multilingual or polyglot texts, see Joyce Boro 'Multilingualism, Romance, and Language Pedagogy; or, Why Were So Many Sentimental Romances Printed as Polyglot Texts?', in *Tudor Translation*, ed. by Fred Schurink (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011), pp. 18–38.

[73] Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, p. 290.

[74] For example Elizabeth Tudor wrote in Italic her Italian letters. For the link between Giovanni Battista Palatino's writing manual and Elizabeth writing in the 1540s, see Jonathan Gibson, 'The Queen's Two Hands' in *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 47–65.

[75] See Phillips, 'Schoolmasters, Seduction, and Slavery', p. 140.

[76] Probably the first use in England of blackletter type for the English language and Roman type for another vernacular was the English–French dictionary *Lesclarcissement* (1530) by John Palsgrave, see Considine, *Dictionaries*, p. 53.

circulation of the two books, however the typefaces do not express visually yet the full cosmopolitanism of the genre.

An investigation of the *mise-en-page* sees the columns of *Southwark 1537* displaying the languages in the following order: Latin, Flemish, French, Spanish, Italian, English. *Venice 1541* presents a columns sequence, starting from left, with Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, English, German. Latin's first position communicates its role of universal language in both editions as in the majority of the polyglot dictionaries. Looking at rest of the sequence of languages in *Southwark 1537* – Flemish, French, Spanish, and Italian – we can observe its dependency on the dictionary produced by Joannes Steelsius in Antwerp in 1534. This sequence represented the languages with major political and cultural relevance in the Low Countries as in Meurier's *Coniugaisons*; with Italian being also one of the two original languages of the dictionary's family whilst Flemish substituted German, the other original language. Looking at *Venice 1541*, Italian is the first language displayed on the left of recto folios where the opening of the book drives the reader's attention and represents the only romance language compared in the same folio with the Germanic languages English and German.[77] Finally, in both editions, Italian and English languages are in close succession allowing an easier reading and comparison for English people learning Italian.

The division of chapters is identical in *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* that shared the same structure divided into fifty-nine chapters. Each chapter collects not just single words but lexical units (e.g. noun, article + noun, adjective + noun, verbs in infinitive and conjugated forms, formulaic sequences, etc.) belonging to a thematic area in the first book and parts of speech in the second book. *Venice 1541* facilitated in part the navigation of the book with an initial 'Table of Contents' with the fifty-five chapters of the first book appearing in alphabetic

[77] Armstrong, 'Coding Continental', p. 89.

order (a part for chapter one 'of God of the trinite of power and of riches') and the four chapters of the second book in order of appearance. The absence of page numbering does not exploit the full functionality of the Table of Contents in *Venice 1541*. *Southwark 1537* is even more basic: the only aids to facilitate the navigation of the volume is a pilcrow opening the first (Latin) column and upper-case initials in each column signalling the chapter headings.

In this section I will propose an interpretation of the logic behind the organisation of the sequence of the chapters in *Southwark 1537*, *Venice 1541* and connected editions. There are not instructions on how to use these dictionaries, so it is difficult to determine if author(s) and editor(s) had specific practice in mind arranging the chapters' sequence. However, I suggest that the chain of chapters progressed with familiar themes for the learners of that time because they are present in other sources that sought to represent and teach the late medieval/early modern world (such as other Italian, Latin, English-French, English-Latin, Greek dictionaries, early literacy books, written signatures, political dialogues and almanacs).[78] The chain of themes starts with topics that we can imagine close to the learners' daily life domains (for example, daily prayers, work, holidays, body parts, family) to progressively (socially accepted) wider perspectives (e.g. the city, the countryside, animals, travelling by sea, people that are not Christian European and homosexual, war, death, the planets, theological principles) offering an ideal process for language acquisition according to certain contemporary frameworks.[79] Such a collection of themes is a window on early modern European society that confirms certain presumptions (e.g. the centrality of Christianity) but surprises in certain cases (e.g. the chapter about 'war' displays

[78] Similarly to my comparison process, Hüllen noticed the common themes of *Introito e porta* with the themes of the Latin–German dictionary *Pappa* (1513) by Johannes Murmellius and confirmed my argument highlighting the ubiquitous nature of the thematic chapters, *English Dictionaries*, pp. 334–336.

[79] This progression of themes echoes for example the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) indicates that a Basic user A2 'Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need', *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR), p. 24.

words that we would not expect there). Only the second book of the volume deals explicitly with metalinguistic analysis with a division in four chapters, one titled generically 'words', and the other three according to some parts of speech (verbs; nouns; adjectives, pronouns, and adverbs). Examples of real-life language appear especially in the fourth and last chapter condensed in phrases and brief dialogues. But as we will see in the next section these 'textual fragments' appear in several parts of the volume. These chapters offer examples of self-representation and the representation of the early modern 'world' that several European nationalities could recognise, even in their order within the book, English readership included. This, I argue, made *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* ideal tools for English learners of Italian.

The dictionaries started with four chapters about God, saints, main prayers, hell and purgatory that expressed a self-fashioning theocentric society, established pedagogical practices, and a pragmatic choice. Churches traditionally represented a place of learning and scholarly education, and religious figures often were pedagogues. Pedagogical and prescriptive material for adults and children, and language-learning material printed in England, often started with reference to the Christian God, for example, the first chapter of Francesco Alunno's thematic dictionary *La Fabbrica del mondo* (1548) collected words under the topic of 'God'.[80] Religious references and prayers were common already in books for Latin and Greek learning (e.g. Aldus Manutius' and Perotti's grammars) and within early literacy for young students in Italy and England such as *Santacroce*, cross-row books and hornbooks.[81] *Santacroce*, or cross-row books in

[80] The thematic chapters of Francesco Alunno's *La Fabbrica del Mondo* are ten: God, Sky, World, Elements, Soul, Body, Human, Quality, Quantity, Hell. The introduction to the reader of the editor, Marco Antonio Magno, explains that this division includes all that Aristotle included in his ten categories. Also, starting with the subject 'God' was such as common practice that Valerius Junius had to justify the fact that he started with the subject 'books' in his multilingual *Nomenclator* (1567), see Werner Hüllen and Renate Haas, 'Adrianus Junius on the Order of his Nomenclator (1577)', in *EURALEX '92 Proceedings I–II: Papers submitted to the 5th Euralex international Congress on Lexicography in Tampere. Finland. Part II*, ed. by Tommola, Hannu, et al. (Tampere: Tampere University [Tampereen yliopisto], 1992), pp. 581–588.

[81] For prayer and literacy, see Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). On texts for early literacy in Italy, see Piero Lucchi, 'La Santacroce, il Salterio e il

England, were abecedaries that prompted the student to start practicing reading out loud, making the gesture of the sign of the cross with a cross preceding the first-row letters of the alphabet. Also, Caxton's English-French vocabulary (1483) started with invocation of the Holy Trinity.[82] The initial four chapters of the polyglot dictionaries dedicated to religious topics, therefore, was an expected choice for a pedagogical genre among others such as Italian, Latin, and Greek dictionaries and early literacy manuals.

In addition to the religious element, the list of saints' names offers learners the possibility to find and familiarise themselves in the target languages with their own name and others[83]. English individuals learning the language created an Italianised *alter ego*: for example Thomas Wyatt signed as 'Wyato' some Italian verses and Hoby signed his copy of Dante's *La Comedia* as 'Thomaso Hoby Inglese'.[84] In the context of language-learning translating personal names into the target language could encourage the process of language acquisition in several ways. For instance, students could learn and easily remember new patterns of spelling and pronunciation typical of the target language; also students can find out regular mechanisms to shift from the native language to the target one (e.g. a person called *Symon* by reading *Simone,* and other examples in *Southwark 1537*, one might learn that nouns tend to end with a vowel in Italian); communications with monolingual speakers of the target language become easier reducing the

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Babuino'; Benedict Buono, 'I rudimenti per imparare l'italiano nel Cinquecento: il Salterio, il Babuino e l'Interrogatorio della Dottrina Cristiana', *Verba*, 35 (2008), 425–437. For early literacy in France: Xavier Bisaro, 'Verbal Regulation in Early Modern French School and Plainchant Books', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 82.1 (2019), 43–62.

[82] Caxton's themes are: (1) invocation of the Holy Trinity; (2) formulae for greetings; (3) objects: house and furniture ;(4) objects: food; (5) objects: commerce and trade; (6) offices, social ranks; (7) proper names together with professions, trades, and crafts; (8) pilgrimage; (9) counting, money; (10) a final religious invocation, Hüllen, *English Dictionaries*, p. 96. The themes covered in *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* from chapter twelve to roughly twenty–one are similar to the core themes covered in William Caxton's French and English *Vocabolarius* (1483). Caxton was a governor of the Mercers' Company and merchant in Bruges where he found the manuscripts sources for his *Vocabolarius* (e.g. *Livre des Mestiers* c.1340), Ibid., pp. 93–95, 103–104.

[83] List of names appeared also in early literacy books as the Italian *Babuino*, see Lucchi, 'La Santacroce', pp. 609–611.

[84] Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, p. 99. On Hoby's signature Dunstan Roberts writes: 'The signature has an appealing cross–linguistic status. Hoby has had a stab at Italianising his forename, but has then added the qualifier 'Inglese' (English) after his surname. In one signature he asserts his integration into Italian society but also his distance from it', Roberts, 'Books Owned', p. 62.

distance with the 'other' that a foreign identity can promote; learning a new language could add a new layer to the personal identity and naming this layer with a personal name in the target language can enhance this process.[85]

After the chapters around religion, chapter five of the polyglot dictionaries presents several manifestations of time: the major categories to regulate human life (months, day of the weeks, moment of the day) and those strictly related to work activities ('lavorare/to labour', 'fatica/weerynesse'), salary (translated once as 'reward' an after as 'wagys'), and religious festivities and leisure time ('il di del la festa/holidays', 'posare/to rest', 'fare cio che mi piace/the thinge that pleaseth me').[86] This kind of vocabulary was typical of printed almanacs – for example the part dedicated to the movable feasts in Wynkyn de Worde's *Almanacke for xii yere* (1508) – which became popular at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[87]

Following the theme of time, the dictionary equips learners with vocabulary relative to their personal sphere presenting the body parts and organs; and the actions related to some of these body parts (for example, 'cantare/to synge') and basic clothing to cover them ('manica/ the

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[85] The practice of 'westernisation' or 'anglicisation' of first names has to be currently rediscussed because often connected with colonialism, cultural imperialism and scarce awareness of the 'others', see Rachel Edwards, 'What's in a Name? Chinese Learners and the Practice of Adopting 'English' Names', *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 19.1 (2006), 90–103; Paul McPherron, "My name is Money': Name Choices and Global Identifications at a South–Chinese University', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 29.4 (2009), 521–536. However, the process of changing the name in language classes can be useful for example in role plays and Georgi Lozanov's method *Suggestopaedia*, see Siu–lun Lee, 'Revisit Role–Playing Activities in Foreign Language Teaching and Learning: Remodeling Learners' Cultural Identity?', *Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 12 (2015), 354–355; Julie A. Belz, 'Second language play as a representation of the multicompetent self in foreign language study', *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 1.1 (2002),13–39 (p. 26); Jane W. Bancroft, 'Suggestology and Suggestopedia: The Theory of the Lozanov Method', Report to the U.S. Department of Health Education & Welfare, National Institute of Education (1976), 1–56 (p. 36) <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED132857.pdf> [accessed 12 July 2023].

[86] Lexical samples from now on are from the *Southwark 1537* reporting only the last two columns with early modern Italian and English original spelling separated with a '/'. On the different kind of time and labour and their cultural importance see Jacques Le Goff, *Time, work, and culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); also Edward P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', in *Class: The Anthology*, ed. by Stanley Aronowitz and Michael J. Roberts (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 27–40.

[87] Anne Lawrence–Mathers, 'Domesticating the Calendar: The Hours and the Almanac in Tudor England', in *Women and Writing, c. 1340–c. 1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. by Anne Lawrence–Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010).

sleves').[88] Body parts were a common object of language lessons (the visual material was easily available!) and they appear in John Florio's *First Fruits* (Ch. 43) and the fictional French lesson in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (3.4).[89] After learning their body parts and relative actions, students could place themselves in the metaphorical body of the society, and in chapter seven to nine are presented its heads ('Imperadore/emperor') and feet ('il servo/a servant'). The metaphor of the body politic was a common European trope, used in England among others by Thomas Crowell and his pupil, the student of medicine in Padua and political theorist Thomas Starkey who explored it in depth across his manuscript Italianate dialogue *A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* (1529–1532).[90] The 'personal society' represented by family and its extensions are the topic of chapter ten and eleven, where the students learn to name their relationships with the closer individuals in their life.

Progressing by expanding the circle of knowledge surrounding the individual from the most familiar elements to the most distant, the dictionary presents the main pole of attraction for merchants and travellers in chapter twelve: the city with its buildings ('il palazzo/a palace', 'la prigione/ a pryson'), inhabitants ('il cittadino/ a cytesin', 'la cittadina/ a free woman'), urban spaces ('la piazza/ a felde', 'la contrada/ a paryshen'). Chapter twelve is an extended chapter (of circa eight pages compared with the previous ones which averaged a couple of pages each) where there are also fragments of early modern urban communication oriented to legal disputes, and business and commerce thanks to lexical units that combined adjectives (e.g. 'honesto/ honest'),

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[88] Colloquial terminology is used for sexual parts and in describing the actions of body excretions.

[89] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 199–201. On the human body in John Withals' dictionary for Latin teaching, see Hüllen, *English Dictionaries*, pp. 185–188.

[90] For a critical edition, see Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue Between Pole and Lupset*, ed. by Thomas F. Mayer (London: Royal Historical Society, 1989); see also Thomas Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonwealth: Humanist Politics and Religion in the Reign of Henry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). For more examples of the use of the body and political/social order, see Paul Archambault, 'The Analogy of the 'Body' in Renaissance Political Literature', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 29.1 (1967), 21–53; David George Hale, *The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021); Andreas Musolff, *Metaphor, Nation and the Holocaust: The Concept of the Body Politic* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 99.

verbs (e.g. 'guadagnare/ to wynne)', the conjugation of the verb 'to be', and short phrases (e.g. 'mandami a dire/ send me to speak'). The following chapters (thirteen to seventeen) adds vocabulary to build on the business and commerce theme: numbers (ordinal and cardinals), currencies ('soldi/ shyllynges'), metals ('Oro/ Golde'), spices ('pepe longo/ longe pepper') and goods where seven different types of cloth are mentioned. No surprise that the first professionals in a dedicated list are obviously 'i mercanti/ the merchaunts' and after all the different kinds of 'artesani/ craftesmen'.

Chapters eighteen to twenty-one mirror certain modern syllabuses presenting a combination of complementary themes. Colours ('scharlatto/ scarlett') are associated with clothes and accessories ('il mantello/ a cloke', 'la collana/a cheyne of golde'). Also, the rooms of the house match with their furniture and accessories ('la camera/ a chambre', 'la cassa/a forcer') or, in the case of the kitchen, with food and drinks ('formaggio/ chese', 'latte/ mylk'). After this zoom into early modern houses, the polyglot dictionaries shift to specific elements that craftsmen used, refined, and produced in their workplaces: instruments and materials of the craftworks ('lo spago/ threde', 'sega/a sawe'), precious stones ('il rubino/a ruby')[91], and weapons ('pugnale/dagger').

Having elucidated the urban environment, the polyglot dictionaries move towards the countryside with villages, rural inhabitants professions and actions ('il pastore/ a sheparde', arare/to plowe',), cultivated gardens and fields ('cipolla/onyon'), the forest ('salvatico/ a woodman', 'la quercia/ an oke') and different kinds of animals divided in 'beasts' ('lupo/a wolf'), 'worms' ('mosca/ a flie'), birds ('rondeine/ a swalowe'), and 'fishes' ('balena/ a whall'). Afterwards, the learners could expand their knowledge beyond the native borders through

[91] Among the chapter of the precious stone is 'la imagine di nostra donna/ ymage of the virgin Mary' which probably was preserved with the jewels. Mentioning the Virigin Mary is in contrast with the reformist iconoclast trend in England of the following years.

navigation ('la vela/ the mayne sayle') and connected atmospheric phenomenon ('il vento/the wynde'), geography ('i monti/hills'), foreign countries ('ethiopia/ ethiopia') and cities ('Costantinopole/ Costantinopole'), and the 'otherness' residing beyond Christianity geographically and morally ('il sarracino/ sarasens', 'heretic/heretic', 'il bugiorone/ a sodomite'). Opening a parenthesis on geography, these dictionaries offered English readers an image of the world where the Italian peninsula was central for business and geo-politics. Nine cities out of fourteen enlisted in chapter thirty-six are in Italy (Rome, Siena, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, Mantova, Milan, Naples. Non-Italian cities: Constantinople, Basel, Cologne, Bruges, Paris) whilst the previous chapter regarding countries enlisted also two Italian regions such as 'lombardia' and 'romagna'. So polyglot dictionaries offered a point of view that aimed to be generically representative of Europe but was *de facto* placed in the Italian peninsula. This represents a further advantage for English individuals who wanted to learn the Italian language for business and commerce in Italy.

Business and commerce were the peaceful side of international contacts whilst the other side was war ('combattere/to fight'). Yet, chapter thirty-eight dedicated to war does not focus particularly on armies and weapons, but on war as a social game ('giostrare/ to just[sic]'), diplomacy ('a far pace/ to make peace'), and characters animating the military camp (e.g. 'ladro/ a thefe', 'incantatore/man witch', 'putana/ an whore', 'giocatore/player' [of cards, dice, chess]). The following chapter, thirty-nine, is dedicated to musical instruments ('la tromba/a trompett') and games ('li dali/ the dyce', 'charte/cardes', 'lo scaco/ a payre of tables') interconnecting with the previous idea of an animated military camp and entertainment for the soldiers.[92]

Covering the 'war theme' prompted the following chapter on injuries, sickness, disability, medicine, and death ('ferito/ wounded', 'il cancaro/ a cancker', 'cieco/blind', 'medicina/ a

[92] Also, it is paired the double semantic meaning of the English verb 'to play'.

medycyn', 'morire/to die').[93] After death the soul abandons the body with its his five senses ('wittes') and faces judgement according to the seven deadly sins, the seven works of mercy, the ten commandments from chapter forty-one to forty-four. Students learned about these lists in educational institutions (chapter forty-five has for example 'schola/scole', 'universita/universite', 'studiare/to study', 'sacra scritura, holy scrypture') under the hierarchical authority of the Church (for example in chapter forty-six 'Papa/ the poppet', 'il sacrestano/ a parysh clark').

The two elements of water ('la tempesta/hale') and fire ('la braggia/flame') compose chapter forty-seven and forty-eight. The element of 'air' was already presented in chapter thirty-three whilst there is not headline for the element of 'earth', but it was implicit when presenting the initial chapters about locations (city, countries, etc.). The theme of the four elements to include all the creation appears in other dictionaries from a fifteenth-century manuscript Italian-Arabic glossary to Alunno's *Fabbrica del mondo*.[94] With the description of the elements there is also the sun, moon, stars, planets, and il 'cielo/heaven'. At this point of the volume the distance from the physical world of the readers reaches its maximum width, but at the same time there is a circular closure as the beginning is dedicated to God.[95] God's authority, or by proxy, is the theme of chapter forty-nine which ('obedire/to obey', 'soggeto/ subject'). 'Angels' represented the best model of obedience to God in contrast with the following chapter enlisting those who challenged and eluded religious, political, and social authority ('il matto/ a fool', 'indiabolato/develysh').[96] The last five chapters of the first book seem a collection of material working as an expansion of

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[93] Cf. 'Sickness' and 'war' were part of the same chapter in John Whitals's Latin–English dictionary for young boys (1553).

[94] Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, pp. 26–27.

[95] The thematic collection of words under the four elements was common. An early–modern example of the centrality of the four elements is the story of the Italian farmer Menocchio. Once accused of heresy, he explained in his first interrogatory in 1584 his cosmogony in which the four elements were mixed together in chaos. The angels and god were born from the condensation of that elementary chaos as the 'worms in the cheese' in Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi: il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1976).

[96] This order seems to recall the position of the fool card in early modern tarots game which usually close or open the series.

the chapters focusing on domestic life and environments (eighteen to twenty-one) presenting the palace,[97] cellar ('laceto/vinegre'), kitchen ('pignatta/pot'), chamber ('la cortina/curtayne').

'The second book' presents four chapters following a morphological division dedicated to verbs (first chapter); nouns (second chapter); adjectives, pronouns and adverbs (third chapter); and phrases (fourth chapter).[98] The long list of verbs in the first chapter of the second volume is not in alphabetical order. The list starts with some verbs conjugated in the infinitive form, and after a while, other verbs appear conjugated in the past participle form. The first three verbs of the list are synonyms of 'to speak': ('parlare/to shewe', 'favellare/to laye', 'zianziare/to bable') suggesting that such material also wanted to promote also oral learning.

The list of names in the second chapter does not follow an alphabetical order and any obvious theme although they seem related to the context of envoys travelling by horses and delivering letters in Milan. In fact, this is a reworking of a dialogue that in the first edition was titled 'dela ambasada e altre belle cose' ('of the embassy and other nice things').[99] Certain entries are consequential to each to highlight their grammatical connection as for example derivative words ('lambasciata/ message', 'gli ambasciatori/ messangier') and singular/plural words ('il corriero/pursevant, li corrieri/ pursevantes').

The third chapter is a complex string of adjectives, pronouns and adverbs. The initial entries are adjectives followed by entries that can be their contraries, synonyms, comparatives, and semantic associations. At certain point, personal and possessive pronouns (sometimes associated with prepositions) appear in the string of entries. Finally, there is a list of high frequency pronouns (e.g. subito/ soddenly, adesso/ now, presto/ soon, poco/ a little, etc.)

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[97] The content of this chapter 'of the palaces' is short and puzzling: 'il palazzo/ a palace', 'la piazza/ a place', 'e di casa/ he is of the house', 'il muro/ a wall', 'il colmo/ the toppe of the haule'.

[98] There are some inconsistencies with the titles of these chapters within the second book in different languages suggesting some printing mistakes. For example, the titles of the first chapter 'de la parole/of the wordes' lack of consistency with the content regarding mainly verbs. Also, the fourth chapter displays a different title in Italian 'de li verbi' ['of the verbs' or 'of the words') compared with the English title 'of speches'.

[99] Rossebastiano Bart, *Antichi vocabolari plurilingui*, pp. 212, 240.

The fourth and last chapter is a collection of words and phrases resembling fragments of dialogues when combined together. The next section will present more in detail some examples of these representations of early modern social interactions.

In this description of the table of contents in *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541*, the chapters are arranged in a sequence that starts with themes relevant to the personal sphere of learners and gradually expands to encompass broader perspectives. This is still now considered ideal for language acquisition for example by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.[100] The second book focuses on parts of speech and condenses real-life language examples in the final chapter. While there are no explicit instructions on how to use these dictionaries, by considering other early modern sources I argue that the progression follows an order that a European readership, English included, could understand and expect (starting for example with reference to God and religion). Each chapter could work in isolation as pedagogical material, but it tends to be associate with the themes of the previous and following ones. This suggests both extemporary and systematic uses. The next section will propose how English learners of Italian would find these dictionaries useful tools in practice.

4. Practice: Proto-situational Learning

Being organised around a theme, each chapter of our polyglot dictionaries seems to be part of a coherent 'teaching unit' that recalled common late medieval and early modern practices for

[100] See for example, *Common European Framework*, pp. 33–35.

learning and information retrieval.[101] The lack of alphabetic order – that might discourage a modern reader of dictionaries – promoted an appreciated relationship between entries based on their semantic domain**.** English school statutes demonstrate that students' daily practice included the collection of words according to the same topical principle as the polyglot dictionaries.[102] Annotated copies of bilingual dictionaries show that when facing alphabetically ordered words, English readers marked them up 'with subject heading, as if for commonplacing'.[103] An anonymous annotator of Thomas's *Principal Rules* (1550) dictionary added, besides some English and Italian headwords, other semantically related headwords each within the dictionary as well.[104] John Florio considered topically organised word-lists useful for his students too and wrote an entire chapter (43) of his *First Fruits* reporting a selection of words and topics that echoes the polyglot dictionaries' format and words.[105] A short dialogue opens the word-list with a student asking a tutor 'to name me in Italian, al the members whiche appertayne to man'. At the end of the list the tutor would encourage the eager student to find more words within 'many of these vocabularies in print, which you may buye good cheape' i.e. the polyglot dictionaries. English school statutes, annotations on dictionaries targeting English learners of Latin and Italian, and Florio's Italian manual *First Fruits* confirm that English students recognised and craved semantically connected vocabulary, and grammatical structures and phrases apt to achieve specific communicative functions in a given context. This, translated into our contemporary

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[101] Teaching units are typically organized around a central theme or topic, and they may include a variety of different activities, such as grammar drills, vocabulary exercises, reading and listening comprehension tasks, speaking and writing activities, and games and puzzles.

[102] Pupils were required to write and collect words in order of themes in 'Bangor Friar School Statutes' of 1568 and the Rivington Grammar School Statutes of 1566, Hüllen, *English dictionaries*, pp. 26–27.

[103] For example, William Cecil marked up a copy of Thomas Cooper's English–Latin dictionary *Bibliotheca Eliothae* (1548): e.g. *Aethiopia* is marked 'regionem', in Considine, *Dictionaries*, p. 101.

[104] The anonymous annotator of a copy of William Thomas' dictionary at Yale added for example 'assettatuzzo polito essile libito', which were headwords elsewhere in the alphabetical order, to the headword '*Esquisita*, exquisite or handsome', in ibid., p. 124.

[105] John Florio titled his chapter 43 in *First Fruites* 'Names of all the members appertaynyng to man, of al parentes, of the days, of the weeke, with the seasons of the year, howe one shall number with a certaine briefe Vocabularie', 100^{r}–103^{r}.

language teaching jargon is a 'teaching unit', a concept that guides the creation of language manuals.

In this section, I will further explore possible pedagogical issues in using *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* which raise perplexity in regard to their effectiveness for language-learning and teaching and did not attract past scholarly research in this direction.[106] I will speculate how certain issues could be ignored or even turned into advantages by early modern language tutors or/and expert linguists and self-learners. For example I will explore the overlooked fragmented dialogic parts presenting 'fixed sentences' or 'formulaic sequences', which are essential blocks for language communication, especially orally. Despite the lack of systematic presentation, I will argue that these dialogic parts might represent excellent language-learning material (and primary sources for scholars of early modern pragmatics). On the other hand, scarce morphologic consistency and systems, and the lack of pronunciation rules indeed would have created problem for self-learners using solely polyglot dictionaries as didactic material.

Polyglot dictionaries presented a series of challenges to users whom we can divide into three possibly overlapping categories: language learners, 'professional' users of foreign languages (for example: international merchants, diplomats, interpreters, translators, writers, tutors), and casual users. To begin with, the absence of a general alphabetical order – not even within the chapters- complicates casual use for quick reference.[107] In addition, each chapter does not offer an exhaustive list of entries for each theme, nor a consistent one, creating a possible

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[106] For example Lawrence and Wyatt ignored them and Gamberini judged the polyglot dictionary Barlemont as ' a tool with low efficacy for language teaching', *Lo Studio dell'italiano*, p. 47. Considine suggested that the *Introito e porta* tradition 'must have been read just for the pleasure of seeing the world divided up by language, and of being assured that the languages of Europe all divided it up alike' in 'Narrative and persuasion', p. 200. Hüllen describes a general decline of lexicographers' interest for topical dictionaries for contemporary use since the 1950s that influences negatively certain historical judgment on the older representants of the genre, *English Dictionaries*, pp. 20–21. According to Hüllen an example of this negative trend is Jonathon Green, *Chasing the Sun: Dictionary Makers and the Dictionaries They Made*, (London: Pimlico, 1997), p. 177.

[107] Ladislav Zgusta states 'for general purposes, alphabetical order is optimal' in his *Manual of lexicography* (Prague: Academia, 1971), p. 282.

unpredictability in finding specific entries within the chapters.[108] Due to these issue regarding the navigation of the book – which *Venice 1541* partially resolved with a table of content – the categories that can benefit the most from these dictionaries are professional users (including language tutors) and/or language learners. These were the people who could take the time to read these dictionaries extensively and familiarise themselves with the chapters.

Listing other issues that English students of Italian could encounter with these dictionaries, we notice firstly, the lack of Italian pronunciation rules and of typographic signs signalling stressed vowels. Such deficiencies made it difficult for an English individual to self-learn how to correctly pronounce Italian words requiring stress on the final vowel such as 'poverta' ['poverty'], 'citta' ['city'], 'e' ['is']. Moreover, limited printing characters may cause confusion also regarding spelling. For instance, in certain cases the printer did not provide the apostrophe that should be placed between names starting with a vowel and preceded by a determinative article. This could create a non-existent single word (for example: 'lanno' instead of the correct 'l'anno'). In this example, English translation assisted with the presence of the article too ('the yeare') and in spoken language the mistake would have been untraceable. But the articles and prepositions are not consistently translated in each language in other entries adding confusion to the unguided reader. In certain cases the article preceding the name is present in one language and absent in the other one. In other examples the article is determinative in Italian and in English became indeterminative ('lamico/ a frende'). Another kind of consistency and systematicity issue is that a noun rarely presents both gender ('leone/a lyon', 'leonessa/ a lyonesse') and number ('la mano/the honde' and 'le mani/ the hondes'). These issues make it difficult for a self-learner to develop an accurate and complete knowledge of the other language's pronunciation and morphology.

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[108] Examples of this unpredictability of the entries are the entry 'strigo/ witch' in the chapter dedicated to war or the conjugation of the verb 'to be' in the chapter dedicated to cities, judges, and officers.

On the other hand, this apparently confused set up carries advantages for language-learning. The chapters equipped the students with nouns, adjectives, verbs and common phrases organised around a specific theme, in a way that simulate 'natural' language-learning, such as in several recent codified methods like the situational, direct, and immersive methods. For example, opposites often appear in pairs or in longer combinations also adding other grammatical categories (e.g. 'gran rico/ very riche', 'richezza/riches', 'poveretto/poore', 'poverta/poverte') and semantic association (e.g. 'ape/byes', 'il mele/hony', 'dolce/swete', 'amaro/bitter').[109] By resembling contemporary language class activities (e.g. pre-teaching vocabulary lists, the collective brainstorming of useful words and phrases on a specific theme, and word-matching) these dictionaries follow different strategies to link entries in a memorable and intuitive way.

Several phrases used in *Southwark 1537* can be defined as 'formulaic language' (especially within Book II chapter IV) having three possible practical uses: a device for pragmatically appropriate minimal communication, a device fostering efficient oral production and listening comprehension of language, and a prompt for analytic learning strategy.[110] An example of formulaic language in the dictionaries is the phrase 'Che tene pare?/ How thinkest thou?' [literally 'what do you think about this'] that is a fixed short sentence that pragmatically elicits the opinion of the listener.[111] In other words, students of the language do not need to build this sentence in their mind from scratch, but they just learn it as it is. For this reason, formulaic sequences can be defined as 'compensatory devices for memory limitations' with the function of 'processing short-cuts' that ease cognitive load. [112] In practice, by learning several native-like formulaic sequences, language learners increase their language production, fluency and proficiency during oral

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[109] Also Michelangelo Florio's Tuscan grammar (1553) will use pairs of contraries, cf. Chapter II.7.
[110] Cf. Weinert, 'The role of formulaic language'.
[111] For a discussion of the role of formulaic language and pragmatic functions in L2 teaching, see Marie Girard and Claude Sionis, 'Formulaic Speech in the L2 Classroom: An Attempt at Identification and Classification', *Pragmatics*, 13.2 (2003), 231–251, (pp. 245–248).
[112] See Wray and Perkins's classification, in 'The Function of Formulaic Language', p. 16.

performances.[113] In addition to oral fluency also listenting skills are improved. In fact, the language learners in the role of 'hearer' 'can also derive benefits if he/she happens also to have stored a formulaic sequence which the speaker has selected'.[114]

We can find in *Southwark 1537* several formulaic sequences covering functions such 'as devices of social interaction' according to Wray and Perkins's model.[115] For example, asserting group identity as Christians with ritual phrases as 'et in sempiterno in secula seculorum Amen / and forever world without ende Amen'. Another function can be the manipulation of other people to satisfy physical, emotional, and cognitive needs with commands e.g. 'venite meco – di me la verita / come with me – tell me treuth'. This is a combination over two lines of two formulaic sequences with the same function of command that can work alone or in combination. Combinations can also be assembled with two different kinds of formulaic sequences, for instance, in 'Non sai tu che io ho da fare / Thou knowest not what I have to do':

1) 'Non sai tu che io' is a filler and turn holder that has the function of buying time allowing fluency, rhythm and emphasis. It offers the speaker more planning time without losing the turn and a frame that can be followed by:

2) 'ho da fare' which is a standard phrase with an agreed indirect meaning: literally 'I have to do' which means indirectly 'let me alone, I am busy'.

These are just some examples of how formulaic sequences in *Southwark 1537* fulfil different functions, including asserting group identity as Christians through ritual phrases and manipulating others to meet various needs, also in combinations of multiple sequences. These formulaic sequences enhance native-like fluency, rhythm, and emphasis while facilitating effective oral communication.

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[113] Frank Boers, et al., 'Formulaic Sequences and Perceived Oral Proficiency: Putting a Lexical Approach to the Test', *Language teaching research*, 10.3 (2006), 245–261.
[114] Wray, 'Formulaic Sequences', p. 479.
[115] Wray and Perkins, 'The Function of Formulaic Language', p. 14.

Students guided by a tutor, or particularly advanced students and/or with high skills of metalinguistic analysis, could also discover syntactical and grammatical rules after the comprehension of formulaic sequences in the polyglot dictionaries.[116] For example, analysing two well-known pairs of adjectives-names such as for example 'lo spirito maligno/ evel spirite' or 'venerdi santo/ good frydaye', the students could intuitively understand one of the main differences between Italian and English syntax which is the inverted position of adjectives and names.[117] Students could also analyse more complex grammatical forms such as the *articolate* prepositions which are essential to decline the Italian nouns according to the Latin cases within the usual comparative approach.[118] For example in the phrase 'Nel principio del mundo/ in the beginning of the world' the preposition 'del' ['of the'] express the genitive case that in Latin is signalled with the suffix 'i' ('mundi'). After grasping formulaic sequences, students who are guided by a tutor or possess advanced skills in metalinguistic analysis can further explore syntactical and grammatical rules. After grasping formulaic sequences, students that possessed advanced linguistic skills, or employed a tutor, could further explore syntactical and grammatical rules such as the noun-adjective order and the *articolate* prepositions combining articles and prepositions.

Certain chapters in the dictionaries condensed elements that create mental images of a story with an environment, its objects, characters, verbs for actions, and formulaic sequences that work in that specific context. This is a collection of all the necessary elements to foster language production and comprehension echoing Nattinger's recent argument that: 'Perhaps we should

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[116] For example, Nattinger and DeCarrico argue that adult second language learners can derive grammatical and morphological rules after the comprehension of the input represented by formulaic sequences, *Lexical Phrases*, p. 27. Although, Wray warned that adult learners might need explicit guidance analysing formulaic sequence in a classroom context, 'Formulaic Sequence', p. 472.

[117] For example, Michael Lewis consider 'grammar as a receptive skill, involving the perception of similarity and difference', *The Lexical Approach* (Hove, England: Language Teaching Publications, 1993), p. vii.

[118] In Italian grammars such as Michelangelo Florio's and William Thomas' ones the *articolate* prepositions are introduced in the first chapter (under the category of 'articles') for their essential role in the transition from Latin into Italian. Moreover, for Tolomei, the *articolate* prepositions and the transition from Latin, see Chapter V.5.3.

base our teaching on the base that, for a great deal of the time anyway, language production consists of piecing together the ready-made units appropriate for a particular situation and that comprehension relies on knowing which of these patterns to predict in these situations.' [119] An example of how *Southwark 1537* gave these appropriate ready-made units for a particular situation is the string of entries following the word 'la prigione/a pryson' [See *Figure 1*].[120] Nouns and verbs in infinitive form sketch a situation with a person who has been 'preso/ taken' and this 'il prigioniere/a prysonner' reflects on his life's 'mysfortune' and meets with different authorities and professionals such as 'il giudice/ a iudge' and 'lavocato/ a advocate'. Afterwards, a series of formulaic sequences (e.g. 'io ho ragione/ I have reason' meaning: 'I am right') suggest fragments of a dialogue during a trial where being right or wrong was discussed.

Figure 1: String of entries offering opportunities for a 'situational' learning approach, *Southwark 1537*, sig. Cii.

[119] James R. Nattinger, 'A Lexical Phrase Grammar for ESL', *TESOL Quarterly* (1980), 337–344 (p. 341).
[120] *Southwark 1537*, Book I, chapter vii 'cities, judges, and officers'.

These fragments of dialogues offered an incredible variation of morphosyntactic examples (articles, nouns, personal pronoun, verbs in the infinitive, simple past and past participle/adjective, conjunction), joined with the presence of formulaic sequences, that the learner could understand in a generic context and use in other combinations and situations. The richness of this kind of pedagogical material can be quite confusing for casual users and a low-level self-taught student, but a really precious compendium for advanced linguists in the process of learning or teaching the language.

Conclusions

The first part of my chapter presented reasons to include polyglot dictionaries *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* as potential sources for Italian language-learning by English-speakers. Our dictionaries are part of a 'family' started in Venice in print in 1474 from manuscript teaching material produced in the fifteenth century, so they were linked to consolidated pedagogical practices. The presence of Italian and English among the six languages, the long-lasting popularity of the format targeting a wide readership, and the numerous European editions made the polyglot dictionaries an ideal choice for English individuals interested in language-learning.

Observing the format of the book and a close reading of the entries suggest that casual users searching for the translation of a specific word were not advantaged. On the contrary, words and phrases distributed in parallel columns, each dedicated to one language, encouraged a prolonged contrastive/comparative learning in regard to vocabulary comprehension and morphosyntactic metanalysis. The order of the entries according to a thematic principle created a

sort of intuitive syllabus for early modern readers and promoted methods that we would nowadays call 'situational'. The major issues that a self-learner could encounter practicing with the polyglot dictionaries are the lack of grammatical systems and explanations for correct pronunciation. The presence of formulaic sequences inspired pragmatic communication, the development of oral fluency and listening comprehension, and further metalinguistic analysis for the most advanced students in self-learning sessions or with the help of tutors. These are significant validations of the potential value of polyglot dictionaries as *Southwark 1537* and *Venice 1541* for linguistic scholarship of the time.

The next chapter on John Clerk's polyglot religious book *De Mortuorum Resurectione* (1545 and 1547) provides another example of the use for language learning of the format with parallel columns. Moreover, I will argue that the symbiosis between religious topics and Italian language-learning predates Bernardo Ochino's and Michelangelo Florio's arrivals in England (see Chapter II) and is not unequivocally linked to the evangelical or Protestant field.

CHAPTER IV. JOHN CLERK, *DE MORTUORUM RESURRECTIONE* (1545, 1547): A POLYGLOT TEXT ON JUDGMENT DAY AND SALVATION

This chapter aims to show how John Clerk's *De Mortuorum Resurrectione* (1545) provides a useful vantage point to investigate English individuals requiring polyglot religious texts on salvation in 1540s England, and understand why and how they learned Italian out of different possible languages. In four languages in parallel columns – Latin, English, Italian and French – *De Mortuorum* described the rising of the dead from their graves, the conjunction of their revitalised body with their souls and the final judgment by Jesus Christ decreeing for them either the punishment of hell or the 'rewarde of the eternall felicitie'.[1] Henry Howard (*c.* 1516–1547), Earl of Surrey, commissioned John Clerk (d. 1552) to write *De Mortuorum*. I will argue that the reasons behind Howard's commission of this book were in part propagandistic and in part practical-pedagogical. Howard had compelling political ambitions being the heir of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, one of the most powerful men in Henry VIII's England.[2] At the same time, Howard was also a Petrarchan poet and translator from Italian. In the second edition of *De Mortuorum* (1547), Clerk enhanced the pedagogical element and multifunctionality of the text by adding an appendix devoted to Italian and French verb conjugations.[3] This followed a specific request that the young Catholic Charles Stourton (*c.* 1520–1557) had made. Stourton, I will argue

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[1] John Clerk, *Opusculum plane divinum de mortuorum resurrectione et extremo iuditio, in quatuor linguis succincte conscriptum. Authore Ioanne Clerco. Latyne. Englysshe. Italian. Frenche* (London: In Aldersgate strete by Ioannes Herforde, 1545).

[2] To vouch for the level of power that the Duke of Norfolk enjoyed in England suffices to say that his nieces, Ann Boleyn and Katherine Howard, became queens thanks to his machinations.

[3] John Clerk, *De mortuorum resurrectione, & extremo iuditio in quatuor linguis succincte conscriptum opusculu[m]. Ioanne Clerco autore. cui, ut studiosa iuuenta facilius peregrinarum linguarum comprehenderet mysteria, recenter accessere eiusdem autoris Italicæ & Gallicæ verborum coniugationes.* Alternate title: *Opusculum plane divinum de mortuorum resurrectione et extremo iuditio, in quatuor linguis succincte conscriptum* (London: By John Herforde for Roberte Toye, dwellynge in Paules churche yarde, at the signe of the Bell, 1547). Moreover, there is trace of a third edition printed in 1573 that I will not consider in this thesis, see Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico–Hibernica* (1748), pp. 184–185.

was studying Italian and French together and was drawn towards a multilingual religious text such as *De Mortuorum* but required a more structured grammatical focus on verbs.

The short time between the two editions saw the last turbulent years of Henry VIII's personal and amorphous religious reformation, the execution of Henry Howard for treason and a stronger shift towards evangelical-protestant trends in Edward VI's reign from 1547 to 1553. By offering biblical excerpts in Latin, English, and two other vernaculars, *De Mortuorum* anticipated the Reformation shift from Latin to English in religious texts.[4] It is true that 'Polyglot Bibles, Gospels and Psalters span the entire Middle Ages, reaching the Renaissance in an unbroken tradition', but before *De Mortuorum* religious sources did not contain parts in English or in other vernaculars.[5] Despite its alleged mediocrity, as a source *De Mortuorum* offers a unique angle from which to observe the role of Italian learning during the transition between Catholic England and the Anglican Reformation, with its initial doctrinal uncertainties.[6]

Recent scholarship on Anglo-continental cultural relations and early modern language-learning has overlooked *De Mortuorum* to such an extent that it is necessary to go back to 1957 to find an analysis of this book.[7] Scholars dismissed the pedagogical value of *De Mortuorum* and their negative judgment about the pedagogical value of the book also influenced their overall negative conclusion about the quality and popularity of Italian language studies in pre-Elizabethan

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[4] The 'Act of Uniformity' established the *Book of Common Prayer* in English in 1549.

[5] Bistué, *Collaborative Translation*, p. 103. Bistué enlists for example: 'the 1516 Genoa Psalter of Agostino Giustiniani, Erasmus's several editions of his bilingual New Testament (1516; 1519; 1522; 1527; and 1535), and the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (printed in 1514–1517, but not given papal sanction for publication until 1521)'. Also, English sermons writers praised the possibility of speaking more or less miraculously multiple languages, see Christine Cooper–Rompato, 'Xenoglossia, Multilingualism in Middle English Sermons on Pentecost', in *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: De Gruyter 2016), 233–248.

[6] *De Mortuorum* can be defined as 'exceptional 'normal" source being an 'improbable sort of documentation […] potentially richer'. See Carlo Ginzburg, John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It, *Critical Inquiry*, 20.1 (1993), pp. 10–35 (p.33).

[7] Silvio Baldi, 'The Secretary of the Duke of Norfolk and the First Italian Grammar in England', in *Studies in English Language and Literature: Presented to Professor Dr. Karl Brunner on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Siegfried Korninger (Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1957); Gamberini*, Lo studio dell' italiano*, pp. 58–60. For sixteenth–century sources referring to the book and author's, see John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae posterior pars* (Basel: Johannem Oporinum, 1559), p. 109; John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. by J.Pratt (London: Religious Tract Society, 1877), VIII, p. 634.

England.[8] Rossi warned the scholarly community about the grammatical appendix: 'it is necessary not to overestimate this attempt that, modest as it is, remains in the realm of curiosity'.[9] Parks labelled its author, John Clerk, as a 'minor religious writer who, having lived abroad, had acquired a certain knowledge of French and Italian; but he was neither an artist nor a grammarian of any notice'.[10] The obscure biography of the author did not prompt further research. And labelled as a Catholic work, *De Mortuorum* can appear to scholarship as an anachronistic anomaly destined for failure in Reformation England. Furthermore, errors and imprecisions that riddle the verb conjugation tables, as well as the limited coverage of grammatical elements, undermined the book's credibility as an effective source for language-learning. Additionally, bibliographies and catalogues tend to omit the existence of the short grammatical appendix in the second edition, or even the fact that the book contains languages other than Latin, reducing the chances that researchers interested in multilingualism or early modern Italian (and French) language pedagogy might encounter the text.[11] In fact Clerk's selection of texts – which is mainly based on a collection of biblical passages – seems to lack originality, but this was not the intended function of the book. Scholars failed to see that the originality of Clerk's *De Mortuorum* lies in the choice of languages, paratextual elements and *mise-en-page* of the book and its propagandistic, pedagogical and pragmatic functions, reflecting the political-religious context.

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[8] Parks stated that 'We might infer from this brief reading text the study of Italian was still tentative […]', 'The Genesis', p. 535. Lucilla Pizzoli declared she had excluded John Clerk's *De Mortuorum* from her study of Italian grammars for English people conflating the two editions with John Clerk's *Lamant mal traicte de samye*, *Le Grammatiche*, p. 3 n. 6. Gamberini is the scholar that judged more positively *De Mortuorum,* noting the improvement in comparison with Andrew Boorde's Italian sentences in *The First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge* (c.1547), *Lo studio dell'italiano*, p. 60.

[9] '[...] non bisogna sopravvalutare questo tentativo che, modesto com'è, resta nei limiti di una curiosità' in Rossi, *Ricerche sull'Umanesimo*, p. 100.

[10] Parks, 'The Genesis', pp. 532, 534–535.

[11] For example *De Mortuorum* does not appear in the Renaissance Cultural Crossroad Database. This case demonstrates how multilingual translations can become 'invisible', see Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (New York: Routledge, 2017). Also, Belén Bistué built on Venuti's concept presenting 'unthinkable texts' in *Collaborative Translation*: 'For, although multilingual translations were written and printed, and bound in codices and books, and although we are still able to handle many of them in this format, we usually do not consider such an object to be *a text*. […] In addition, when we search in the catalogues (both paper and electronic), we discover that they have not been designed with multi–version texts in mind', pp. 81–82.

First and foremost, this chapter will provide some context for the appearance of a multilingual biblical compendium such as *De Mortuorum* with a section in Italian. The phenomenon of Italian language-learning in England is linked to religious reformation from its very beginning. This connection predates the arrival of Bernardino Ochino (in 1547) and other religious refugees from Italy (see Chapter II.1–2). The reception of authors such as Girolamo Savonarola (1490s), Francesco Petrarch (late 1520s) Pietro Aretino and Antonio Brucioli (1530s) shows that Italian sources provided material on salvation from the early Tudor period. This material sustained the personal beliefs, political careers and writings of the previous generation of English individuals who had influenced Henry Howard, such as Thomas Wyatt.

Secondly, I will present the author's biography and bibliography, followed by the paratextual elements and polyglot religious content of the two editions of *De Mortuorum* (1545, 1547), with their small differences. Despite having a powerful and vivid message, *De Mortuorum* presented a flexible religious stance. For this reason, the book could engage with people across the religious spectrum who read and had learnt other languages. This is confirmed by analysing the number of printers collaborating with John Clerk e.g. John Hertford (or Herforde), Robert Toy, Robert Wyer and Nycholas Hyll.

The following section, on the dedicatees of the *De Mortuorum* editions, will focus mainly on Henry Howard's Italian language-learning and secondly on Charles Stourton's. This is because there is more consistent critical literature on Howard's biography and writings. On the contrary, the information on Stourton is limited. However, I will sketch Stourton's scattered biography and point out why his unpublished writings might open possible new lines of enquiry concerning his relationship with *De Mortuorum* and Italian. In terms of language-learning practice, I will show that *De Mortuorum* allowed Italian language acquisition thanks to its multilingual content, the grammatical appendix with Italian and French verb conjugations and John Clerk's recommendations on language-learning.

A final section will speculate on how a multilingual collection of biblical passages such as *De Mortuorum* might have helped Surrey's writings and interaction with Italian sources. This was the final stage of Italian language-learning: imitation. I will present Surrey's Petrarchan imitation 'London, hast thow accused me' (1543) which encapsulates the convergence of apocalyptic themes, political turmoil and episodes of organised violence in London, and the pragmatic reception of a canonical Italian author.

1. The early reception of Italian religious sources in Tudor England

The fact that two editions of *De Mortuorum* were published just two years apart (1545, 1547) demonstrates the presence of an English readership that wanted to soothe its 'anxiety of apocalypse' through words in Italian as well as multiple other languages.[12] Learning languages was necessary to understand and participate in the overarching European debates regarding salvation that influenced sixteenth-century geo-political alliances. As we saw in the previous chapter, influential Italian reformed ideas, books and people circulated in 1540s–1550s England. Both editions of *De Mortuorum* appeared between Ochino's *Prediche* (1543) and *Beneficio di Cristo* (1543) and their translations into English by Anne Cooke and Edward De Courtney in 1548.[13] These Italian sources raised controversy in Italy and in the rest of Europe for their emphasis on faith as the means to achieve salvation. *De Mortuorum* took a hybrid stance on the debate about salvation and the role of 'faith' within it. Whilst Protestants firmly believed that only faith could save the

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[12] The expression 'anxiety of apocalypse' is from Ryan J. Stark, 'Protestant Theology and Apocalyptic Rhetoric in Roger Ascham's' The Schoolmaster", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 69.4 (2008), 517–532. For a wide account of the impact of reformist ideas on Europe, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700* (London: Penguin, 2004).

[13] Anne Overell, 'Edwardian Court Humanism and Il Beneficio di Cristo', in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. by Jonathan Woolfson, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 151–174.

soul, the Council of Trent took years to give instructions on the matter to Catholic believers and nations.[14] The second edition, in 1547, stressed the priority of faith over the work of mercy, suggesting an attempt to mould the text towards the more reformist scenario of Edwardian England, with Archbishop Thomas Cranmer leading the way.[15] By adding the verb conjugation tables, Clerk confirmed that reading *De Mortuorum*'s warnings for salvation worked as a motivation and a means to acquire the Italian language within a comparative/contrastive approach of learning.

Early on in Tudor England, Italians had contributed to the circulation of religious themes and prophecies connected with the political agenda through a combination of personal and textual encounters. This early exposure to Italian religious sources had created a readership prepared for *De Mortuorum.* For example, Thomas Cromwell's friend, the merchant Pierfrancesco di Piero Bardi, had given Henry VIII a copy of the multilingual *Psalterium octuplex* (1517) he had annotated, exhorting the English King to help the Florentine republicans in the 1530s.[16] To persuade Henry VIII to intervene politically, Bardi had used the meditation upon the psalms and the apocalyptic prophecies of Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498), the Dominican friar who in the 1490s had ignited a theocratic revolution in Florence against the regime of the ruling House of Medici, challenging papal authority.[17] Savonarola had inspired Luther's vision of 'Christ's redemptive work' and consequently other sixteenth-century European reformers, including some

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[14] The Council of Trent had a slow start in 1542, the doctrine of salvation was discussed in 1546 and 'the Council of Trent's Decree of Justification, issued in November 1547, said that both faith and works contributed to salvation, through the operation of God's grace in human beings. The process was made effective by people's use of their God–given free will. This formula was not easy to grasp and the consensus it was supposed to achieve was more apparent than real', Overell, *Italian Reform*, p. 36.

[15] For example, Cranmer's 'Homily of Salvation' in July 1547 signalled how, after Henry VIII's death, there was a strong push in England towards the doctrine of justification by faith alone.

[16] James Carley, 'Religious Controversy and Marginalia: Pierfrancesco di Piero Bardi, Thomas Wakefield, and their Books', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 12.3 (2002), 206–245. On the impact of Savonarola on Machiavelli and the discourse about Florentine form of government, see for example Marcia L. Colish, 'Republicanism, Religion, and Machiavelli's Savonarolan Moment', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 60.4 (1999), 597–616; John T. Scott, 'The fortune of Machiavelli's Unarmed Prophet', *The Journal of Politics*, 80.2 (2018), 615–629.

[17] Savonarola was known also in England as 'Jerome from Ferrara'. See, Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 86, 88,

English ones.[18] A sermon by Savonarola had appeared in an manuscript English translation in 1490s. This is 'among the very earliest examples of an Italian text made into English and demonstrates the contemporary immediacy of English interest in Savonarola's reforming work'.[19] The Universal Short Title Catalogue shows that twelve translations from Savonarola's works were printed in England between 1500 and 1558. His comment on Psalm *Miserere mei* (51), about divine grace and the act of contrition, had made him a model for commentators such as Henry Howard and Thomas Wyatt.[20] Cuthbert Tunstall's library booklist – later passed on to Richard Morrison and his friends – had four of Girolamo Savonarola's books of which at least two in Italian.[21] Savonarola was therefore known in England as a great Italian vernacular writer 'who wrote in this our tongue [Florentine] the moste high and hardest things of philosophy, no lesse easly and perfectly than any writer of the Latin tongue'.[22]

Another Italian religious author achieving great success in England with his vernacular works was Francesco Petrarch.[23] Despite being sometimes considered just as a 'courtly love poet' favouring 'the growth of a secular reading public', Petrarch was an author who provided prophetic visions, a focus on the figure of Christ and love verses shifting into religious devotion

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[18] Richard Viladesau, *The Triumph of The Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts from The Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 136. On the influence of Savonarola on *Il Beneficio di Cristo*, see Luigi Lazzerini, *Teologia del 'Miserere': da Savonarola al Beneficio di Cristo, 1490–1543* (Turin, Rosenberg & Sellier, 2013). On the influence of Savonarola's meditations on Psalms on sixteenth–century composers and in general on European culture, see also Patrick Macey, 'Savonarola and the Sixteenth–Century Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 36.3 (1983), 422–452.

[19] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 292–293, n. 81.

[20] For example Girolamo Savonarola, *An exposition after the maner of a contemplacyon upon ye .li. psalme, called Miserere mei Deus* (London, John Byddell for William Marshall, 1534). On Wyatt's paraphrase of 'Miserere mei' see Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad*, pp. 171–174.

[21] For Savonarola's books in Tunstall's booklist, see Herendeen and Bartlett, 'The Library of Cuthbert Tunstall', pp. 265, 267, 268, 273.

[22] Barker, *The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper*, pp. 41r–v. Barker translated from Giovanni Batista Gelli who wrote: 'Fra Girolamo da Ferrara, il quale scrisse in questa nostra lingua le più alte e le più difficil cose di filosofia, non maco facilmente e perfettamente che qual si voglia scrittore latino', *I Capricci del Bottaio* (1548), p. 145.

[23] See *Petrarch in Britain: Interpreters, Imitators, and Translators over 700 Years*, ed. by Martin McLaughlin, Letizia Panizza and Peter Hainsworth (Oxford: OUP, 2007).

to reach salvation in line with the apocalyptic tone of *De Mortuorum.*[24] Henry Howard translated Petrarch's *Trionfi* (1351–1374), an allegorical poem ending with the resurrection of the dead, the healing of their bodies and the final Judgment.[25] Petrarch's *Canzoniere* inspired Surrey and Wyatt to write verses which circulated at court, appearing, for instance, within the *Devonshire* manuscript.[26] Moreover, we should remember that early modern English readers often accessed Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi* together in Italian commented editions, which reassessed the fourteenth-century material from new angles. Some of these angles supported a somewhat reformist agenda by highlighting Petrarch's reference to the Scriptures and anti-papist material such as the 'Anti-Avignon' sonnets.[27] Surrey, for example, had a copy of Alessandro Vellutello's commentary (1525) as did other English reformists such as Thomas Wyatt and Katherine Parr.[28]

Being prepared to discuss religious topics in Italian was, at the same time, a political necessity for national and private interests, and a matter of personal faith during Henry VIII's reformation. A note that Philip Hoby wrote to Thomas Wyatt in 1538 shows how the close relationship with Italians in combination with knowledge of scriptures was weaponised for political reasons:

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[24] Braden, 'Wyatt and Petrarch', p. 238. For other scholars focusing on the dimension of Petrarch's 'courtly love', see Elizabeth Heale, 'Women and the Courtly Love Lyric: The Devonshire MS (BL additional 17492)', *The Modern Language Review*, 90.2 (1995), 296–313. For a different view that consider the impact of Petrarchan poetry on sixteenth–century Italian religious reformers, see Abigail Brundin, 'Petrarch and the Italian Reformation', in *Petrarch in Britain Interpreters, Imitators, and Translators over 700 Years*, ed. by Martin McLaughlin, Letizia Panizza and Peter Hainsworth (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. 131–148.

[25] Francesco Petrarch, *Trionfi*, (Firenze: Antonio Miscomini, c.1490), e9r–e10r. On Henry Howard's translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, see Petrina, *Petrarch's Triumph,* pp. 36–37, 202–206.

[26] Henry Howard's Petrarchan poems in the *Devonshire* MS are printed in part for the first time by Richard Tottel in 1557 with the title: *Published Songes and Sonettes by the Ryght Honorable Lorde Henry Haward Late Earle of Surrey, and other*.

[27] William J. Kennedy, 'English Petrarchism: From Commentary on Poetry to Poetry as Commentary', in *The Early Modern English Sonnet: Ever in Motion*, ed. by Laetitia Sansonetti, Rémi Vuillemin, Enrica Zanin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp. 17–30; Petrina, *Petrarch's Triumph*, pp. 5–6.

[28] Alessandro Vellutello, *Le Volgari Opere del Petrarcha* (Venice: Giovanniantonio e Fratelli da Sabbio, 1525); Patricia Thomson, 'Wyatt and Petrarchan Commentators', *The Review of English Studies*, 10.39 (1959), 225–233; Chris Stamatakis, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting: 'Turning the Word'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 53; Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad*, pp. 94–122. Also, Katherine Parr owned Petrarch's *Canzoniere & Trionfi* (Venice, 1544) with a comment by Vellutello (BL C.27.e.19) which was bound in purple velvet with her coat of arms in gold and silver thread, perhaps worked by her. See William Younger Fletcher, *English Bookbindings in the British Museum* (London: K. Paul, 1895), plate XIV.

> Concerning the Bishop of Rome, never better time to inflame malice against him than now. And in especial with the potentates of Italy, for all they are already moved against him…Wherefore it were very expedient for the King to send some of his Gent[lemen] abroad among them and to fall in familiarity with them, whereby they may the better fall to the knowledge of Christ's Gospel and his abominable abuse.[29]

In religious matters, Henry VIII's subjects had to be prepared to serve the national interests abroad when befriending representatives of the Italian States. This is what Wyatt did in Spain at the Court of Charles V where he often communicated in Italian.[30] Books also played their role in this campaign: in Toledo, Wyatt supported the 'knowledge of Christ's Gospel' handing out 'a writing or memorial […] full of Lutheran and English arguments' to the horror of the papal nuncio.[31] But Henry VIII's servants also had to be prepared to prove that they were not papists themselves, which is, for instance, what Wyatt was accused of in 1541.[32] At times, the judgment and punishment of Christ and of the English King seemed to conflate. This can explain why Henry Howard asked John Clerk to compile *De Mortuorum* as national and personal propaganda material, but also as a tool to develop and consolidate personal religious beliefs.

Part of Wyatt's religious reflections and self-representation came from his paraphrase of the Psalms, taken mainly from the Italian paraphrase of Pietro Aretino's *Salmi* (1534) and Pietro Brucioli's *Psalmi* (1531). [33] In addition to being a personal meditation, Wyatt's psalms addressed a

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[29] Susan Brigden, "The Shadow that you know': Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir Francis Bryan at Court and in Embassy', *Historical Journal* 39.1 (1996), 1–31(p.26); Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 411–412.

[30] Wyatt had intimate conversations in Italian with the ambassadors of Venice (Pietro Mocenigo), Ferrara (Alfonso Rossetto), Mantova (Ottaviano Vivaldini), Florence (Giovanni Bandino). See for example Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 344, 396, 403, 413, 428.

[31] Ibid., pp. 418–419.

[32] Thomas Wyatt wrote a *Defence* whilst he was a prisoner in the Tower. See Ibid., pp. 536–546.

[33] Pietro Aretino, I sette salmi della penitentia di David (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1534); Antonio Brucioli, *Psalmi di David nuovamente dalla hebraica verità tradotti in lingua toscana*, (Venice: Lucantonio I Giunta, 1531). Thomas Wyatt's translation of Aretino's *Psalms* was published posthumously with the title *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of David* (London: Thomas Raynald for John Harrington, 1549) and dedicated to William Parr. For a modern edition, see *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. by Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969), pp. 98–125. On Wyatt's Psalms within a larger overview of the Psalms tradition in England, see Clare Costley King'oo, *Miserere Mei: The Penitential Psalms in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Paris: University of Notre Dame Pess, 2012), pp. 95–105, 118–128; see also Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 467–468. Brucioli was a Florentine who participated in the Orti Oricellari literary academy with Machiavelli, Luigi Alamanni and Jacopo

wide readership.[34] Rossiter argues that 'Wyatt turned to the work of a reform-minded Catholic, Pietro Aretino, and one of the foremost Italian reformers, Antonio Brucioli, whose combined theology coincided with the mixture of tradition and reform which is the primary characteristic of the Bishops' Book, and by drawing on these Italian texts Wyatt was enabled to move beyond doctrinal contradiction towards a more consistent poetics of grace'.[35] Religious meditation through comments on the Psalms was not a prerogative of English reformers. This was common practice at that time within the environments of Italian reformers, from the more cautious *spirituali,* to the more openly anti-Catholic reformists. In 1541, the very leader of the Italian *spirituali*, Bishop Reginald Pole, meditated on 'justification, faith, works [and] law' after the encouragement of another Psalm commentator, Marcantonio Flaminio, the author of *Il Beneficio di Cristo*.[36]

It was common practice, therefore, for English individuals skilled in Italian such as Henry Howard and Wyatt to look for Italian religious sources coming from reformist environments. The phenomenon started early on, during the reign of Henry VII, with translation from Savonarola and probably increased during Henry VIII's rupture with Rome. Henry VIII's reformation blurred the link between his personal power, religion, politics and English national interests. Alliance to the king and personal faith became sides of the same coins. Accessing reformist Italian sources helped in the process of negotiating and defining what the Christianity of the Church of England was as opposed to Catholic orthodoxy. At the same time, individuals wanted to save their souls and be, prepared for the Final Judgment. *De Mortuorum* can be seen as

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Nardi. He translated parts of the bible into Italian as for example *Commento al Vecchio Testamento* (Venice: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1540), *Commento al Nuovo Testamento* (Venice: Francesco and Alessandro Brucioli, 1544.). On Brucioli's *Psalms* and Wyatt see Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad*, pp. 156–197.

[34] Scott A. Trudell, "Unto the world's ear': Wyatt's Psalms Beyond the Court', *Studies in Philology*, (2013), 266–290.

[35] William T. Rossiter, 'What Wyatt Really Did to Aretino's Sette Salmi', *Renaissance Studies*, 29.4, (2015), 595–614 (p. 598).

[36] Mayer, *Reginald Pole*, pp. 112–113; Firpo and Alonge, *Il Beneficio di Cristo*, p. 117. Also, Brucioli knew Reginald Pole in Venice, including him in his *Dialogi* (1526) as 'Rinaldo Polo'. Mayer, *Reginald Pole*, p. 49; Robert Barrington, 'Two Houses', p. 912.

a result of and complementary to a long-established reception of Italian religious work in England.

2. The elusive author of *De Mortuorum*: John Clerk

John Clerk was a mysterious character, but he seems to confirm that English individuals could act as tutors of Italian. It is difficult to link him to a specific religious or political field, even though past scholars tended to label him as a Catholic.[37] The main reason for identifying Clerk as a Catholic is that he worked as a secretary for the conservative Thomas Howard, the Duke of Norfolk.[38] The chances of errors are multiplied because he is often confused with other individuals.[39] For example, 'our' John Clerk has been mistaken by some scholars for the John Clerk, bishop of Bath and Wells, who initially collaborated with Cardinal Wolsey and was ambassador to Italy between 1521 and 1523.[40] Scholars exclude that our author might have been a non-English person.[41] Parks suggested that he might have been French - a possibility that might explain the dedication to Surrey in this language.[42] The opening for another interesting line of

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[37] See for example, Seymour Baker House, 'Clerk, John (d. 1552), author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

[38] Scholars also labelled Clerk a Catholic on the basis of John Foxe's negative judgment defining him as 'an open enemy to the gospel and all godly preachers' (*Acts and Monuments*, 8.634). But this only means Clerk did not meet Foxe's religious standards and not that Clerk was a Catholic. Bale simply calls him 'pius ac christiane doctus' and 'learned in matters of the faith', Bale, *Index*, p. 193.

[39] In fact, 'Clerk' (also spelled 'Clerke', 'Clark', 'Clerc', 'Clercus') was a common surname, sometimes also used as an alias to address people holding the position of secretary or related functions, thereby with high chances of encountering homonyms. On scholarly attempts to identify John Clerk, see Baldi, 'The Secretary of the Duke', pp. 2–9.

[40] Considering his humanistic education, linguistic skills and influential friend (e.g. Richard Pace), the aforementioned bishop of Bath and Wells could be a fascinating guess for the authorship of *De Mortuorum Resurrectione*, but his death in January 1541 should disqualify him.

[41] Looking for a foreigner named 'John Clerk', I found sixteen names in the period 1450–1552, mainly coming from France and Scotland, on the database 'www.englandsimmigrants.com'.

[42] Parks, 'The Genesis', p. 534. According to A. Koszul, John Clerk's English translation of *Lamant mal traicte de samye* is characterised by mistakes and gallicisms. Hower, Koszul also identified mistakes in the French part of *De*

inquiry might be found in an article on Thomas Wyatt and Italians in London, where Susan Brigden briefly presents the record of a 'John Clerk Italyan' that kept 'a writing scole' around Saint Paul, in 1521.[43]

What we know for sure about the author of *De Mortuorum*, according to the introduction to the 1547 edition, is that Clerk learned the mysteries of languages at a young age 'thanks to his educational travelling'.[44] John Clerk previously translated the romance *Lamant mal traicte de samye* (1543) from French into English. [45] Clerk presented it as a sort of manual of rhetoric and dedicated it to Henry Howard as well. In the introduction to this translation, Clerk stated he worked as a secretary for the father of Henry Howard, the 'ryght hygh and myghete prynce Thomas [Howard (1473–1554)] duke of Norfolke, hygh treasorour, and erle mershall of Englande'.[46] In between the two editions of the *Mortuorum Resurrectione*, Clerk produced a book, now lost, that seems to complement *De Mortuorum* by discussing predestination, free will, justification by faith and good deeds; the multilingual setup might also have been similar, considering that it bore a dedication in Italian to Thomas Howard.[47] Clerk being Italian or French would have been a selling point for *De Mortuorum* and *Lamant mal traicte de samye,* legitimising his proficiency in one of these languages. For this reason, I argue that he was more likely a native English speaker. Clerk prepared Italian didactic material and challenged the idea that Italian natives were the only, or most of the tutors in this language in England.

Mortuorum Resurrectione, thus reducing the chances that John Clerk might have been French, in Baldi, 'The Secretary of the Duke', p. 13.

[43] Brigden, 'Thomas Wyatt among the Florentines', p. 1141.

[44] 'Cui, ut studiosa iuuenta facilius peregrinarum linguarum comprehenderet mysteria, [...]', *De Mortuorum.*

[45] John Clerk, *Lamant mal traicte de samye* [or *Arnalte and Lucenda*] (Robert Wyer, dwellynge in seynt Martyns parysshe at Charyng Crosse, 1543). The original book was the Spanish Chivalric Romance *Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda* (1491) by Diego de San Pedro.

[46] Intro *Lamant mal traicte de samye* (Arnalt and Lucenda) (1543).

[47] John Clerke, *A Declaration briefly conteyning as well the true understandynge of tharticles ensuynge as allso a recitall of the capital errours against the same. Predestination, Ffree will, Faythe, Justification, Good woorkes, Christian libertye. John Clere the author.* (London: Nycholas Hyll, 1546). Nycholas Hyll was known also as Nicolaus Montani o Nicolaes van den Berghe. The earliest reference to this book that I could find is in a note by White Kennet in Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford. To which are Added the Fasti, Or Annals of the Said University*, Vol. 5. (*London*: FC & J. Rivington, 1815), pp. 204–205.

Norfolk was imprisoned with his son and dedicatee of the first edition, confessing that he had 'concealed high treason in keeping secret the false acts of my son, Henry Earl of Surrey, in using the arms of St. Edward the Confessor, which pertain only to kings'.[48] Whilst his father's death sentence was reversed as a consequence of Henry VIII' death on 28 January, Surrey was beheaded for treason a few days before, on 19 January 1547.[49] On 5th April 1552, similarly to the duke of Norfolk, Clerk was also imprisoned in the Tower of London, even though the two incarcerations were not directly correlated.[50] Clerk was accused of being 'a reporter abroad of certain lewd prophecies and other slanderous matter touching the Kinges Majestie and dyvers noble men of his Councell,' and in possession of 'certain carractes and bookes of nigromancie and conjuration', in collaboration with one Richard Hartlepool, the latter's wife and Anne Calthorpe, Countess of Sussex and former lady-in-waiting to Katherine Parr.[51] Kept isolated from other prisoners in the Tower, Clerk hanged himself with his girdle and died on 10th May 1552, whilst the other protagonists of the event walked free after a few months in prison.

3. The religious and political message of *De Mortuorum*: mise-en-page, paratext, readership and printers

De Mortuorum Resurrectione is a collection of sources from the Old and New Testament, referenced in the margins of the pages, vividly describing the resurrection of the bodies of the dead, the reunion with their respective immortal souls, Jesus Christ's final judgment of the whole of humanity in the valley of Josaphat and the end of times. Each page displays two languages in

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48 Brigden, 'Henry Howard', p. 528.
49 Ibid.
50 See Baker House, 'Clerk, John'. Pits wrote, probably incorrectly, that John Clerk was imprisoned with Thomas Howard for 'leze majesty', *De Illustribus Anglia Scriptoribus* (1619).
51 *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 4, 1552–1554*, ed. by John Roche Dasent (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1892), pp. 1–25, 12, 13, 20, 94, 131. *British History Online* <http://www.british–history.ac.uk/acts–privy–council/vol4/pp1–25> [accessed 7 February 2021].

parallel columns for a total of four, alternating word by word translations: Latin in Roman type on the left flanks English in black letters; and on the following page Italian in Roman type flanks French in black letters. The lines of each language tend to follow the lines of the other languages, although with different word order, grammatical structures and word lengths, this does not always result in exact line correspondence. This set up is clearly pedagogical, helping language learners to understand the meaning and intuitively appreciate the differences between languages.

Focusing his attention on the Italian part of *De Mortuorum,* Baldi expressed a positive judgment about John Clerk's proficiency and attributed most of the mistakes to the printer.[52] Yet, Baldi pointed out some Anglicism and Latinism in the Italian translation, present in both editions, that confirm my impression that the text was originally written in English or Latin. Baldi used the following excerpt as an example:

> English: 'Than the yll instructed chyldren shall desyre vengeaunce to light vpon theyr wicked parentes'.
> Italian: 'Allhora gli fanciulli cattivamente insegnati desideranno vendetta a caddere sopra de gli iniqui parenti loro'.[53]

Baldi does not clarify which Anglicisms he saw in this excerpt, but he highlighted and edited the part 'deside[re]ranno vendetta a caddere' so he probably intended to focus on the superfluous preposition 'a' preceding the verb 'caddere', wrongly mirroring the English 'to'.[54] Also, I note the translation of 'parentes' as the archaic *parenti* following the Latin use, instead of the emerging Italian shift to using *genitori* (*parenti* in Italian mainly started to take on the meaning of 'relatives'). In another example, Baldi shows the dependence of the Italian part on the Latin one because of the literal translation of the Latin 'quaecumque' ['whatever']. Whilst I agree with Baldi, it seems

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[52] Baldi, 'The Secretary of the Duke', p. 13.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

that also the English sentence contributed to the non-natural position of 'qualunque' at the end of the Italian sentence:

> Latin: 'vestra quaecumque mihi impertistis'.
> English: 'ye have distributed to me your thynges what so ever they were'.
> Italian: 'Le cose vostre a me distribuesti qualunque'.[55]

Many questions remain open in terms of the origin of the text and John Clerk's translation process. What was the language of the original text? Did John Clerk compose the original text or was it taken from elsewhere? Did John Clerk translate the original text into each language, or was it already bilingual/trilingual? Was the original text a sermon? A tentative suggestion is that John Clerk might have translated into the three vernaculars (English, Italian and French) from an abridgment of a Latin source.

Proceeding with the analysis of the book pages, the paratextual elements suggest that Surrey wanted to achieve multiple goals by commissioning Clerk to write the book: to educate himself and the readership on the most compelling religious discourse on salvation in several languages and to promote himself as a rightful and religious leader. Some scholars saw John Clerk's *De Mortuorum* as an awkward attempt by a minor intellectual to please Surrey, his master's son, and steer him towards traditional Catholicism. An analysis of the short French dedication to Surrey reveals that he specifically ordered Clerk to make the book 'as brief as possible', so as to be relatively quick reading.[56] And, on the opposite page, Clerk explained in Latin to the readers

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[55] Ibid.

[56] The introduction shows the rhetorical artifice of the book speaking in the first person: 'To the very illustrious Lord Henry Count of Surrey, valiant knight of the Order of the Garter. It is him that composed me very honoured lord, it is Clerk at your commandment to make me as brief as possible [for him] and conferred me the title of the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgement. Now I present myself to you, very humbly to discover my message. Wishing that I will be received well [by you].' My translation from French. *De Mortuorum* (1545), dedication to Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, sig. ai^{v}.

that the presence of multiple languages would 'spread faster the lesson of the *spiritual fruits* [in Greek language and alphabet]'.[57] The result was a religious text that concealed political statements supporting Henry Howard. The text, thus, could be used both as propaganda and language-learning material addressing both an English and Continental readership belonging to a wide religious spectrum.[58]

John Clerk's entry on the ODNB considers *De Mortuorum* a Catholic work, but this definition is not fitting. *De Mortuorum* stresses both work and faith as necessary to reach salvation in opposition to the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone. For the papists, works of mercy were essential to gain the 'celestiall kyngdome', and in *De Mortuorum*, Christ, in his position as ultimate judge praises those who follow God's orders in this sense.[59] However, the importance of works of mercy also appeared in the contemporary official doctrines of the Church of England, for instance in *The Act of Ten Articles* (1536) and the *King's Book* (1543) on salvation.[60] Henry VIII's refusal of Catholicism did not go so far. Moreover, the concept of transubstantiation - which was another controversial Catholic doctrine that some Protestants refused - appeared in the book within the Church of England's reformed regulation of that period.[61] On the other hand, even Protestants could appreciate *De Mortuorum* for the theme of Christ's resurrection for salvation. Also, Protestants could find references to biblical texts that were crucial for their arguments, such as the Book of Psalms and Saint Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*.

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[57] My translation from French. *De Mortuorum* (1545), sig. aii^{r}.

[58] Cf. Wyatt's paraphrase of the Psalms published posthumously as a Protestant propagandist campaign, Clare Costley King'oo, 'Rightful Penitence and the Publication of Wyatt's Certayne Psalmes', in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Linda Phyllis Austern and Kari Boyd (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 179–198.

[59] For example in the passage: 'ye haue soccoured the miserable: I was hungry, & ye gaue me to eate: I was thyrstie, ye gaue me to drynke: I was a straunger herberles, & ye gladly receyued me in to your houses: I was naked, ye clothed me. I was sycke, and ye visited me. I was in prison, and ye came to comforte me, with your money and swete speach ye eased my dolours', Clerk, *De Mortuorum* (1545), sig. eii^{v}–eiii^{v}.

[60] See G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

[61] Henry Parker's *Exposition and Declaration of the Psalme Deus Ultionum Dominus* presented to Henry VIII as a New Year's gift is another instance of preservation of certain Catholic doctrines in 1539 reformed England – in this case the traditional sacraments.

Luther did not stray far from the images that *De Mortuorum* evoked when he wrote: 'Thus St. Paul speaks in Rom. 4:25, that he [Jesus] was delivered up for our trespasses and was raised for our justification; that is, in his sufferings he made known our sins and also crucified them; but his resurrection he makes us righteous and free from all sin'.[62] These are reminders to exercise caution when assigning texts, and individuals, to a specific religious or political field, in the mutable context of the English Reformation.[63] The book's first edition, I argue in this section, was an expression of Surrey's agenda to place himself 'on the right side of Jesus' by using as generic as possible a Christian zeitgeist of impending doom and punishment for those who refused to acknowledge the divine signs.

The prophetic themes summarised in *De Mortuorum* fascinated assorted individuals in the religious spectrum, including the evangelical party that Surrey was trailing for consensus in around 1545. In the evangelical party there were Ann and Edward Seymour; Surrey's sister Mary Howard-Fitzroy, Duchess of Richmond; and Anne Calthorpe, Duchess of Sussex, who was later incriminated in the trial for sorcery and insurrectionary prophecies against John Clerk. These high-ranking evangelical acquaintances associated with a prophet and poet - Anne Askew - burnt at the stake in 1546 for professing a close reading of the Bible and for defying the traditional authorities and the doctrines of Henry VIII's reign, such as for example the Lenten fast. [64] Surrey himself broke the Lenten fast in 1543, and certain collaborators and servants in Surrey's household had connections with Anne Askew and were involved with other prophets causing

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[62] Excerpt in Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross*, p. 137.
[63] On the problematic use of terms as 'Catholic', 'protestant', and 'evangelical' for scholarly research regarding the first part of the sixteenth century see Overell, *Italian Reform*, p. 2.
[64] Other high–profile individuals involved were Charles Brandon (1484–1545), Duke of Suffolk and his wife Mary Tudor formerly Queen of France (1496–1533), Henry Fitzalan (1512–1580), Earl of Arundel and Lady Denny. Brigden, 'Conjured league', p. 523.

political turmoil.[65] Surrey and Anne Askew shared common acquaintances and also literary expressions that are evident in a ballad that the woman wrote as a prisoner in Newgate in 1546 against tyrannic oppression and match Surrey's paraphrase of *Ecclesiastes*.[66] Thanks to his ambitions against Henry VIII, Surrey flirted with the group of powerful evangelicals trying to reshape the English religious landscape and *De Mortuorum* represented a suitable common base.

A strong English leader shows his value in foreign policies as well and *De Mortuorum,* with its multilingual set up, also represents a manifesto in this sense. Thomas Becon's *New pollecye of war* (1542) shows how people around Surrey connected prophetic signs of the apocalypse with the promotion of English nationalism against papist corruption and the need for a Prince to reunite Christianity to fight the Turks.[67] Becon was 'the most prolific evangelical author of the period' who translated Marcantonio Flaminio's comment on Saint Paul's *Epistles to Romans* from Italian into English, and dedicated his treatise on justification, *Castle of Comfort,* to Surrey's sister, Mary Howard.[68] As in *De Mortuorum,* the day of judgment is imminent in Becon's *New pollecye of war* (1542): 'For yf we searche the divine volumes diligently, & ponder what tokens shall immediately go before the daye of iudgement, we shall haue a iust occasion to thinke & undoubtedly to be perswaded, that the vayne glory of this synfull world, yea the world it self is at the latter age'. In terms of signs and prophecies, *De Mortuorum* displays similar words, for instance: '[…] neuerthelesse his high maiestie as a moost mercy full father hath gyven us advertysement by certayne sygnes to come aswell in creatures reasonable & nature elementall as in the celestial circuit witnessing his terrible ire (when they shall shewe them selfes) ye tyme of the commynge of

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[65] For example, Surrey's servant Thomas Hussey was Anne Askew cousin. Also, servants William Wenston and Robert Barker had relationship with the prophet Richard Laynam (Latham) arrested in June 1546 for dangerous prophecies and books promoting insurrection. Brigden, 'Conjured league', p. 533.
[66] H. A. Mason, *Humanism and Poetry at the Tudor Court* (London: Routledge, 1959), p. 24; William A. Sessions, *Henry Howard, the Poet Earl of Surrey: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 353–357.
[67] Thomas Becon, *The new pollecye of warre wherin is declared not only how yemooste cruell tyraunt the great Turke may be over come, but also all other enemies of the Christen publique weale* (London: John Mayler for John Gough, 1542).
[68] Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 206.

his sonne our saviour to be at hand'. Thanks to the premises of Becon's *New pollecye of war* we can consider the multilingual *De Mortuorum* as Surrey's effort to promote himself as a 'Prince' for all of Christianity both inside and outside England.

4. The second edition of *De Mortuorum*

Changes to the second edition of *De Mortuorum,* published in 1547, although quite limited, may suggest an attempt to better attune the work to the evangelical forces that emerged more strongly after Henry VIII's death. In the meantime, Surrey had also died - beheaded for treason in January. The dedication to Surrey on the first page of *De Mortuorum* was replaced with a 'memento mori' from the Latin Vulgate of Ecclesiastes (7:40): 'In omnibus operibus tuis memorare, novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis' ['In all you do, remember your last days, and you will never sin'].[69] By quoting Ecclesiastes, which Surrey partially translated, Clerk might still have wanted to remember Surrey in a coded way during a period of further religious reformations towards Protestantism. The most influential religious reformers were then Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edward Seymour, who held the position of Lord Protector of England because his nephew King Edward VI was a minor. The 'Six Articles' were revoked and Thomas Cranmer's *Certayne Sermons* or *First Book of Homilies* (1547) created the new doctrinal base. The author or the editor of the second edition of *De Mortuorum* reduced the number of sentences that underlined the importance of the works of mercy and the punishment for those who ignored them.[70] Consequently, also the sentences outwardly attacking justification

[69] English translation from the Bible New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition (NRSVue).
[70] For example, in the 1547 edition we do not find: 'The reason of this diuine sentence doth not cast them in to hell for that they dyd yll, but bycause that with theyr goodes in tyme they susteyned not the necessite of the poore', Clerk, *De Mortuorum* (1545), sig. fii^{v}.

by faith alone and predestination disappeared from the 1547 edition.[71] Another cut from the 1547 edition was probably due to a different official position in England regarding the debated topic of the celibacy of the clergy. Lutherans and other reformers, such as Martin Bucer and Bernardo Ochino, had wives. However, Henry VIII strongly opposed marriage in the clergy, so the 1545 edition had included the absence of 'desyre of woman' with the advantages of being saved.[72] This alleged advantage disappeared in 1547 when the main religious figure in Edward VI's England was Thomas Cranmer, who recalled his German wife back to England after Henry's death.[73] By eliminating the dedication to Surrey, the focus on the works of mercy and the reference to sexual desire as undesirable for the 'elected' people, the second edition of *De Mortuorum* became suitable for the more Protestant direction of Edwardian England.

Confirming that the targeted readership of *De Mortuorum* was wider than the English Catholics, the printer of both editions - John Hertford – does not fit the label of a staunch papist. The same can be said of other printers and book sellers involved in the production of Clerk's works. Herfort printed the meditations of the heretic monk and prophet Girolamo Savonarola in English for Robert Toy and Edward Walshe's book, which used the gospels to justify fighting for England in 1545.[74] Additionally, Welshman Robert Toy (d. 1556), who commissioned Savonarola's book, Walshes's book and the second edition of *De Mortuorum*, was not on the Bishop of Rome's side. Toy also printed John Foxe's *De Censura* (1551) and Heinrich Bullinger's

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[71] For example the following metaphor: 'The blessed veritie sheweth not every tree ye produceth yll fruyte but every tree that produceth not good fruit shalbe heven downe, & caste into the fyre: […]', ibid. The marginal reference to Matthew 3 supporting this sentence is missing, too.

[72] Clerk, *De Mortuorum* (1545), sig. Giiv.

[73] Cranmer promoted a bill in favour of the marriage of the clergy, which was largely accepted and needed two years for approval only because of a strong of opposition by the conservative Lords. See MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p. 77.

[74] Girolamo Savonarola, *An exposicyon after the maner of a contemplacion, upon Psalme called Miserere mei Deus. A meditation uppon the [xxx] psalme In te domine speravi* (London, John Hertford for Robert Toy, 1542); Edward Walshe, *The office and duety in fightyng for our countrey. Set forth with dyverse stronge argumentes gathered out of the holy scripture provynge that the affection to the native countrey shulde moche more rule in us christians then in the Turkes and infidels, who were therein so fervent, as by the hystoriis doth appere* (London: John Hertford, at the costs and charges of Robert Toy, 1545).

The christen state of matrimony (1552) which, were clearly Protestant texts.[75] On the other hand, during the reign of Henry VIII, Toy had also printed books by English religious conservatives such as Stephen Gardiner, William Chedsey and Richard Smith.[76] This confirms that the religious debate was more open before Henry's death in 1547, with the editions of *De Mortuorum* following the trends.

The relationship between language-learning and religious topics emerges further by considering more printers connected with John Clerk. Included in the production by Robert Wyer, the printer of Clerk's *Lamant mal traicte de samye* (1543), there were Protestant books (like Melanchthon's epistles and several of Luther's works) and both a French and a Spanish manual.[77] Another printer, Nycholas Hyll, showed his investment in printing material for language teaching by editing a French manual produced in collaboration with John Hertford, the printer of *De Mortuorum*.[78] Hyll also produced one of John Clerk's books, now lost, between the two editions of *De Mortuorum*. [79] This book seems to have had a dedication to Thomas Howard and perhaps other parts in Italian. Afterwards, Hyll continued along this dual path, printing both religious works and texts for language-learning, such as the polyglot dictionaries from the *Introito et porta*

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[75] On Robert Toy, see I. Gadd, 'Toy, Humphrey (b. in or before 1537, d. 1577), bookseller', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). John Foxe, *De censura sive excommunicatione ecclesiastica rectoque eius usu ad illustrissimum patrem archiepiscopum Cantuariensem* (London: Steven Mierdman, impensis Robert Toy, 1551); Heinrich Bullinger, The christen state of matrimony (London: Nicolas Hill for Robert Toy, 1552) However, Robert Toy printed a Catholic book of prayers to the Virgin Mary during Mary I's reign: *Hore beate Marie virginis* (London: in aedibus Robert Toy, 1555)

[76] Stephen Gardiner, *A detection of the devils sophistrie wherwith he robbeth the unlearned people, of the true byleef, in the most blessed sacrament of the aulter* (London, John Hertford, at the costs and charges of Robert Toy], 1546); William Chedsey, *Two notable sermones lately preached at Pauls Crosse Anno 1544* (London, John Hertford, at the costs and charges of Robert Toy, 1545); Richard Smith, *The assertion and defence of the sacramente of the aulter* (London: John Hertford, at the costs and charges of Robert Toy, 1546)

[77] Philipp Melanchthon, *The epistle of the famous and great clerke Philip Melancton* (Wesel [=London]: Robert Wyer, 1547); Martin Luther, *The images of a verye Chrysten bysshop, and of a couterfayte bysshop* (London, William Marshall [=Robert Wyer], 1536); Thomas a Kempis *The folowynge of Cryste* (London: Robert Wyer and Peter Treveris, 1531). *Here begynneth a lytell treatyse for to lerne Englysshe and Frensshe* (London: Robert Wyer, 1533); *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe* (London: Robert Wyer, 1554?)

[78] *An introductorie for to lerne to rede to pronounce and to speke Frenche* (London: John Hertford, et Nicolas Hill, pour John Walley, 1546). Nycholas Hyll was also known as Nicolaus Montani o Nicolaes van den Berghe.

[79] John Clerk, *A Declaration briefly conteyning as well the true understandynge of tharticles ensuynge as allso a recitall of the capital errours against the same. Predestination, Ffree will, Faythe, Justification, Good woorkes, Christian libertye. John Clere the author.* (London: Nycholas Hyll, 1546).

tradition (See Chapter III).[80] Hyll printed essays against the pope, translations of the psalms and writings by Bernardino Ochino, Pietro Martire Vermigli, Cranmer and Calvin. [81] A perusal of Hyll's and other printers' catalogues makes clear the powerful convergence of religious topics and language-learning in early modern England.

The cover of the second edition of *De Mortuorum* encapsulates this convergence of religious themes and language-learning, by highlighting the presence of the new grammatical appendix: 'Author John Clerk. Who, during his studious youth more easily understood the mysteries of foreign languages, freshly approached the conjugations of verbs of the same Italian and French authors.' John Clerk dedicated the appendix, called *De Italica et Gallica Verborum Declinatione regulari,* to 'Carolo Stoutorno' who was apparently keen to study Italian and French: 'Accept the conjugation of Italian and French verbs that you wished for: they will instruct you at the same time, 'Stathorn' [in Greek alphabet]. Some notion about moods, tenses and persons: memorise and benefit from the talent conferred by God that Clerk's intellect translated'.

Latin, in Roman characters, is used to introduce and explain the grammatical content and to translate the infinitive of the Italian (and French) verbs, whilst English, in black characters, is used to translate the verbs conjugated into different tenses. Latin grammar is used as a

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[80] Examples of language–learning books printed by Hill are: *A very necessary boke in Engyshe and in Frenche wherin yu mayst learne to speake and wryte Frenche truly in a litle space* (London: Nicolas Hill, 1550) [Several editions with slightly different titles]; William Salesbury, *A dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe moche necessary to all suche Welshemen as wil spedly learne the Englyshe tongue* (London: Nicolas Hill for Robert Toy, 1547); *Sex linguarum, Latine, Teuthonice, Gallice, Hispanice, Italice, Anglice, dilucidissimus dictionarius. A vocabulary in six languages, Latyn, Dutch, Frenche, Spanish, Italy, and Englyshe* (London: Nicolas Hill for Richard Jugge, 1550); Marcus Porcius Cato, *disticha moralia ex castigatione D. Erasmi Roterodami una cum annotationibus et scholiis* (London: Nicolas Hill for Robert Toy 1553).

[81] Examples of Hyll's production of religious books are: *A boke, called the faule of the Romyshe churche wyth all the abhominations, wherby every man may know and perceyue the dyversitie of it, betwene the primative churche, of the whyche our soverayne lorde and kynge is the supreme head, and the malignant churche, a sunder* (London: Nicolas Hill, 1547); *A caveat for the Christians agaynst the arch–papist* (London: Nicolas Hill for John Walley, 1548); Thomas Cranmer, *Cathechismus, that is to say a shorte instruction into Christian religion for the synguler commoditie and profyte of childre and yong people* (London: Nicolas Hill for Walter Lynne, 1548); Jean Calvin, *faythful and most godly treatyse concernyng the most sacred sacrament of the blessed body and bloud of our saviour Christ* (London: Nicolas Hill, 1548); *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen into Englishe metre* (London: Nicolas Hill for Edward Whitchurch, 1549); Bernardino Ochino, *A tragoedie or dialoge of the unjuste usurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome, and of all the just abolishyng of the same* (London: Nicolas Hill for Walter Lynne, 1549); Pietro Martire Vermigli, *An epistle unto the right honorable and christian prince, the Duke of Somerset written unto him in Latin, awhile after hys deliveraunce out of trouble* (London: Nicolas Hill for Walter Lynne, 1550).

comparison e.g. 'Infinitivi italici terminationes quae non sunt dispares latinis' ['The endings of Italian infinitives that are not unlike the Latin ones']. The models of verbs for the four conjugations were 'gustare' ['to taste'], 'vedere' ['to see'], 'rendere' ['to rendere'], 'servire' ['to serve'].[82] This choice differs from the models presented by Bembo, Alunno, Michelangelo Florio ('amare', 'valere', 'leggere', 'sentire'), Accarisi and Thomas ('amare', 'vedere', 'leggere', 'udire'). 'Vedere' is the only verb in common with Accarisi's and Thomas's works and it is also present in the text of *De Mortuorum*.[83] Clerk probably suggested these verbs himself or gathered them from another source such as for example *Southwark 1537*.[84] Clerk's choice might also have been based on the similarity of the Italian verbs with their Latin translations ('Gustare', 'Videre', 'Reddere', 'Servire') and their frequent use in a religious context.[85]

The *mise-en-page* of *De Mortuorum,* with the four languages in parallel columns, reveals a book with a pedagogic aim, although more research is needed on the original source and Clerk's translation process. An analysis of the first edition's paratextual elements adds a propagandistic function to the text in favour of Surrey's political ambitions. *De Mortuorum* promoted religious doctrines following Henry's VIII's reformation guidelines and therefore cannot be considered a Catholic work. Only a few small tweaks were needed to adapt the second edition to the Protestant direction of Edward VI's reign after Surrey's and Henry VIII's death. The printers involved in the production of Clerk's work produced other religious books, thus confirming that *De Mortuorum* was a text that appealed to a wide readership in England, and not just to Catholics,

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[82] Six verbs moods: 'indicativus', 'imperativus', 'conjunctivus' (introduced by *Avvegna che*), 'potencialis' (conditional), and 'infinitus'. Also 'Optativus' introduced by*Iddio volesse che* + 'presens et imperfectum' and 'perfectum et plusquamperfectum'. Baldi points out the lack of the Italian 'trapassato remoto' and 'futuro anteriore'. The present and past participles are also missing, although they are used to form compound tenses and passive forms 'praeteriti temporis participium activi verbi', Baldi, 'The Secretary of the Duke', pp. 14–15.

[83] Italian: 'Vedere quello che creo il cielo & la terra, quello che ti formo della terra, quello che ti saluo'. English: 'To see him that created heaven and earthe, hym that made the of the earthe, hym that saved the', Clerk, *De Mortuorum* (1545), sigs Giii^{v}–giiii^{r}.

[84] In *Southwark 1537* 'gustare' is in Book I ch. XLII dedicated to the five senses and 'vendere', 'rendere', 'servire' are in Book II ch.1 dedicated to verbs. 'Rendere' is translated as 'to restore' instead of Clerk's 'to rendre'.

[85] For an example of these verb in the context of sermons, see Girolamo Savonarola, *Le prediche dil reuerendo frate Hieronimo Sauonarola sopra li salmi & molte altre notabilissime materie*. (Italy: n.p., 1539), for example p. 53.

in a period of intense religious debate. The printers' production also confirms that English readers were interested in language-learning that was seen as a way to access more information on religious topics. This is also what the second edition of *De Mortuorum* suggests, if we consider the cover and appendix devoted to verb conjugations requested by Charles Stourton.

5. Henry Howard: the first dedicatee of *De Mortuorum* and his Italian education

Some scholars state that John Clerk was Surrey's tutor, while other scholars believe that this kind of educational relationship between them did not happen, or that it was even reversed.[86] Clerk expressed his respect for Surrey and their shared interest in languages in *Lamant mal traicte de samye* (1543), a book printed before *De Mortuorum*. In his introduction to *Lamant mal traicte de samye*, Clerk highlighted Surrey's experience as a translator from different languages 'knowing by longe experience...the exceeding great paynes and trauayles sustained by your selfe in traductions aswell out of the Laten, Italian as the Spanysshe, and Frenche'. The original work from Spanish is Diego de San Pedro's *Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda* (1491), a sentimental romance about frustrated love that employs rhetorical devices such as fictional exchanges of letters, dialogues and verses.[87] Clerk pointed out the pedagogical value of the book as containing rhetorical models

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[86] OBD states that Clerk 'started to work as a tutor of Henry Howard at Kennighall Castle and Windsor around 1530'. George F. Nott speculated that Surreys' tutor could have been John Leland or John Clerk, whom he confused with the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Also, Nott excluded Junius because he entered the service later on, in November 1543, as a physician to the Howard household, *The Works of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder* (London: T. Bensley, 1815), p. xv–xvi. Furthermore, Baldi suggested that the relationship was actually reversed, i.e. Surrey was John Clerk's tutor. According to Baldi, this is what Clerk wanted to express in his introduction to *Lamant mal traicte de samye* when he declared that he wanted to follow Surrey's steps as translator to obtain 'laude and commendation', 'The Secretary', p. 12.

[87] For rhetorical importance within the framework of the Speech Act theory, see Dulce María García, 'El lenguaje como tema y accion en las novelas de Diego de San Pedro', (unpublished thesis, Georgetown University, 1994). Some rhetorical devices in San Pedro's sentimental novel (e.g. ratiocinatio, exemplum, confirmation, refutation o planctus) recall the exercise in the progymnasmata (or praeexercitamenta) by Hermogenes and Apthonius. See

to Surrey who was encouraged 'to regarde and consyder the wytty deuyse of the thynge, the maner of Locucyons, the wyse sentences and the subtyll and dyscret answeres made on bothe parties.'[88] It is difficult to establish Surrey's and Clerk's relationship although I would exclude the possibility that a young aristocrat such as Surrey would officially act as a tutor to Clerk. What is certain is that there was an intellectual collaboration with language-learning, translation and rhetoric at its core.

There is not much information on Surrey's education except that he shared part of it with the king's illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond.[89] What is certain is that Surrey had the opportunity to access relevant formal and informal tutors and books. The first account of Surrey's training and language ability dates back to 1529. His father proudly showed the imperial ambassador a letter that thirteen-year-old Surrey had written in Latin. We can presume that Surrey attempted to provide his children with a similar education to the one that he had received. In fact, being aware of the importance of languages, he had wanted his children to be educated by the Dutch translator, lexicographer, emblemist and Petrarchan Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575) (or Adriaen de Jonghe) who had studied in Italy and subsequently lived in England from 1544 to 1550.[90] As a result of this education, Surrey's son, Henry Howard (1540–1614) became Reader in

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Daniel Gil Sáenz, 'Reading Diego de San Pedro in Tudor England', *Revista alicantina de estudios ingleses*, 17 (2004), 103–115.

[88] This text had a significant success for rhetorical and linguistic learning. An Italian translation by Bartolomeo Maraffi apperead in Diego San Pedro, *de Petit traite de Arnalte et Lucenda* (Lyon: Balthazar Arnoullet, 1555) paired with a French translation by Nicolas De Herberay Des Essarts (d.1557). Afterwards, French tutor in London Claudius Hollyband used the Maraffi's Italian translation paired with an English translation for his Italian manual, *The pretie and wittie historie of Arnalt & Lucenda with certen rules and dialogues set foorth for the learner of th'Italian tong* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1575).

[89] Susan Brigden, 'Howard, Henry, earl of Surrey (1516/17–1547), poet and soldier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

[90] See for example, Ari Wesseling, 'Devices, Proverbs, Emblems: Hadrianus Junius' *Emblemata* in the Light Of Erasmus' *Adagia*' in *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575) northern humanism at the dawn of the Dutch golden age)*, ed. by Dirk van Miert (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 214–259 (p. 240). Junius praised Surrey in his *Adagia*, no. 426.

Rhetoric at Cambridge and learned Italian – as his Italian comments on a copy of *Il Cortegiano* demonstrate.[91]

Surrey had the opportunity to start experimenting with languages and engage with Italian sources and individuals abroad and in England. In the period 1532–33, Surrey lived and travelled with the French king as a pledge for the treaty signed in Calais. Francis I highly regarded Italian arts, books and language and opened his French court to Italians at the forefront of their vernacular culture. For instance, in that year Florentine exile Luigi Alamanni dedicated his *Opere Toscane* (1532) – an acclaimed experimentation of classical models applied to the Tuscan language – to Francis I.[92] It is difficult to believe that Surrey would remain indifferent to such stimulating intellectual encounters. Surrey knew Italians in England, too. In fact, the Howard family employed Italian collaborators that were likely to act as linguistic sources and facilitators for the circulation of books and ideas coming from the Continent. An example is physician and agent Dr Augustine, who was involved in the earliest circulation in England in the 1530s of the Italian best seller *Il Cortegiano* (1528), by Baldassare Castiglione.[93] In fact, Surrey lived in environments where it was easy to have both motivations and the means to learn the Italian language.

Multilingual English individuals of the previous generations who travelled abroad for diplomatic reasons and did literary translations were part of these environments stimulating Surrey's intellectual pursuit.[94] A lesson for Surrey on the importance of language-learning came from his uncle, diplomat John Bouchier (1467–1533), Baron Berners, who in the 1530s translated

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[91] Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, (Venice, 1541). Thanks to Hannah Yip who told me about this copy at the John Rylands Library (R220959). Burke, *The Fortunes*, pp. 79, 171; Nicolas Barker, 'The Books of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton', *Bodleian Library Record*, 13 (1990), 375–81 (p. 378); Daniel C. Andersson, *Lord Henry Howard (1540–1614): an Elizabethan Life* (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2009), p. 68. For other Italian books owned by Surrey's son, Henry Howard, see Linda Levy Peck, 'Uncovering the Arundel Library at the Royal Society: Changing Meanings of Science and the Fate of the Norfolk Donation', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society, London*, 52 (1998), 3–24, (pp. 17, 20–21).

[92] Alamanni, *Opere Toscane* (Lyon: Sébastien Gryphius excudebat, 1532).

[93] Dr Augustine was Cardinal Wolsey's physician and worked as a spy for the Duke of Norfolk. Augustine is also mentioned as the person who should supply an edition of *Il Cortegiano* and Petrarch's *Trionfi* to Edmund Bonner as promised by Thomas Cromwell. Brigden 'Conjured league', p.531; Hammond, 'Doctor Augustine'.

[94] Nott, *The Works*, Xviii–xix.

another of Diego de San Pedro's works, *Carcel de amor* (1492) and other French and Spanish works.[95] Moreover, Surrey could not ignore Henry Parker (1476/81–1556), Baron Morley, an experienced courtier with multiple family links with the Howards, who in the late 1520s translated Petrarch's *Trionfi*. Surrey himself identified as his intellectual model the Italianate poet and diplomat Thomas Wyatt.[96] Wyatt showed Surrey how to translate into English and imitate several kinds of Italian sources. He adapted to the context of the English court Luigi Alamanni's *Satira X* in *Opere Toscane* (1532) in a letter titled *Myne Owne Jhon Poyntz*; sonnets in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*; and Pietro Aretino's *Salmi,* a paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms. One of Surrey's elegiac sonnets introduces the *Penitential Psalms* in Wyatt's partial holograph.[97] Wyatt's translation supporting the superiority of faith alone over works of mercy and charity to achieve salvation establishes a textual resonance with both *De Mortuorum* and Surrey's *Psalms* paraphrase and partial translation of the Book of Ecclesiastes.[98]

Surrey's understanding and political use of Italian sources appeared, for instance, in his English translation in 'blank verses' of Virgil's *Aeneid* made between 1538 and 1545. Surrey strongly relied on the Italian translations by Cardinal Ippolito de Medici (Book II) and Niccolò Liburnio (Book IV).[99] These two books probably circulated with their authors and friends around the European courts, England included. Both books were also connected with Claudio Tolomei

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[95] John Bourchier was stepbrother to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. He also married Katherine Howard (died 17 March 1536). His English translation of *Carcel de amor* was printed in 1548 by John Turke with the title *The Castell of loue*. The translation was requested originally by Bourchier's niece: Elisabeth Carew (née Bryan).

[96] Henry Howard spent time with Thomas Wyatt in October 1532, when they went with Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn to Calais to meet Francis I. Wyatt dedicated to Surrey the paraphrase of Psalm 37 'Mine Earl'. Inspired by Wyatt, Surrey wrote the sonnet 'The Great Macedon' and the elegy for Wyatt's death in October 1542, which was printed by the same publishing team as *De Mortuorum Resurrectione*: Henry Howard, *An excellent epitaffe of syr Thomas wyat with two other compendious dytties, wherein are touchyd, and set furth the state of mannes lyfe* (London: By Iohn Herforde for Roberte Toye, 1545?).

[97] Rossiter, 'What Wyatt Really Did', p. 598.

[98] See also how Aretino influenced Wyatt's position on salvation doctrines, Ibid. 606–609. For Surrey's translation of the Book of the Ecclesiastes, see Andrew W. Taylor, 'Suffering and Scholarship: The Contexts of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey's Ecclesiastes', *Translation and Literature*, 22.2 (2013), 167–181.

[99] See Arturo Cattaneo, 'The Italian Sources of Surrey's Aeneid', in *Italy and the English Renaissance*, ed. by Sergio Rossi and Dianella Savoia (Milan: Unicopli, 1989), pp. 89–106.

and his programme of vernacularisation of classics and use of Latin metric verses in Italian. As we have seen, Tolomei tutored Ippolito de Medici in Rome and worked for him as a secretary during his ambassadorial role in Europe on behalf of the Pope. Tolomei's grammarian friend Liburnio worked for Portuguese Bishop Miguel da Silva, the dedicatee of Tolomei's *Polito* and Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, and also travelled to England, France, Syria, Flanders and Bruges. Once in England, Liburnio had a friend in Erasmus whom he had known since 1508, when both had collaborated with Aldo Manuzio in Venice.[100] In particular, Liburnio's edition of the *Aeneid* was bilingual with Latin and Italian presented in parallel columns. This could have partially inspired *De Mortuorum*'s multilingual layout and helped Surrey's Italian language-learning.

Moreover, Virgil's *Aeneid* resonates with the prophetic tones of *De Mortuorum* and Surrey's political ambitions. The *Aeneid* is a book involving a series of prophecies revealing the destiny of its protagonist and legitimising his founding of Rome and the subsequent Imperial dominion over other nations. Medieval thinkers, such as Dante, interpreted the *Aeneid* in a Christian light, identifying the Roman Empire as a necessary condition for Christ's coming and the development of a universal Catholic Church.[101] Moreover, in England the *Aeneid* was traditionally connected with royal power. The first legendary king of England was Aeneas' great-grandson, Brutus of Troy, as presented for example in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (12th century). In the sixteenth century, learned people around Surrey, such as John Leland, still believed or at least declared this legend to be true.[102] Thomas Wyatt also described London as the 'the town which Brutus sought by dreams'.[103] We can imagine, therefore, that Surrey identified

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[100] See Simona Mammana, 'Liburnio, Niccolò', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 65 (2005).
[101] For example, *Aeneid* (Book VI) that inspired Dante Alighieri's *Inferno*. Dante's *De Monarchia* and *Convivi*o (IV) also contained similar themes. Virgil was also seen as a 'Christian prophet' announcing Christ's coming in his Virgil's *Bucholics* (Egloga IV).
[102] On John Leland's defence of English mythological origins against the first English history book by the Italian Polydore Vergil, see James P. Carley, 'Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur: the Battle of the Books', *Interpretations* (1984), 86–100.
[103] Thomas Wyatt, 'Tagus Farewell'.

with the character of the Trojan prince Aeneas and with his destiny as a crucial leader of Christianity. This was particularly dangerous for Henry VIII, who could not count on a consolidated Tudor dynasty and executed Surrey 'as a precaution'.[104]

Surrey has attracted respect due to the difficulty of his studies in Italian and other languages, but this also raised suspicions in terms of his contact with and appreciation of 'otherness', in addition to his development of a flexible and untrustworthy identity. Edmund Knyvet reported the fact that his cousin Henry Howard enjoyed speaking with foreigners and acting as a cultural chameleon as something negative. Furthermore, Knyvet considered the presence of an Italian jester and alleged spy called 'Pasquino' in Surrey's entourage as further condemnation.[105] Surrey's endorsement and promotions of Italian captains and soldiers in the disastrous French campaign of 1545–46 generated more critics in terms of his close relationship with Italians. [106] The King considered Surrey the main culprit of the failure of this campaign. Paget advised him to desist in a letter that expressed the main message with an Italian word: 'basta' ['enough'].[107] We do not know the full reason for Paget's linguistic choice, but it is clearly a warning to Surrey's Italianate identity. The suspicions surrounding Surrey's relationship with foreigners (e.g. the Emperor, France, and the Italian States) were in fact supported by his ability to communicate abroad with the 'others'.[108]

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[104] Peter R. Moore, 'The heraldic charge against the Earl of Surrey, 1546–47', *The English Historical Review*, 116.467 (2001), 557–583 (p. 581).

[105] Andrew W. Taylor, 'Glass Houses: Surrey, Petrarch, and the Religious Poetics of the 'London Invective', *The review of English studies*, 57.231 (2006), 433–455; Surrey also employed Italianate English individuals such as for example physician John Fryer who studied medicine in Padua in 1535 and joined Reginald's Pole houeshold, see Brigden, 'Conjured league', pp. 535–536.

[106] This extract from a letter by William Paget to Henry Howard Earl of Surrey (8 March 1546) is an example of Surrey's endorsement, employment and payment of Italian soldiers in France: 'True it is that, now at Hertford's going over, Francisco Agello (whom you recommended as having had a good charge in France) made suit to serve with 400 Italians and had grant of 200, and likewise Amerigo Antenori had grant of 200, and the King's old approved servant Tyberio of 100, and these to be in the field, and therefore not under Salerno, who is appointed to the guard of the town under you', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* 21, I, p.174.

[107] Brigden, 'Conjured league', p. 511.

[108] Accusations regarding Surrey's duplicity also came from the Emperor's side. In fact Charles V's ambassador to England, Chapuys, described Surrey as 'a Frenchman at heart' in 1543. See Brigden, 'Conjured league', pp. 531–532.

Henry Howard and his father were well known in Italy where Surrey's execution was considered a confirmation of Henry VIII's tyranny. In William Barker's *The Nobility of Women* (Ms 1559), the character of Marcantonio Flaminio declared that Paolo Giovio informed him of the sufferance inflicted on the Howard family. In particular, Flaminio mentioned Surrey, 'that earle that was so vilanouslye murthered that not onelye that ylande but all Christianitie showlde have had a worthy member of hym'.[109] William Thomas addressed this controversial topic in his *Peregrine* (1547) describing a conversation with some Italian gentlemen in Bologna.[110] Thomas justified Surrey's execution to the Italians by writing that Surrey benefited from Charles V's support and tried to deceive both Papists and Protestants to his own advantage.[111]

Surrey believed that his royal pedigree and skills, the Italian language included, made him destined to be a 'Prince' of Christianity. Surrey learned Italian thanks to a favourable environment in terms of availability of tutors, books and stimulating personal encounters. And he tried to use this skill to build consensus at home and abroad. For example, Surrey's translation of the *Aeneid* from Italian could boost his self-representation as royal pretender. In the 1540s, Becon's treatise *New pollecye of war* outlined how English leaders were meant to guide Christianity towards the Last Judgment. Thomas Wyatt, dedicatee of Beacon's book and Surrey's mentor, was the model for the required skills because of his:

> godly administracion of the publique weale no lesse in the perfecte knowledge of the diuersite of Languages, than in the actiuite of martiall affaires, & also for as much as ye haue euer hytherto earnestely embrased not only the studies of humayne letters, but also the graue exercises of diuine litterature.[112]

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[109] Barker, *The Nobility of Women*, f. 84.
[110] William Thomas, 'Peregrine, or a defence of Henry VIIIth' (1547), BL Vespasian D. xviii, 46^{v}–81^{r}. For a more recent English edition in print, see: William Thomas, *The Pilgrim*, ed. James Anthony Froude (London: Parker, son and Bourn, 1861). An Italian edition appeared in print after a few years: William Thomas, *Il pellegrino inglese* (Zurich: Andreas Gessner et Rudolf Wyssenbach, 1552).
[111] Thomas, *The Pilgrim*, pp. 72–76.
[112] See also Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, p. 490.

Surrey tried to add to his royal blood a reputation similar to Wyatt's as a good administrator, linguist, military leader, humanist and religious writer. With its apocalyptic themes and multilingualism *De Mortuorum* was an element of Surrey's political project.

6. Charles Stourton: the second dedicatee of *De Mortuorum*

Charles Stourton's scattered biography suggests an individual involved in multiple quarrels and in contact with the same environments as Surrey, despite having a more peripheral role in the struggle for power in England.[113] The networks around him suggest that he was part of a generation of Italianate Englishmen who wanted to learn Italian despite remaining in England. In spite of his Catholic leaning, Stourton had the favour of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset. This was at the time when Clerk dedicated the second edition of *De Mortuorum* (1547) to Stourton, i.e. during the reign of Edward VI.[114] The new dedicatee's faith and the grammatical appendix again demonstrate the doctrinal flexibility of Clerk's polyglot book and its use for language-learning.

Charles' father – William, the seventh Lord Stourton (1505–1548) - came from a family traditionally associated with Wiltshire and had fought for Henry VIII in France, as Surrey.[115] William had married Elizabeth Dudley (1488–1560), thus making his son Charles nephew of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, on his mother's side.[116] Charles was also related to the

[113] A modern biography of Charles Stourton is still missing.
[114] For example, the Duke of Somerser wrote to his steward John Thynne on 10th August 1551 to assure Charles Stourton had the position of 'Master of our game' of the Holt and Bradley Woods and 'High Stuarde also, in diverse other places, in consideration of certyn friendship he hath done unto us of late'. In Charles B. Joseph Stourton, *The History of the Noble House of Stourton: of Stourton, in the County of Wilts* (London: E. Stock, 1899), p. 361. However, Stourton was one of the 'twenty–seven peers' judging the Duke of Somerset in his last trial. Ibid, p. 395.
[115] Charles Stourton had a difficult relationship with his father William who separated from Charles' mother and had a relationship with Agnes ap Rhys (or Rice) (1522–74), daughter of the Welsh Rhys ap Gruffydd and niece of Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk. Her father made Charles executor of his Will, but several quarrels arose with Agnes ap Rhys around the division of property and possession.

Howard family thanks to his wife, Lady Anne Stanley (*c.* 1531–1602) daughter of Edward Stanley (1509–1572) and Lady Dorothy Howard, half-sister of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.[117] Thanks to his wife, in 1550 Stourton had also become brother-in-law to the Catholic Henry Parker (*c.* 1531–1577) who was the grandson of the translator from Italian Henry Parker (*c.* 1556).[118] Charles was initially friend with William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who was High Lieutenant of Wiltshire.[119] However, contrasts started between the two, probably when Queen Mary gave Charles Stourton positions as Lieutenant of Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset.[120]

Stourton wrote two Catholic manuscript religious texts that seem influenced by *De Mortuorum*: 'Treatise on the Sacrament' (dedicated to Mary Tudor on 24th October 1549) and 'Discourse on Matrimony'.[121] I have not yet viewed these manuscripts in person or accessed a full transcription, but future research on them using *De Mortuorum* as a key seems highly appropriate in particular considering the synopsis of the 'Treatise on the Sacrament'.[122] Stourton's 'Treatise on the Sacrament' is written as a dialogue between two characters: the Catholic Francis Flechar persuading the Protestant Tom Tynker to reverse his beliefs in matters of transubstantiation, salvation and justification by faith alone. The references to the 'risen body of Christ' that God made 'omnipotent' changing a 'corruptible creature into his own incorruptness' resonates fully

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116 Elizabeth Stourton, née Dudley, had a relationship with her husband's steward, William Hartgill, with whom Charles Stourton had legal and physical clashes probably for issues related to property ownership. Ultimately, in January 1557 Charles Stourton killed William Hartgill and his son John and for this crime he was hanged on 6th March at Salisbury Market–plavce, see Stourton, *The History*, pp. 392–395, 398–404; Canon Jackson, 'Charles Lord Stourton and the Murder of the Hartgills', *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, 8 (1864), 242–336.

117 Thomas Howard bought Edward Stanley's, 3rd Earl of Derby, wardship and married him first to his daughter Katherine, who died a few weeks later, in 1530, and afterwards to his half–sister Dorothy. In 1557, after Charles Stourton's death, Ann Stanley married MP John Arundell of Lanherne (c.1527–1590).

118 Hoby also reported a 'Mr. Sturton' among the many English people joining William Parr with him on his diplomatic mission to France in 1551. Hoby, *The Travels*, p. 67.

119 Stourton, *The History*, pp. 360–361.

120 Ibid., pp. 369–370, 381.

121 Charles Stourton, 'Treatise on the Sacrament', BL Add MS 21.566; 'Discourse on Matrimony' is at Longleat House.

122 See Stourton, *The History*, pp. 411–413.

with the words of *De Mortuorum.*[123] This seems to evidence the importance of Clerk's multilingual book for both Stourton's religious and linguistic education, thus prompting further research.[124]

7. Practice: language analysis, translations and verb conjugation

We can divide the pedagogical practices in *De Mortuorum* into three kinds. The first kind of practices relate to the first part of the book, with the multilingual religious text in parallel columns favouring comparative/contrastive analysis and translation exercises. The second kind of practices are limited to the second edition and relate to the Italian and French verb conjugations appendix. In addition, the cover of the second edition and a final suggestion to the reader by Clerk demonstrated the possible learning practices were to read canonical authors, learn new vocabulary and have oral practice. The third kind of practices involve the use of *De Mortuorum* as a reference for writing. This does not imply an interruption of the didactic function of *De Mortuorum*, but a more advanced proficiency by the language learner. This applies especially in the case of literary imitation from Italian, as in the case of Surrey's sonnet 'London, hast thow accused me'.[125]

Clerk's choice of presenting an almost word-by-word translation in *De Mortuorum* allowed beginner students to understand the meaning of the words in a foreign language and, afterwards, reflect on the different syntaxes and grammar rules. With a word-by-word translation Clerk implicitly suggested the same language-learning practices employed in bilingual texts within

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[123] Clerk, *De Mortuorum* (1545), sig. aii^{v}.
[124] Another example of Charles Stourton political and religious activism is when he defended Cuthbert Tunstall who was imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1551 due to his opposition to the more protestant doctrines of Edward VI's reign. Stourton, *The History*, p. 448.
[125] Henry Howard, *The Poetical Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1854), pp. 69–71.

certain Latin-Greek grammars and polyglot dictionaries.[126] Reading the parallel lines of *De Mortuorum*, the student would notice that in Italian the adjective usually follows the noun whilst in English the adjective precedes it.[127] In addition to comparisons between languages, students could experiment and consolidate their new findings in terms of vocabulary, grammar and syntax, by attempting direct and double translations.[128] Having the printed translations, students with more experience in language-learning could perform these learning processes and repeat them many times even without the help of a tutor.

By employing a word-by-word translation for *De Mortuorum*, Clerks made a specific pedagogical choice, considering that he reflected upon the opposite and more advanced 'professional' kind of translation – the sense-for-sense translation – in his *Lamant mal traicte de samye*. In the dedication of this sentimental romance to Surrey, Clerk explained that when translating from French into English he employed a sense-for-sense translation to respect each language's characteristics:

> accordynge to your accustomed fasshion regard and consyder the witty devyse of the thynge, the maner of Locucyons [...] [and not] the order of the wordes in the other tonges […] whereby the sense of the Author is often depraved and the grace ne perfection of thone ne other tonge dewly expressed […] Because every tonge hath his properties, maner of Locucyons particular, vehemencies and rychesses.[129]

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[126] For example, Aldus Manutius, *Constantini Lascaris Byzantini De octo partibus orationis* (1501–1503) where literal translations into Latin helped the student to approach Greek learning, see Michele Piscitelli 'Reworking the *Tabula Cebetis*: A Classical Moral Dialogue for Early modern Language Learning', in *Grounded Histories of Language Teaching 16th–20th Centuries*, ed. by Richard Smith and Sabine Doff (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming 2024). For ancient examples of Latin–Greek word–by–word translations in columnar set–up for pedagogical reasons are the Hermeneumata *Pseudodositheana* (1st–4th centuries CE). See Eleanor Dickey, 'Columnar translation' an ancient interpretive tool that the Romans gave the Greeks', *The Classical Quarterly*, 65.2 (2015), 807–821.

[127] For instance, in this excerpt from *De Mortuorum* (1545): 'Latin: nostri servatoris / English: oure saviour / Italian: salvatore nostro / French: nostre suver', sigs Biii^{v}–Ci^{r}.

[128] See Miller, 'Double Translation in English Humanistic Education'; Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, pp. 90–93; Lawrence, *Who the Devil*, pp. 25–31; José María Pérez Fernández and Edward Wilson–Lee, *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*, p. 14. On double translation see also Chap.III.1.

[129] Cf. Baldi, 'The Secretary of the Duke', p. 12. Early modern period translators usually referred to Cicero, *De Finibus*, 3.15; *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*, 5.14. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, pp. 133–134.
St Jerome, *Epistles*, 57.5.2.

The distinction that Clerk made between kinds of translation implies that the analysis and development of written and oral rhetorical skills in different languages were advanced exercises. Rhetorical analysis was likely carried out after the learning of basic vocabulary and the development of comprehension skills through reading and translating word-by-word, both practices that *De Mortuorum* supported.

The second edition of *De Mortuorum* reveals more information on the intended learning practices, starting from the cover which refers to 'Italian and French authors'. This once again confirms the importance of reading the canonical authors as a source of prescriptive language and cultural capital. Italian and French verb conjugations in the appendix at the end of the book, in a concise set up, suggest that students focused their energy on grammar rules only after the comprehension of the text, or when in specific need. Charles Stourton may have requested that Clerk provide him with an in-depth and comprehensive review of Italian and French verb conjugations after reading the first edition of *De Mortuorum*. Clerk showed awareness of the crucial differences between English and Italian that a student has to learn quickly. This suggests that he had some teaching experience. For example, Clerk pointed out the difference between *passato imperfetto* and *passato remoto* – e.g. 'gustavo/ I dyd taste' compared to 'gustai/ I tasted' – which often generates indecision among English speakers. However, Clerk made two considerable mistakes, showing how it was possible to reach a high proficiency in Italian even with some significant grammatical gaps or uncertainties. [130] The auxiliary verb *avere* coupled with the verb *essere*. For example: 'ho stato/ I have ben[sic]' ['I have been'] instead of the correct *sono stato*. Also, Clerk omitted the past participle of the auxiliary verb in the passive form of the *trapassato prossimo* so 'I had ben tasted' incorrectly reports 'haveva gustato' instead of the correct

[130] Inconsistencies are in the progressive and passive forms, Baldi, 'The Secretary of the Duke', p. 15.

ero stato gustato.[131] These mistakes were repeated in the French suggesting a voluntary pattern and not the result of poor editing and printing mistakes.

At the end of the second edition, Clerk briefly stated his language teaching and learning 'method', suggesting that studying the verb conjugations was important, as were practising speaking and pronunciation, and learning new vocabulary:

> Once you have thoroughly mastered these conjugations, learning both languages side-by-side, I would like […] you to compose speeches, and diction of language, not to mention to attempt to understand the name of things in such a way that you could happily reach the heart of God, whose protect you, [and] demanded diligent effort. Greetings.[132]

This short disclaimer to the reader implies that John Clerk was aware that reading his book and memorising the conjugations were just a part of the possible learning practices. He exhorted the student to produce language in its oral form, although he might also include the written preparation of oral texts such as sermons and poetry. It is striking how Clerk takes for granted the fact that learners and tutors would know what to do after this short explanation on language-learning practice. It is even more striking that Clerk does not feel the need to give any instructions on how to use his multilingual text. This seems to imply the presence in England at that time of a well-established set of pedagogical practices. On the other hand, in a period of religious turmoil, Clerk wanted to make it clear to the reader that the main motivation for studying and practising languages was to reach the heart of God.

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[131] Ibid., pp. 14–15.
[132] My translation from Latin.

7.1 A possible use and origin of *De Mortuorum*: the verses of Surrey and Petrarch on Candlemas 1543

This section explores how Surrey could employ *De Mortuorum* in his *scriptorium* in additional ways to the propagandistic function of the book discussed previously. I will show how Surrey's sonnet 'London, hast thow accused me' is indebted to the biblical apocalyptic visions of *De Mortuorum* and Petrarch's anti-papist verses. Surrey – with 'the skilful pen in hand to paynt the wittes device' – needed a multilingual biblical compendium for religious reflection, literary composition and the improvement of his language skills.[133] Surrey's writing process was probably derivative, as Thomas Wyatt also worked with multilingual sources. 'As Wyatt paraphrased [the Psalms], he was writing alongside other paraphrases, commentaries and sermons, certainly in Latin, in English, in Italian – some of them with him all the time as he composed'.[134] The multilingual set-up and the clear biblical references made *De Mortuorum* an ideal complement to multiple sources including Italian biblical, prophetic texts, and certain sonnets from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Surrey might have received the short compendium from Clerk in manuscript form for his personal use some years before the printing date of 1545.[135] Assuming this option as true, this section will suggest that Surrey was mindful of *De Mortuorum* in combination with Petrarchan verses when composing the sonnet 'London, hast thow accused me'.

Surrey's 'London, hast thow accused me' attempted to boost his self-representation and justify the violent acts of the 'Candlemas 1543 episode'.[136] On 2nd February 1543 (Candlemas), Surrey, Thomas Wyatt the younger, George Blage and others stormed London with bows and

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133 Excerpt from John Cheke's elegy for Henry Howard, full transcription in Joel Grossman, 'Remembering and Dismembering Henry Howard: Blazon and Beheading in Sir John Cheke's Elegy on the Earl of Surrey', *The Review of English Studies*, 72.303 (2021), 41–60.
134 Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, p. 467.
135 Clerk certainly gave another book to Surrey years before it was printed. This was the manuscript of *Lamant mal traicte de samye* accompanied by a letter dated 17 March 1541 whilst the book was printed in 1543.
136 Several scholars have seen irony and parody (for example, Brigden), or a clumsy excuse and line of defence, in Surrey's poem 'London, hast thow accused me'. See Brigden, 'Conjured league', 517–518. For more examples of scholarly views on Surrey's poem 'London, hast thow accused me', see Andrew W. Taylor, 'Glass Houses'.

stones after openly breaking the Lenten fast. They smashed the windows of churches, buildings and houses of individuals representing religious and political power, and fired arrows and stones at the sex workers of the Bankside stews.[137] Although these events included elements of immature nonconformity and deranged violence, they share many similarities with other actions planned in central political circles in the immediate years before and after the Candlemas episode.[138] Considering the similarities with these cases, I argue that at Candlemas 1543 young emergent individuals such as Surrey, Thomas Wyatt the younger, George Blage and the others engaged in aggressive actions to play their parts in the political sphere and related religious reformations of the country.[139] The relationship with their 'consciences' and the fear of Hell also played their part. Thomas Wyatt the younger was convinced by his father that 'Here how we think it is not small grefe of a conscience that condemnith it self. But be wel assured, aftir this life it is a continual gnawing'.[140] Wyatt the older took for granted that his son knew a particular expression from the Gospel of St Mark (chapter 9:44) also quoted in *De Mortuorum* as: 'The worme that gnaweth the soroufull conscience of the wretches never dyeth'.[141] George Blage, who served Wyatt the older during his embassy in Spain, also wrote 'ardent religious poetry' and declared that between God and the King he would have chosen the former: 'the living word the bread of life'.[142]

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[137] Surrey wrote about the real targer of his stones in his 'London hast thou accused me': 'Thy windows had done me no spite;/ But proud people that dread no fall', (44–45). On the Candlemas events see *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 1, 1542–1547*, ed. by John Roche Dasent (London, 1890), pp. 101–125, p. 104. British History Online http://www.british–history.ac.uk/acts–privy–council/vol1/pp101–125 [accessed 12 February 2021].

[138] For instance, in 1538, Cromwell inflamed the youths of London to violent religious iconoclastic actions and during Thomas Cranmer's visit, in August 1547, people broke Westminster windows to condemn idolatry, See Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p.71.

[139] In fact, since autumn 1539 Surrey had made connections with a powerful 'evangelical coterie' that used to dine in the mansion of Edward Seymour, the future Lord Protector of England under Edward VI, see Brigden 'Conjured league', pp. 513–514.

[140] Letter written by Thomas Wyatt to his son from Spain in 1537. See Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, p. 459.

[141] Clerk, *De Mortuorum* (1545), sig. fi^{v}.

[142] Ibid., p. 464.

Once in the Fleet prison as a punishment for the Candlemas episode, Surrey presented himself as the purest of the religious reformists composing 'London, hast thow accused me': the ideological cover for this power grabbing attempt riding the 'anxiety of apocalypse' of the time.[143] Reframing this episode as part of Surrey's political strategy suggests a role for *De Mortuorum* as pedagogical material and a compendium for religious reference that could help him to access and understand Italian sources, thus 'amplifying, omitting, transforming, compressing' them. And, in fact, it confirms the value of *De Mortuorum*, once printed, as Surrey propagandist material for self-representation, working in tandem with 'London, hast thow accused me' which imitated Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. In the climax of 'London, hast thow accused me', Surrey built an image of London as a prostitute, because of its corruption - 'O shameless whore' – he addressed the city. This is exactly how Petrarch had called the French city of Avignon where popes resided from 1309 to 1377 – 'putta sfacciata'.[144]

According to Surrey, London was 'Babylon' due to the spread of prostitution, and abuse of alcohol and food, just as Petrarch had violently accused Avignon of being in his three sonnets in the *Canzoniere* (136, 137, 138). Surrey wrote:

> The lechers, ye that lusts do feed,
> Perceive what secrecy is in sin:
> And gluttons' hearts for sorrow bleed,
> Awaked, when their fault they find:
> In loathsome vice each drunken wight
> To stir to God, this was my mind. (40–43) [145]

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[143] Surrey: 'In secret silence of the night/ This made me, with a rechless breast, / To wake thy sluggards with my bow:/A figure of the Lord's behest;/ Whose scourge for sin the Scriptures shew.'
[144] Petrarch sonnet 138 'Fontana di dolore, albergo d'ira'. See also Brigden, 'Conjured league', p. 518
[145] Cf. Petrarch: 'de vin serva, di letti, et di vivande, in cui lussuria fa l'ultima prova. Per le camera tue fanciulle et vecchi vanno trescando' (slave to wine, delicacies and good living, where Lust performs her worst. Through your rooms young girls and old men pursue their affairs) in sonnet 136 'Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie piova'. Also, cf. Petrarch: 'L'avara Babilonia à colmo il sacco d'ira di Dio, e di vitii empii et rei, tanto che scoppia, ed à fatti suoi dèi non Giove et Palla, ma Venere et Bacco' ['Greedy Babylon has crammed the bag with God's anger, wicked fare, and deeds, almost to bursting, made its deities not Jupiter and Pallas, but Venus and Bacchus'] in sonnet 137 'L'avara Babilonia'. Translations by A. S. Kline.

According to *De Mortuorum,* liberation from these vices would await the 'good people' after the final Judgment: 'no perell of synne, no rebellyon of flesh no desyre of woman, no nyght, no slepe the ymage of death, no meate, no drink'.[146] But before liberation from vices was mentioned, Surrey performed a 'justice call', inciting scenes from the day of Judgment, in line with Petrarch and *De Mortuorum*. Surrey wanted London to burn: 'The flame of wrath shall on thee fall' - recalling Petrarch's first line of sonnet 136 'Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie piova'. *De Mortuorum* set the scene in more detail: 'Than the firmament and all the face of the earth, th [...] elementes of this world, & all that euer is conteyned in the earth shalbe burned by fyre, there shalbe confu-sion generall of all thyn-ges mortall.'[147]

Surrey's apocalyptic vision of London's destruction kept going with the punishment of sinners and destruction of their buildings:

> Stricken shalbe thy lecheres all;
> Thy prowd towers and turretes hye,
> Enemyse to God, beat stone from stone;
> Thyne idolles burnt, that wrought iniquitie.

Once again, *De Mortuorum* offered the Scriptural basis and Petrarch the poetic form. *De Mortuorum* reports: 'There shalbe no nature of wordly thynges which shall not be so purged from impuritie as the same shall conteyne no curruption ne noyaunce: hylles shalbe egualled to valleies, castels fortresses, and all edifices shall fall: stones shall breake together and consume. By force of whiche fyre not the least iote of the figure of this worlde shalbe seene to remayne'. And Petrarch's *Canzoniere*: 'Gl'idoli suoi sarranno in terra sparsi,/ et le torre superbe, al ciel nemiche,/ e i suoi torrer' di for come dentro arsi.' ['Babylon's idols will be scattered on the ground, and her proud

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[146] Clerk, *De Mortuorum* (1545), sig. Giiv.
[147] Ibid., sigs fiii^{v}–fiii^{v}.

towers, threatening heaven, and her guards burned as they burn within'].[148] Hatred against the vicious 'London/Babylon' and connected apocalyptic vision became a constant element in Surrey's literary and political expression, also characterising his Psalm paraphrases (in particular 55, 73, and 88, and Ecclesiastes 1–5).[149]

Echoes from *De Mortuorum*'s and Petrarch's thoughts on the bodily remains after death and the immortality of the soul are also present at the end of Surrey's *An excellent Epitaffe* for the death of Thomas Wyatt in 1542.[150] This was an occasion for Surrey to fashion himself as Wyatt's poetical heir as Petrarch's imitator. Surrey praised Wyatt's body and described the soul leaving the body, which remained on earth:

> But to the heavens that simple soul is fled,
> Which left with such, as covet Christ to know
> Witness of faith that never shall be dead:
> Sent for our health, but not received so.
> Thus, for our guilt, this jewel have we lost;
> The earth his bones, the heavens possess his ghost.[151]

The memory of Laura's 'belle membra' ['beautiful body parts'] after her death and the soul reaching heaven after death are also pervasive themes in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.[152] Surrey's elegy for Thomas Wyatt shows how Petrarchan poetry could express religious, political and personal feelings. And, based on the scriptures, *De Mortuorum* could confirm that the soul is immortal and that after judgment day the body and soul would strive to reconnect:

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148 Petrarch, *Canzoniere* 137, 'L'avara Babilonia à colmo il sacco'. Translation A. S. Kline.
149 Brigden wrote: 'when Surrey wrote of the judgement which would fall upon London, as upon Babylon, for its vice and pride, he prefigured the beliefs he would insistently express in his biblical paraphrase' in 'Henry Howard', p. 518. In particular, Clerk's *De Mortuorum* (1545) relied on Ecclesiastes 5 in several passages, for example, sigs fiii^{v}–fiiii^{r}, hi^{v}–hii^{r}.
150 Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, *Poems*, ed. Emrys Jones (Oxford, 1964), p. 27. Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, pp. 5–7.
151 Brigden, Thomas Wyatt, pp. 6–7.
152 For example, Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, 90, 302.

> The soule that is the lyfe of the fleshe, and spiritual, not create of matier elementall (which the diuine maiestie hath marked with ye lyght of his owne visage) suffreth not deth, by death of ye body, but euer remayneth liuing, and naturally desyreth the body, that as the same was companyon with hym of tribulation in the worlde, so agayne he might be participant with hym of consolation in heuen.[153]

It is difficult to establish if and how Surrey used *De Mortuorum* for his writing process. However, through his writings, and those of others around him, such as Thomas Wyatt, the advantages of having a collection of biblical passages carefully selected and organised in coherent order and referenced on Christ's resurrection, Judgment day, the immortality of the soul, transubstantiation and salvation through faith and good deeds are clear. Additionally, the translation into several languages made it easier to recognise, appreciate and rework the biblical passages found in other sources, such as for example Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.

Conclusions

On the title page of Thomas Cranmer's treatise against transubstantiation, *Defense of the True and Catholic Doctrine* (1550), Elizabeth wrote in Italian 'senza posare mai' followed by the French equivalent 'Sans iamais m'arrester' ['I never cease'].[154] This is an exhortation not to give up the doctrinal fight using a turn of phrase typical of Saint Paul, and, at the same time, it shows the relevance that languages such as Italian and French had in Reformation England in addition to English and Latin. Language acquisition allowed speakers to enter and have a voice in geo-political disputes, often inflamed by religious doctrines, in a multilingual Europe. The reception of Italian religious sources – from the 1490s translation of Savonarola's sermon to the 1550s

[153] Clerk, *De Mortuorum* (1545), sig. civ.
[154] Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I*, p. 401.

translations of Ochino's sermons – suggests the presence of an English readership interested in Italian and religious topics, in particular regarding salvation. Part of this phenomenon is Petrarch's reception in Reformation England as a devotional and anti-papist source, especially through commented editions of his works. In this landscape words on religious topics were equally as important as actions, creating in England a receptive, diverse readership for a short, biblical compendium such as *De Mortuorum,* with its multilingual set-up and tables devoted to Italian and French verbs.

De Mortuorum being intentionally short and small in dimensions suggests a practical and frequent use. The presence of three editions appearing in quick succession also suggests a brief, but relevant popularity. I reassessed the role of Surrey in the creation of the first edition and challenged the assumption that *De Mortuorum* was an expression of Clerk's Catholicism as is widely believed. The first edition of *De Mortuorum* aimed to promote Surrey's political ambitions in England and abroad and probably supported his literary production, self-representation, and personal beliefs. As we have seen, the book contents could support both the ambiguous stances of Henry Howard – evangelical, at least in his public gestures and literary representations – and the Catholic leanings of Charles Stourton, as expressed in his manuscripts *Treatise on the Sacrament* (1549) and *Discourse on Matrimony*.[155] An overview of the printers' production behind the two editions confirms the transversality of *De Mortuorum* in satisfying readers with different religious stances. This diverse kind of readership was interested in religion and language-learning, two essential and connected elements in the contemporary cultural and political climate, as the contemporary book production confirms.

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[155] In his final days, whilst imprisoned in the Tower of London (2 December 1546 to 19 January), Surrey presented himself as an evangelical martyr. However, Mary Howard (1519–1557), Surrey's sister, involved with the evangelical party declared that her brother secretly worshipped an altar in France, at Boulogne, as a papist would do. See James Simpson, 'Martyrdom in the Literal Sense: Surrey's Psalm Paraphrases', *Medieval and Early Modern English Studies*, 12.1 (2004), 133–165.

Clerk's *De Mortuorum* suggests that language learners tended to engage directly with original material, developing vocabulary, reading, translation and rhetorical skills thanks to a polyglot comparative approach. The presence of translations in multiple languages reduced the centrality of tutors, encouraging, for example self-study sessions and practising different kinds of translation. Furthermore, the grammatical appendix in the second edition – containing Italian and French verb conjugations – confirms and enhances the pedagogical use of the text. Finally, I have speculated about a possible productive relation between the use of *De Mortuorum* as a rhetorical tool and certain sonnets of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* characterised by apocalyptic imagery. *Il Canzoniere* was an Italian canonical text that had a deep impact on Tudor England motivating and guiding Italian language-learning with reflections about love and personal faith. Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* was another Italian canonical text in England for his rhetoric, humour and controversial topics such as genders relationship and the corruption of the Catholic Church. The next chapter will show a dictionary printed in Venice in 1543 that supported the pedagogical use of *Decameron* and that William Thomas employed as a main source for his *Principal Rules*.

CHAPTER V. FRANCESCO ALUNNO, *LE RICCHEZZE DELLA LINGUA VOLGARE* (1543): AN ITALIAN AID FOR READING BOCCACCIO'S *DECAMERON*

The future MP and Elizabethan courtier John Tamworth (*c.* 1524–69) arrived in Venice in 1548, and, willing to learn Italian, asked his friend William Thomas 'to drawe him out in Englishe some of the principall rules, that might leade him to the true knowledge therof and further to translate the woordes, that Acharisius and Pietro Alunno had collected out of certeigne the best auctors in that tongue'.[1] This 'occasion' prompted the Welshman William Thomas to write the manuscript of his *Principal rules of the Italian grammer* (1550) – the first printed book using English language to explain the rules of Italian and translate short examples – followed by a dictionary of 8,653 Italian words joined with their English translation or definition.[2] To satisfy John Tamworth's request, William Thomas abridged and translated Francesco Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* (1543) and a book called 'Acharisius' – either Alberto Accarisi's *La grammatica volgare* (1536) or its expanded version *Vocabolario, Grammatica et Orthographia de la lingua volgare* (1546).[3] Printed by the famous

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[1] See the introduction titled 'The occasion' in William Thomas, *Principal Rvles of the Italian Grammer, with a Dictionarie for the better vnderstandyng of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante* (London: T. Berthelet, 1550). William Thomas was neither aristocratic nor wealthy before becoming Clerk of the Council to Edward VI and allegedly learned Italian during his journey through the peninsula from 1545 to 1548. On William Thomas, see Woolfson, 'Thomas Hoby, William Thomas'; Joseph Khoury, 'Writing and Lying: William Thomas and the Politics of Translation', in *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Carmine G. Di Biase (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 91–102; Sergio Rossi, 'Un "italianista"; Angelo Deidda, Maria Grazia Dongu, and Laura Sanna, *Lezioni ai potenti. William Thomas e l'Italia: con una selezione da The historie of Italie* (Cagliari: CUEC, 2002); Griffith, *Avventure linguistiche del Cinquecento,* pp. 55–80; Susanne Bayerlipp, '"All gentilmen dooe speake the courtisane": Negotiations of the Italian *Questione della lingua* in William Thomas and the Florios', in *Elizabethan Translation and Literary Culture*, ed. by Gabriela Schmidt (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 147–166 (pp. 147, 148–149).

[2] William Thomas's grammar displays parts of speech in this order: Articles (including also what now are called prepositions *articolate,* prepositions *semplici* + articles), Noun (Substantives and adjectives), Pronoun, Verb (Conjugations of: Amare, Vedere, Leggere, Udire), Adverb, Conjunction, Preposition, and Interjection.

[3] Francesco Alunno, *Le Ricchezze della lingua volgare* (Venice: Aldo Manutius, 1543); Alberto Accarisi, *La grammatica* volgare (Bologna: Grossi, 1536 / Venice: Sabbio, 1537); idem, *Vocabolario, Grammatica et Orthographia de la lingua volgare* (Cento: Accarisi, 1543). On William Thomas' *Principal Rules* and its Italian sources, see Simonini, *Italian Scholarship,* pp. 42–45; Rossi, 'Un 'Italianista', pp. 284–294; Gamberini, *Lo studio dell'italiano*, pp. 61–68; Griffith, *Avventure linguistiche,* pp. 65–80; Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, pp. 211–212; Ian Martin, 'The Manuscript and Editorial

Aldine Press, Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* offered lexical and grammatical explanations of Giovanni Boccaccio's words within his popular fourtheen-century works. Among Boccaccio's works, Alunno gave particular emphasis to the words included within the collection of one-hundred novellas, *Decameron*.[4] *Le Ricchezze* contained paratexts that helped to find the words in context of the novella supporting and encouraging reading practice. Tamworth and Thomas both knew and had access to *Le Ricchezze* as an aid to read 'the best auctors': '[…] Petrarcha and Bochacio, the one for verse, and the other for prose, famous in theyr Italian tongue: and for theyr vertues muche cherished […]'.[5] Despite Thomas' reference there has not been ample research to date on the fate of Alunno's *Ricchezze* both in Italy and England. In addition, the possibility that William Thomas used this very book to learn Italian himself, as probably other English students of Italian did, has never been taken in consideration.

This chapter will explore the meeting of two distinct, but complementary, early modern practices for language-learning: the use of Italian monolingual dictionaries such as *Le Ricchezze* and the reading of canonical literature such as Boccaccio's works. *Le Ricchezze* was different to modern-day dictionaries that focus solely on representing a lexical-semantic system. In fact, like other sixteenth-century Italian dictionaries, *Le Richezze* presented a series of tools for the teaching and definition of the standard language with grammar sections and linguistic models for poetry

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Traditions of William Thomas's the Pilgrim', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 59.3 (1997), 621–641 (pp. 636–637).

[4] On *Le Ricchezze*, see Teresa Poggi Salani, 'Venticinque Anni di Lessicografia Italiana Delle Origini (Leggere, Scrivere E 'Polit Amente Parlare'): Note Sull' Idea di Lingua', *Historiographia Linguistica*, 9 (1982), 275–279 (pp. 265–297). Other works by Giovanni Boccaccio included in Francesco Alunno's dictionary are *Philoloco*, *Fiammetta*, *Ameto*, *Labirinto d'amore*, and *Epistola confortatoria a messer Pino de Rossi*.

[5] William Thomas, *The historie of Italie,* p. 127^{v}. Martin see in *Principal Rules* strict dependency from Alunno and Accarisi as a sign of a relatively limited linguistic competence of William Thomas, 'The Manuscript', pp. 636–637. On the contrary, I would tend to agree with Rossi that Thomass flexibility in selecting, adapting, and adding personal touches to the Italian materials are signs of proficiency in the language (even if perhaps not good enough to be the author of the Italian edition of *Il Pellegrino*, which is what Martin wants to demonstrate in his paper), 'Un 'Italianista", pp. 290–291.

and prose.[6] Thanks to the model of prose of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, I argue that English people learn storytelling skills, jokes and their rhetorical theory, case studies for discussion with and about women, and anti-Catholic material. This is an early modern example of how reading literature for language-learning can provide education and motivations to discuss universal topics and, at the same time, topics that are distinctive of the target culture.[7] Ultimately, by presenting the features of *Le Ricchezze*, this chapter will partially clarify how learning Italian by reading Boccaccio – as suggested by Italian tutors like Claudio Tolomei (see Chapter I.5.2–4) and Michelangelo Florio (See Chapter II.5–6) – happened in the Tudor period.

The practical design of *Le Ricchezze* derives from Francesco Alunno's multifaceted career tutoring 'nell'arte dello scrivere e dell'arithmetica come nella lingua volgare et in altre facultati' ['in the art of calligraphy, of arithmetic as in vernacular language, and in other subjects'] in Udine and Venice.[8] *Le Ricchezze* gave a limited original contribution to the theory of the *questione della lingua*, but this did not jeopardise its success among its contemporaries looking for practice oriented material – although this might partly explain the scarce scholarly interest in this book in recent times.[9] In fact, by naming the language in his book as 'volgare' and championing Boccaccio's language as the model for prose, Alunno appears to adhere to the main lines of Pietro Bembo's *Prose* (1525).[10] However, *Le Ricchezze*'s success shows that students of the Italian language – including English people, non-Italians, non-Tuscans, and young and uneducated Tuscans – and writers looking for quick reference needed another kind of 'product' than

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[6] Roberta Cella, 'Before the Crusca's dictionary: Italian Glossaries and Wordlists in First Half of Sixteenth century', in *Planning Non-existent Dictionaries*, ed. by João Paulo Silvestre & Alina Villalva (Lisboa: Centro de Línguas, Literaturas e Culturas da Universidade de Aveiro, 2015), pp. 9–18.

[7] Giulia Covarino, 'Literature in the Foreign Language Classroom: Students' and Teachers' Views on Learner Motivation, Reading Habits and Skills, and the Role of the Teacher', (unpublished thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019), pp. 6–8, 14–20.

[8] Francesco Alunno*, La Fabbrica del Mondo* (Venezia: Niccolò Bascarini, 1546). For a biography of Alunno, see Angela Piscini, 'Francesco Alunno', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 36 (1988). Whilst his real name was Francesco Del Bailo, 'Alunno' signalled his long–life commitment to arts and knowledge, choosing 'students [of the muses]' as his Italian humanistic name ('Alumno' in Latin).

[9] Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana*, p. 331.

[10] For example, Alunno invited the dedicatee of *Le Ricchezze*, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to 'raccogliere i frutti della lingua volgare' ['harvest the fruits of the vernacular language'].

Bembo's *Prose*. Bembo's *Prose* targeted a readership of seasoned multilingual humanists who could appreciate its linguistic metanalysis diluted within a multifaceted dialogue based on multiple literary references and theoretical positions defended by each character. On the contrary, Alunno's *Ricchezze* was a schematic, user-friendly, and learner-oriented book that was a bridge between Boccaccio's fourteenth-century literary language and the contemporary use of language.

The fact that William Thomas also referenced Alberto Accarisi, who was another author of practical and simplified pedagogical manuals, confirms the idea that students of Italian needed less theoretical material than Bembo's *Prose.*[11] Accarisi's books represented a valid support for Italian learning internationally, considering the existence of a bilingual edition printed in Louvain in 1555 that presented a French parallel translation which sometimes shifted into a commentary.[12] As a tutor and Doctor of Law in Bologna, Accarisi developed a pedagogically accessible solution after observing students' difficulties in extracting the rules by themselves from Bembo's dialogues.[13] Accarisi summarised Bembo's *Prose* in few pages so that 'any learner would be encouraged realising that they were close to the end of the brief book'.[14] Students

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[11] Cf. With the problems that French and English gentlemen in Geneve found in reading Bembo's *Prose*, in Scipione Lentulo, *Italicae praecepta* (Geneva: Ioannem Crispinum, 1567). See transcription and Italian translation of the Proemio in Palermo and Poggiogalli, *Grammatiche di italiano*, pp. 86–87.

[12] *La grammatica volgare Di M. Alberto De Gl'Acharisi Dacento: Tournée de Tuscan en François* (Louvain: Bartholomaus van Grave, 1555). The Louvain edition differs from the original as it has less examples of pronouns, lacks the reasoning on verbs and adverbs of place, changes the order of paragraphs, and has a comment in the chapter on articles; see Nicole Bingen, 'Sources et filiations de la 'grammaire Italienne' de Jean–Pierre de Mesmes', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 46.3 (1984), 633–638 (pp. 637–638). Bingen shows that the Louvain edition is influenced by Jean–Pierre de Mesmes, *La grammaire italienne composée en françoys* (Paris: Etienne Groulleau, 1548). Also, the Louvain edition displays sermons on Christian beatitudines from Mathew (chapters 5–7) that I could not find in Italian editions of Accarisi.

[13] 'Io me sono sforzato di scemare la fatica alli discepoli, à cui era mistiero, che simili regole da se ciascuno si ordinasse, perche altramente, ò che con lungo tempo haverebbe imparato, ò che pensando di non potere imparare, lasciato haverebbe l'incominciato studio [...]' ['I have put an effort to diminish students' exhaustion, to whom it was a mystery how to order such rules by themselves alone, otherwise either they would have learned them after a long time or, thinking of not being able to learn, have left the study at the beginning']; see the 'Alli lettori' ['to the readers'] section in Accarisi's *La grammatica volgare*.

[14] Accarisi's *La grammatica volgare* is a brief grammar with the following parts of speech: Article, Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adverbs of Place. In Accarisi's *Vocabolario, Grammatica et Orthographia* (1543), he added to his previous grammar a discussion on phonetic stress, a list of words similar to Latin, Orthography rules, and precise references to *Tre Corone*, creating a vocabulary and giving examples of the parts of speech in context. See Claudio Marazzini, *L'ordine delle parole. Storie di vocabolari italiani* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009), pp. 66–68.

might have also found it helpful that Accarisi stressed the importance of use over affectation and archaic terminology. Prioritising understanding and effective communication, *Grammatica et Orthographia de la lingua volgare* referenced examples from the *Tre Corone* accurately to explain different parts of speech, but it was also keen to suggest variations in line with current 'buoni testi' ['good texts']. The systematic grammatical simplification of Accarisi also influenced Thomas' grammar – for example when presenting difference between *passato prossimo* and *passato remoto* – suggesting that this book could have been easily and fruitfully used by other English students of Italian.[15]

Despite the evident importance of Accarisi's works for Italian language-learning, this chapter focuses on Alunno's *Ricchezze* for four reasons: firstly, Thomas' *Principal Rules* references Alunno's book title whilst it is not precise in referencing any specific book by Accarisi; secondly, Thomas uses Alunno as the main source for his dictionary, while the Accarisi came in second place to fill a few lexical gaps;[16] thirdly, Alunno compiled an appendix enlisting English cognates similar to the Italian words; and finally, Alunno's dictionary had a more advanced and precise system of references to find the specific words in Boccaccio's works that had a long-established popularity in England having influenced writers from the medieval times of Geoffrey Chaucer to the Tudor period. This symbiosis between the dictionary *Le Ricchezze* and the canonical book *Decameron* was particularly important for a wide range of Italian language learners like young and illiterate Tuscans, non-Tuscans, and non-Italians including English people).

The Senese grammarian Orazio Lombardelli, who was Tolomei's disciple, explained:

> Foreigners, who are Ultramontanes, or Italians from places where it is spoken with incorrect pronunciation and without rules […] as soon that they think to begin comprehending the language, and to speak it without great difficulties, initially they will

[15] However, Rossi argues that Thomas also accessed Bembo's *Prose* directly to improve Accarisi's clarity and organisation of topics, 'Un 'Italianista', pp. 284–286.
[16] Thomas's dictionary has 303 entries: 151 entries are from Alunno, 70 from Accarisi, while 82 are present in both sources. See O'Connor, *A History of Italian*, p. 12.

> start reading Giovanni Boccacio's *Decameron* […] keeping at hand *Le Ricchezze* […]to be able to understand the most difficult parts.[17]

This practice should have happened, according to Lombardelli, as soon that students achieved some comprehension and fluency in Italian. This was the level that William Thomas, who 'had already been three yeres in Italy',[18] likely reached in 1548 so he could read *Decameron* with the help of *Le Ricchezze*. In contrast, the beginner Tamworth was able to start learning thanks to Thomas who selected, modified, and created material from *Le Ricchezze*, acting as an informal tutor.[19] While working with the material of *Le Richezze*, Thomas probably agreed with Lombardelli who considered Alunno as 'il più facile' ['the easiest'] lexicographer and grammarian to approach for the benefit of 'forestieri' ['foreigners and non-Tuscans'], 'giovani' ['young people'], and 'principianti' ['beginners']. According to Lombardelli, Alunno's *Ricchezze* was easy to use thanks to its practice-oriented approach that reflected the common use of language with simplified theory ['da una semplice e debol Teorica si penda alla pratica per ordinario'].[20] *Le Ricchezze* was a tool built by Alunno that allowed non-Italians to learn the language from the same sources as Italians, in a similar way as Tolomei suggested.

The editorial background (i.e., author, printer, and intellectual milieu in Venice) of Alunno's *Ricchezze* will be analysed to partially explain why English people, such as William Thomas and Tamworth, chose it in combination with Boccaccio's best-seller *Decameron* to learn Italian. The second section will discuss how the main text and paratext of *Le Ricchezze* allowed readers to learn Italian vocabulary and grammar from Boccaccio's works. In the third section, attention will be shifted momentarily from *Le Ricchezze* to *Decameron* to understand why Hoby

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[17] Orazio Lombardelli, *I fonti toscani*, pp. 119–120.
[18] Thomas, *Principal Rules*, 'The occasion'.
[19] By considering William Thomas an 'informal tutor' I imply that '[…] the supporting activities, such as the preparation of teaching materials, teaching grammars, or dictionaries, or the training of teachers, as well as making the necessary administrative provision inside or outside an educational system they all fall under the concept of teaching', H. H. Stern, *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 21.
[20] Lombardelli, *I fonti toscani*, pp. 55–56. An example of book targeting explicitly non–Italians, non–Tuscans, and young Italians is Pierfrancesco Giambullari's Florentine grammar (1552). See Chapter I, note 170.

and other English people read Boccaccio's bestseller. I will use the references to *Decameron* within another international sixteenth-century best-seller, *Il Cortegiano* (1528) and its English edition (1561), to propose some reasons that motivated English people to learn Italian by reading *Decameron*. Finally, I will advance the hypothesis that Thomas Hoby had a copy of *Le Ricchezze* based on one example of marginalia in his copy of *Decameron* (edited by Girolamo Ruscelli). This marginalia provides the opportunity to speculate about Hoby's learning practice in combination with the *Decameron* to note exemplary sentences and clarify cases of homophonic and polysemic words.

1. Mapping the prose of Boccaccio from Venice to England: Alunno and the English readership of *Le Ricchezze*

Being a 'Venetian product' (author, printer, and cultural milieu) favoured the circulation of *Le Ricchezze* in English environments. In fact, English people thrived in Venice and its territories – including Padua with its celebrated university. To this place gravitated English people studying Italian like Anthony Denny's nephew, John, who 'exercised himself daily […in] th'Italian tongue' in 1543. William Thomas, who served Harvel in Venice as well, referenced *Le Ricchezze* as a convenient source for Italian language-learning in the first page of his *Principal Rules*. Another explicit reference to *Le Ricchezze* appears at the beginning of the dictionary section in *Principal Rules* which states: 'A Dictionarie, taken out of the two books in Italian, Acharisius and Ricchezze della lingua volgare'.[21] This insistence on *Le Ricchezze* as a selling point in the paratext of *Principal Rules* suggests that English people interested in language-learning already knew of this popular Italian monolingual dictionary.

[21] Thomas, *Principal Rules*, sig. A.

Le Ricchezze had an immediate and long-lasting editorial success and prestige among grammarians in Italy, eventually becoming more accessible to English individuals, such as William Thomas and John Tamworth. Two-thousand copies of the first edition of *Le Ricchezze* were immediately sold in 1543, while the few remaining copies were sold at high prices according to the dedication in the second edition in 1551.[22] The success of *Le Ricchezze* was directly linked to Boccaccio's international fame. In fact, 'The 1540s are the last decade in which there is sustained Boccaccio translation activity in more than one language area, with new translations in German, French, Spanish, and the Italian vernacularization of some Latin works.'[23]

The second edition of *Le Ricchezze* displayed a portrait of Alunno (1484–1556) on the cover, showing his acquired status of intellectual celebrity and the popularity of his books based on the words of the *Tre Corone* (Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio). It was probably the lexicographer and tutor Niccolò Liburnio that influenced Alunno's early approach to the *Tre Corone* during his studies in Udine.[24] Once in Venice, Alunno worked in the workshop of the printer Francesco Marcolini da Forlì (d. 1559) who also printed Alunno's vocabulary dedicated to Petrarch, *Osservazioni sopra il Petrarca* (1539), together with Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi*.[25] Alunno completed his analysis of *Tre Corone* lexicography with *La Fabbrica del Mondo* (1546), a thematic vocabulary mainly focused on Dante's works.[26] Given Alunno's experience and success

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[22] Francesco Alunno, *Le ricchezze della lingua volgare di m. Francesco Alunno da Ferrara sopra il Boccaccio* (Venice: in casa haer. Aldo I Manuzio, 1551). Another edition was Francesco Alunno, *Le ricchezze della lingua volgare di m. Francesco Alunno da Ferrara sopra il Boccaccio* (Venice: Giovanni Maria I Bonelli, 1555).

[23] Guyda Amstrong, 'Translation Trajectories in Early Modern European Print Culture: The Case of Boccaccio', in *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Pérez Fernández José María and Edward Wilson–Lee, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 126–144 (p. 130).

[24] Niccolò Liburnio's *Le tre fontane* was organised around the words by the *Tre Corone* and divided into parts of speech. The third book of Liburnio's *Tre Fontane* was the first example of a printed wordlist from *Decameron* that would be a model for the following compilers, editors, and commentators of Boccaccio such as Alunno, Lucilio Minerbi (1535) and Antonio Brucioli (1538), see Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 91, 98–100. See also Niccolò Liburnio, *Le vulgari elegantie* (Venice: Eredi Aldo Manuzio, A. Torresano, 1521), which is less a practical grammar and more a rhetorical treatise on vernacular. See Marazzini, *L'ordine delle parole*, pp. 58–64.

[25] Ludovico Dolce, *Il Decamerone* (Venice: Bindoni e Pasini, 1541); Francesco Sansovino, *Il Decamerone* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1546); Girolamo Ruscelli, *Il Decamerone* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1552).

[26] On the thematic chapters of Alunno's *La Fabbrica del Mondo*, see Chapter III, note 80.

as an expert of the *Tre Corone*, it is reasonable to believe that English individuals who wanted a 'better understandyng of boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante' approached Alunno's *Le Ricchezze*.

Le Ricchezze were the standard choice for Thomas and others who wanted to learn a kind of Italian language apt for practical communications in well-educated contexts characterised by the appreciation of literature. *Le Ricchezze* shows 'I parlari che alla prosa convengono' ['the right ways to speak in prose'] by Boccaccio, while Alunno's *Osservazioni sopra il Petrarca* (1539) presented poetic lexicography and *La Fabbrica del Mondo* (1548) taught common and popular use of the language.[27] In Venice, Alunno built a network with other grammarians and authors such as Ludovico Dolce, Francesco Sansovino, Girolamo Ruscelli, and Pietro Aretino who focused particularly on Boccaccio's prose.[28] Dolce, Sansovino, and Ruscelli worked on editions of *Decameron* with glossaries and commentaries (as we will discuss at the end of the chapter, Hoby owned Ruscelli's *Decameron* edition) whilst Aretino took inspiration from Boccaccio for several of his works as for example *Il Filosofo* (1546).[29] In particular, Aretino, who knew the merchant and Harvel and was friends with Philip Hoby, Anthony Danny, and William Paget, might have promoted Alunno's works and service among English visitors and longstanding residents.[30] Although it is difficult to rebuild the exact channels through which it occurred, *Le Ricchezze* seems to have travelled from Venice to England through the same network of emerging MPs, diplomats, and civil servants who benefitted from Boccaccio's prose and supported each other in the language-learning process.

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[27] Lombardelli, *I fonti toscani*, pp. 55–56. On Alunno's *Osservazioni*, see Richardson, *Print Culture*, p. 102.
[28] Girolamo Ruscelli celebrated the collaborative intellectual circle that himself, Ludovico Dolce, and Pietro Aretino formed with Alunno in the introduction to the second edition. See Francesco Alunno, *Osservazioni sopra il Petrarca* (Venice: Paolo Gherardo, 1550).
[29] Deanna Shemek and Jane Tylus, 'Aretino's Theater', in *A Companion to Pietro Aretino*, ed. by Marco Faini and Paola Ugolini (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021), pp. 237–270 (pp. 258–260).
[30] For Aretino's relationship with Harvel, see the letter in his second epistolary collection: Pietro Aretino, *Al sacratissimo re d'Inghilterra* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, 1542), p. 40. For Aretino's relationship with Philip Hoby, see Pietro Aretino, *Secondo Libro delle Lettere Scritte al Signor Pietro Aretino* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, 1552), p. 298. For Aretino relationship also with Anthony Danny and William Paget, see Pietro Aretino, *Qvinto Libro De Le Lettere* (Venice: per Comin da Trino, 1550), pp. 11^{v}, 24^{r}, 89^{v}. For Aretino praising Alunno's work, see the introduction in Francesco Alunno, *Osservazioni sopra il Petrarca* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, 1550).

It is reasonable to believe that those who travelled in Italy promoted *Le Ricchezze* to the learners of Italian in England belonging to the same network as a way to consolidate their personal and professional bonds and benefit their group(s)'s social capital. Part of this network around William Thomas included Tamworth, who was a beginner student requesting simplified material from *Le Ricchezze*; Mildmay, who was Thomas' brother-in-law who wanted to print the manuscript; the diplomat brothers Philip and Thomas Hoby; the Groom of the Stool Anthony Denny; and the Principal Secretaries William Paget, William Cecil, and Francis Walsingham.[31] Thomas likely contributed to the fact that another Clerk of the Privy Council working with him, Armagil Waad (*c.* 1510–1568), owned a copy of *Le Ricchezze* paired with one of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.[32]

English people kept gathering in Venice and Padua, favouring perhaps a further circulation of *Le Ricchezze* especially after the Catholic restoration of Mary I. Tamworth, who surely knew Alunno's work, was among a group of Marian exiles who met Thomas Hoby in Padua in August 1554.[33] Tamworth eventually became proficient thanks to Boccaccio's prose considering that he owned a book of advanced Italian rhetoric based mainly on *Decameron*.[34] Tamworth might have further suggested *Le Ricchezze* to other Marian exiles who were keen to learn Italian in that period, such as the Ancient Greek professor John Cheke.[35] Among these English men, John Ashley (or Astley) surely reached a high proficiency in Italian translating

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[31] On Francis Walsingham study and use of Italian see John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber, 2012), pp. 19, 26, 63, 224, 48, 62. See also how Walsingham's Secretariat composed several Italian letters for Elizabeth I, Bajetta, *Elizabeth I's Italian Letters*, pp. xxii, lviii, for example 75–76, 79–80.

[32] Armagil Waad or Wade was a Yorkshire Oxford graduate (BA 1532), sea traveller in North America, assistant clerk of the council at Calais in 1540 under Henry Fitzalan (1512–1580), clerk of the privy chamber from 1547–53 and MP, and collaborator to the secretary of state Sir William Cecil.

[33] 'Thomas Wroth, John Cheke, three sons of Anthony Danny, Henry Cornwallis, Mr. John Ashley, Mr. Drurye, Henry Kingsmell, Mr. Windam, Matthew and Robert Carew, Mr. Brook, Mr. Orphinstrange', in Hoby, *Travels*, p. 116.

[34] John Tamworth owned a copy of Giovanni Marinelli's collection of rhetorical *topoi* and their synonym *Prima e della Seconda parte della copia delle parole* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1562) now at Cambridge University Library.

[35] John Cheke was trying to learn Italian according to a letter from Padua to John Mason in July 1554. See Overell, *Nicodemites*, p.181

Federico Grisone's *Gli Ordini del Cavalcare* (1550).[36] Thomas Hoby who read *Decameron* could have encountered *Le Ricchezze* in Italy or in England through this network that learned Italian for professional reasons, social prestige, and personal entertainment.

An English person travelling through Italy – especially in Venice like William Thomas, John Tamworth, and Thomas Hoby – was likely to be aware of *Le Richezze* and its author Francesco Alunno. In fact, Alunno worked in education, achieved artistic fame with his expositions of calligraphic mastery, collaborated with printers as author and editor, and belonged to an extensive network of individuals who were well known by English people involved in the production and distribution of books in Venice. Alunno was revered as an erudite who dedicated most of his work to understand the language and the message of the *Tre Corone*. By displaying index, tables, and abbreviations with accurate references, *Le Ricchezze* offered a reading aid to Boccaccio's novellas of *Decameron* and other works, targeting a wide readership from young students to the most seasoned authors that needed to use a Tuscan based prose. It is therefore understandable that English students that wanted to learn Italian by and for reading Boccaccio came across Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* in Italy and also afterwards in England. Therefore, evidence suggests that *Le Ricchezze* was used by English individuals decades before John Florio presented it as the 'golden standard' of Italian dictionary in England by employing it as a main reference for his two dictionaries (1598, 1611).

[36] John Astley, *The art of riding set foorth in a breefe treatise* (London: Henry Denham, 1584)

2. A multitool pedagogical dictionary for lexical and morphological learning

Thanks to a powerful text-activating paratext, *Le Ricchezze* was clearly pedagogically oriented to 'apprendere il vero, et purgato modo del parlar volgare' ['to learn the true, and refined way of speaking vernacular']. Alunno gave a precise description of the contents of the book and the ways to use it in a section called 'La Dichiarazione dell'Ordine di Tutta l'Opera'.[37] Most of the introduction guided the readers to understand which part of speech the words listed in the dictionary belonged to and how to find them within the *Decameron*. This precise organisation and declaration of the several ways to use *Le Ricchezze* benefitted casual users, students with a progressive learning plan like Hoby when he arrived in Padua, and tutors creating their own material such as William Thomas. By breaking down *Le Ricchezze* (the paratext, main dictionary, and appendix) and identifying certain connections with Thomas' *Principal Rules,* specific learning practices can be shown. As a result, this section will present some specific aspects of the language, at the level of words' meanings and morphology, that English students could extract from *Le Ricchezze* alone or in combination with Boccaccio's works.

To locate a certain word within the *Decameron*, Alunno developed a numerical code (from 1 to 2432) that identified unequivocally each ten lines of the entire book using the text edited by Nicolò Dolfin and printed by Del Sabbio in 1526 as a model.[38] In this way, each novella was contained within two reference numbers that Alunno indicated in a table (for example, the first novel of the first day from 1 to 77, the second novel of the first day from 77 to 121, and so on). Being aware that the reader could have access to editions other than Dolfin's, Alunno explained how the readers could adapt *Le Ricchezze's* table to any *Decameron* edition. In such cases, the number of the reference indicated if the lemma was at the end, the middle, or the end of a novel

[37] Alunno, *Ricchezze*, pp. 3r–3v.
[38] Alunno referenced the second edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron* edited by Nicolò Dolfin or 'Nicolo Delphino' (Venice: Sabbio 1526). Dolfin's first edition of *Decameron* was printed in Venice by Gregorio de' Gregorio in 1516. For relationship between Dolfin's Decameron and Bembo's Prose see Richardson, *Print Culture*, pp. 60–61.

with a margin of error of 'two or three lines' (For example, the number of reference 75 suggested that the word was towards the end of the first novel).[39] Alunno's reference system succeeded, and printers started to produce editions of *Decameron* that explicitly matched the reference system of *Le Ricchezze* dictionary, reinforcing even more the success and the symbiosis of the two books.[40]

Another example of Alunno's attention to detail in helping the reader/learner is when he associated the parts of speech to the different letter types for quicker and better reference. In addition to writing the definition for each entry ['voce'] and its associated part of speech, Alunno also made them visually clear with different letter types. Alunno displayed verbs with the font 'minoretta antica', or italic, and the other grammatical categories in 'MAGIORETTA antica', or upper case. Thanks to this method, learners had visual cues to help them identify verbs, even when presented in conjugated form – which is a verb with suffixes added to the infinitive form or, in case of irregular verbs, spelling and stem changes. This feature was helpful to those studying Italian, given that Italian is a highly inflected (or fusional) language as compared to English. In fact, William Thomas also used this method of keeping verbs both in the infinite form and their less recognisable forms as separated entries in his dictionary (for example, Thomas inserted 'Andare/ to goe' and 'Va / he goeth, or goe thou, the infinitive, Andare').[41] This feature has disappeared in standard contemporary Italian monolingual dictionaries, forcing readers to deduce the infinitive form of each verb to find its meaning within the dictionary. Alunno's focus on grammatical categories, and in particular verbs and their irregular conjugations, confirms the pedagogical function of this dictionary.

Following the main part of the dictionary focused on Boccaccio's lexicography in prose, Alunno added a series of wordlists in alphabetical order that might have been crucial for

[39] Alunno, *Ricchezze*, pp. 3r–3v.
[40] For example, *Il Decamerone ... corretto già dall'eccellentissima Academia Fiorentina, & ristampato secondo il vero testo antico dell'autore, segnato co i numeri corrispondenti alle Ricchezze della lingua volgare* (Venice: Paolo Gerardo, 1557).
[41] O'Connor, 'A History of Italian', pp. 14, 167.

language learners, as they were in the case of Thomas Hoby (see section 4 of this chapter). There was a list of homophone words ('Voci di una medesima o consimile pronontia, ma di significato diverse' ['Words with the same or similar pronunciation but different meaning']); synonyms and spelling variations of the same word ('Voci di un medesimo significato et che in piu modi si scrivono' ['Words of the same meaning that are written in different ways']; 'difficult words used by Dante, Petrarch, and other authors but not all [the words] used by Boccaccio because that are in the main text in alphabetic order' ['Espositione de vocabuli difficili usati da Dante, dal Petrarca, e da altri Autori; ma non tutti gli usati dal Boccaccio, imperò che sono nell' Opera per ordine di Alfabeto']. However, the most significative wordlist from the perspective of English readers was an Italian-English dictionary dedicated to European languages (the order was Latin, Greek, Provencal, French, Spanish, German, English, Gothic), words in Italian dialects 'used by our approved authors' (Neapolitan, Ferrarese, Venetian, Roman, Milanese, Lombards, *Romagnolo* [from Romagna region], *Aretino* [from the city of Arezzo], Senese), professional jargon (Nautical, Military, Alchemic, Mathematic), and non-European languages (Turkish, Moorish, Arabic, and Hebrew).[42]

It is reasonable to wonder if Thomas and Tamworth selected Alunno's *Ricchezze* also because it offered a couple of pages displaying a bilingual Italian-English glossary. Alunno collected in this glossary specific English words that he judged 'alike' to Italian ('Voci che sono conformi alla nostra lingua volgare') or as we may call them today, 'cognate words'. This glossary worked as stand-alone material and in combination with the main dictionary. Alunno explained in the introduction that whenever the readers find the abbreviation 'Vo. En.' following any Italian word in the main dictionary, it was an abbreviation for 'voce Englese' ['English lemma']. Thus, readers could refer to the bilingual glossary placed toward the end of the book to find the English translation. Several studies confirm the benefit of the study of cognate words, so this

[42] Alunno, *Ricchezze*, pp. 220^{v}–221^{v}.

section displaying similar vocabulary would have been a valid starting point for English students of Italian.[43]

People interested in the English language, such as Thomas Hoby's Italian tutor in Padua, Claudio Tolomei, and the grammarian Alessandro Citolini, could have studied and discussed these words with English people, in particular Citolini as preparation for his travel to England.[44] Nevertheless, it has to be noted that Thomas did not copy all the words from Alunno's bilingual Italian-English glossary into his dictionary in *Principal Rules*. Thomas excluded some Italian words (for example, 'Apostoli/ apostles), in particular the words with incorrect translations into English ('Corretto/ corrupt'). Sometimes he added extra commentaries (for example, to 'Papa/ the Pope' Thomas added 'or bishop of Rome', making a religious-political statement).

The Anglo–Italian cognate words in *Le Ricchezze* covered several semantic areas, and by confronting some examples, I suggest that Alunno's source for the English words was the polyglot dictionary *Sex linguarum* […] *dictionarious* (Venice: Sessa, 1541), or some connected edition.[45] Here are some examples covering the semantic areas of buildings ('Castello/ castel'), seafare ('Anchora/ ankir'), kitchen tools ('Mortaio/ mortar'), names of person ('Thomaso/ thomas'), music ('Trombetta/ trumpetter'), food ('Butiro/ buter'; 'insalata/ salath'), spices ('Zafran/ safran'), currency ('Ducato/ ducate'), allegories ('Fortuna/ fortune'), animals ('Lione/ lyon'), measure ('Lungo/ longe'), social classes ('Nobile/ noble'), astronomy ('Planeta/ planeta'), verbs for commerce ('Spendere/ to spend'), numbers ('Tre/ Thre, et tres'), cities ('Costantinopoli/ costantinople'), and professions ('Usuraro/ an usurer').

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[43] For studies of how words phonologically and/or ortographically similarly favour comprehension, memorisation, fast vocabulary learning, language production and translation, see Cheryl Dressler, et al., 'Spanish–speaking students' use of cognate knowledge to infer the meaning of English words', *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 14 (2011), 243–255; Ingrid K. Christoffels, Christine Firk, and Niels O. Schiller, 'Bilingual Language Control: An Event Related Brain Potential Study', *Brain Research*, 1147 (2007), 192–208; Claudio Tonzar, Lorella Lotto, and Remo Job, L2 'Vocabulary Acquisition in Children: Effects of Learning Method and Cognate Status', *Language-learning*, 59 (2009), 623–646.

[44] On Citolini, see Chapter I, note 32–34.

[45] See Chapter IV for more on the polyglot dictionaries.

The comparative approach in Alunno, however, went beyond Anglo–Italian cognate words with the addition of similar sections for other languages such as Latin, Greek, Provencal, French, Spanish, German, Gothic, and Italian dialects. Some languages also required a short explanation about spelling and pronunciation and, so, in regards to English we find: 'Questa lingua si scrive, et proferisce quasi come la Tedesca' ['This language is written and it is spoken almost like German'].[46] The comparison in Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* between Italian words and similar words from English and other languages confirms, even within a mainly monolingual source, the prevalence of multilingualism in early modern Europe and the extended use of a comparative and contrastive approaches in language-learning.

As we navigate further into Alunno's appendix, after the words in other languages, Italian dialects represent the 'multilingualism' within Italy. Under the word 'ciancie' ['empty chattings' or a kind of noisy toy], Alunno admitted its Neapolitan origin, but he argued that Boccaccio employed also non-Florentine words 'per accrescere gratia a i sentimenti della inventione sua' ['to increase the grace and sense of his work'].[47] William Thomas confirmed that English people wanted to include such Italian variations by inserting in his *Principal Rules* the very word '*ciance*, clatterying toyes, or trifelyng deceiptes' and other dialectal words from Alunno's sections. Under the word 'amanza', that Thomas reported and translated as 'the woman beloved', Alunno justified Boccaccio's use of such Neapolitan word. In fact, Alunno reassured readers that Boccaccio put 'in bocca, à gli parlatori alcuni vocaboli del loro paese' ['in the mouth of the speakers some words of their countries'] and he chose 'vocaboli che sono piu frequentati per tutta italia, e piu dicevoli al soggetto di quell che si scrive' ['words that are the most used around the whole Italy, and the most suitable to the subject of writing']. In another example, Thomas was even more specific when he wrote '*Cerro*, an oke, and after the Napolitane speech, signifieth

[46] The short explanation regarding German pronunciation, and so indirectly also English, seems to paraphrase the one at the beginning of the bilingual Italian–German dictionary: *Introito e porta*, p. 219^{v}.
[47] Poggi Salani, 'Venticinque Anni', p. 278.

and handefull of heare' that in Alunno appeared in the section of Neapolitan words as 'Cerro, la ciocca de capelli' ['Cerro, the lock of hair']. These practical examples by Alunno clarified to English people specific aspects of the *questione della lingua* with regard to local variations that they might have encountered in person by travelling.

The *questione della lingua* also debated 'Voci usare da piu antichi Thoscani che hoggi poco, o niente si usano' ['words that the oldest ancient Tuscan used that today are scarcely, or not used'], which was the following wordlist in Alunno's appendix. An English person learning Italian with the *Decameron* aiming to communicate in real-life needed to know that certain words of Boccaccio had changed and could not be used anymore in the old form as Tolomei, Florio, and Castiglione argued. Therefore, by using this section of *Le Ricchezze*, Hoby could find specific examples to integrate into the following passage that he translated from *Il Cortegiano*: 'Trueth it is, there are many wordes in Petrarca and Boccaccio worne out of use now a daies: and suche would I never use neither in speakyng nor in writyng, and peradventure they themselves if thei were nowe alive would use them no more'.[48] Again, Thomas used this wordlist within *Le Ricchezze* to create his dictionary within *Principal Rules* offering both versions, old and new spellings, of a word under the same headline, and in addition, as two separate entries ('Abadessa' and 'Badessa' ['abbess']). However, Thomas did not indicate which entries represented the old spelling and which ones the new spelling, so for further and more precise learning of the sixteenth-century use of language, *Le Ricchezze* remained essential. Overall, English people were interested in collecting several topical and diachronic variants of the Italian common language to understand Boccaccio, but at the same time, they seem to avoid getting entangled with any excess of information that had scarce effect on communication in the sixteenth century.

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[48] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, sig. F.ii^{v}. When Hoby's translation is not relevant to my discourse, I will use George Bull's contemporary English translation of *Il Cortegiano*: Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin, 2003).

Thomas demonstrated more precision when indicating in his *Principal Rules* which words were typical of verses, and in these cases, he benefitted from the sections of *Le Ricchezze* titled 'words that are used in prose', 'words that are used in verses' and 'words that are used in verse in one way and in prose in another way'. An example of Thomas' use of Alunno's lists is '*Abbarbagleare*, to darken or bleamishe the sight, used most in verse'. However, Thomas again demonstrated his will to be comprehensive without explaining the details when he did not report Alunno's reflection on the word 'sanza' in prose and 'senza' in verse ['without']. Alunno, in this case went against Boccaccio (and indirectly Bembo), declaring that he favoured the use of 'senza' in prose as the contemporaries did normally.[49] Thomas did not explain the two separate stylistic uses and the contemporary use preferred by Alunno. He simply inserted both spellings as separate entries with the relative English translation, and in the case of 'sanza', a reminder that it stands 'for *senza*'. Thomas likely considered it more crucial for practical communication to grasp the meaning and document the usage of two spelling variants rather than be precise about which alternative versions of the same word were employed in poetry and prose.

The final sections of *Le Ricchezze* were more strongly oriented to grammatical study with sections as 'contracted words that can be singular and plural'; words that can be names and verbs ['Nomi et verbi di una medesima qualità'], such as 'canto' that can be 'a chant' or 'I sing'; 'words that are both masculine and feminine', such as names ending with '-e'; and 'common and known proverbs'. The book ended with short grammatical bullet-points called 'Regolette particolari della volgar lingua' ['Specific little rules of the vernacular language'] dealing with nouns, verbs, 'particles', and 'general' spelling and pronunciation rules. This last section clearly relies on Tolomei, for example by presenting the Latin words 'pectus', 'optimus', 'advenio', 'obtineo' as 'petto', 'ottimo', 'avviene', 'ottiene'.[50] On the other hand, there are the verbs used as models to

[49] Poggi Salani, 'Venticinque Anni', p. 277.
[50] Cf. Chapter I.5.2. In particular, p. 93.

introduce the four kinds of Italian conjugations – 'amare' ['to love'], 'valere' ['to be worth'], 'leggere' ['to read'], 'sentire' ['to hear/to feel'] – as recalled in Pietro Bembo's *Prose*.[51]

An analysis of the paratext of *Le Ricchezze*, *mise-en-page*, and appendices, reveals Alunno's effort to use his erudition and the printing press's technical possibilities to map and explain Boccaccio's words. Alunno started from the theoretical framework of Bembo's *Prose* and moved beyond it, for example when he presented cognate words in other languages, accepted words from dialects other than Florentine and Tuscan, considered the contemporary use of language, and presented pronunciation and spelling rules. Thomas used the main text and appendixes of *Le Ricchezze* in the double role of a student and a tutor of the Italian language, showing possible learning practices with Alunno's book. For instance, the presence of certain verbs (mainly irregular, in the infinitive and with their conjugated forms as separate entries) in both *Le Ricchezze* and in *Principal Rules*, signals that the study of these verbs was an essential practice for English students. Thomas also drew attention to certain dialectal words used in the Italian peninsula that were not of Tuscan origin, in particular Neapolitan words, confirming the English interest for some parts of the Italian *questione della lingua*, especially if it was helpful for learning the language for effective communication in the peninsula. Overall, Thomas' use of *Le Ricchezze* shows that this dictionary was used in a variety of ways, and that it was a valuable tool for both students and teachers, and Italians and non-Italians. After discussing how *Le Ricchezze* could sustain the learning of Boccaccio's words at the level of meanings and forms, the next section will investigate why and how English people read *Decameron* for rhetorical learning.

[51] Bembo, *Prose*, 3, XXVII.

3. Reading *Decameron* for rhetorical-learning

This section will momentarily suspend the specific focus on *Le Richezze* to explore how *Decameron* offered invaluable cultural capital and models to develop rhetorical skills in Tudor England. The references to *Decameron* within *Il Cortegiano*, translated by Thomas Hoby, will show some of the reasons why English people read Boccaccio's novellas: to discuss the relationships between genders and the role of women (*querelle des femmes*), to enjoy anti-ecclesiastical satire, and to study the rhetorical ways used to convey these themes, in particular through 'practical jokes'. This was expendable cultural capital for social interactions, as for example courtly discussions ('ragionamenti'), parlour games, storytelling, and all the other pleasantries and entertainments at courts and households.[52] The rhetorical delivery of *Decameron* caused laughter both in written and oral form and was paired with a moral message in specific social and cultural Italian contexts. This is a particularly fruitful combination that English learners of Italian could find by reading *Decameron*. They could have fun and learn at the same time because 'language that illustrates a particular register or dialect is embedded within a social context, and thus, there is a basis for determining why a particular form is used'.[53] Appreciating forms that elicit laughter in Italian language and in Italian cultural contexts represented a high-level challenge for an English student, but it was also a rewarding practice that increased their language proficiency.[54] *Decameron* represented a collection of engaging performances of storytelling and therefore a powerful rhetorical model for social actors who needed to entertain, use persuasion, and demonstrate quick wit in their professions (for example diplomacy) and informal encounters (for example courtly games and debates).

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[52] For an example of how entertainment was a crucial part of the diplomatic work, see Fletcher, *Our Man in Rome*, pp. 61–62.
[53] Sandra McKay, 'Literature in the ESL Classroom', *TESOL Quarterly*, 16 (1982), 529–536 (p. 530).
[54] Guy Cook, 'Language Play, Language–Learning', *ELT Journal*, 51 (1997), 224–231.

Boccaccio, or 'Johan Bochas', was a popular author in Tudor England for his Latin (e.g., *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (*c.* 1360), *De claris mulieribus* (1361–1375)) and Italian works, mainly the novellas from the *Decameron* (1349–52, revised 1370–1371), but also *Filoloco* (1336–1339), *Filostrato* (1335–1340), *Teseida* (before 1341), and *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (1343–1344), at least through adaptations in different languages).[55] English reception of Boccaccio can be traced back to Geoffrey Chaucer who reworked parts of *Decameron* for his *The Canterbury Tales* (1387–1400), *Filostrato* for his *Troilus and Criseyde* (*c.* 1385), and *De claris mulieribus* for his *The Legend of Good Women* (*c.* 1386).[56] Translations of singular novellas from the *Decameron* appeared in print during Henry VIII's reign with William Walter's *Ye hystory of Tytus & Gesyppus* (1525) and *Guystarde and Sygysmonde* (1532).[57] Afterwards, sixteen novellas translated into English from *Decameron* represented the backbone of William Painter's two-volume *Palace of Pleasure* (1566–67) alongside stories of classic and other Italian and French vernacular authors.[58] Painter exhorted in the preface that 'the workes of Boccaccio for his stile, order of writing, grauitie, and sententious discourse, is worthy of intire promulgation.' Despite Painter's exhortation and a long established reception of Boccaccio in England, the first complete English translation of the *Decameron*

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[55] John Lydgate, *The boke of Johan Bochas, discryving the fall of princes, princesses, and other nobles*, (London: Richard Pynson, 1527). In 1431–38, John Lydgate translated into English Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* from Latin and Laurent de Premierfait's (*c.* 1370 – 1418) French translation titled *Du cas des nobles hommes et femmes*. Lydgate's first printed edition was *The boke descrivinge the falle of princis princessis and other nobles* (London: Richard Pynson, 1494) and part of the book was printed as *The proverbes of Lydgate* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1510).

[56] Nicholas S. Thompson, *Chaucer, Boccaccio, and the Debate of Love: A Comparative Study of the Decameron and the Canterbury Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); William T. Rossiter, *Chaucer and Petrarch* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); Warren Ginsberg, *Chaucer's Italian Tradition* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002); David Wallace, 'Chaucer's Italian Inheritance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. by Pietro Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 36–57.

[57] William Walter, *Ye hystory of Tytus & Gesyppus* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1525); idem, *Guystarde and Sygysmonde* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1532). Walter translated the novellas *Tito e Gisippo* (*Decameron* X, 8) and *Tancredi e Ghismunda* (*Decameron* IV,1). See Anna Strowe, 'The Auctour, the Translatoure, and the Impressoure: Translating Boccaccio's Authorship in Early Modern England', *Textus*, 24.3 (2011), 477–490; Herbert G. Wright, *Boccaccio in England: From Chaucer to Tennyson* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 133.

[58] William Painter, *The palace of pleasure beautified, adorned and well furnished, with pleasaunt histories and excellent nouelles, selected out of divers good and commendable authors* (London: John Kingston and Henry Denham for Richard Tottell and William Jones, 1566); William Painter, *The second tome of the Palace of pleasure conteyning store of goodly histories, tragicall matters, and other morall argument, very requisite for delighte and profit* (London: Henry Bynneman for Nicholas England, 1567). Painter translated the following novellas from Boccaccio, *Decameron*, I, 3; I, 8; I, 10; II, 2; II, 3; II, 4; II, 5; II, 8; III, 9; IV, 1; I, 5; X, 5; X, 3; X, 4; X, 9; VIII, 8.

attributed to John Florio was only printed in 1620.[59] By observing early modern translations of Boccaccio, Amstrong concludes that English readers of Boccaccio focused in particular on his 'vernacular texts on erotic themes' ignoring other kind of literary output.[60] The books published in 1540s–1550s England confirm that Boccaccio was a go-to author to provide examples for discussion on the relationship between genders and the role of women: William Barker's *The Nobylytie off Wymen* (1559), William Thomas', *An Argument* (1551), Thomas Elyot's *Defense of Good Women* (1540) and Henry Parker translation, *Forty Six Lives* (ms 1543) from Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*.[61]

Surviving booklists confirm that several English men, such as Armagil Waad, Richard Morison, Thomas Hoby, and Michael Throckmorton, read Boccaccio in his original language and probably shared it with men and women within their circle.[62] This suggests that an engagement with the original text in Italian was usual practice for a long period in England. Ascham reported that it was a normal scenario to see English individuals reading 'a merie tale in Bocase' with 'delite'.[63] Boccaccio's proemio stated that *Decameron* was a source of moral stories, sometimes showing negative examples, with the general goal of entertaining, comforting, and teaching about fortune and love, especially to women that did not have a wide range of

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[59] John Florio, *The Decameron containing an hundred pleasant nouels* (London: Isaac Jaggard, 1620). For recent doubts on whether John Florio was the translator of *Decameron*, see Richard M. Waugaman, 'Edward de Vere: Translator of Johan Sturm's A Ritch Storehouse or Treasurie for Nobilitie and Gentlemen?', *Brief Chronicles: The Interdisciplinary Journal of the Shakespeare Fellowship*, 7 (2016), 131–146. For more examples of English early modern translations from Boccaccio, see Robert Maslen, 'Prose Fiction: Realism', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English Vol. 2, 1550–1660*, ed. by Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 347–357; Armstrong, 'Translation Trajectories', p. 126. Moreover, Amstrong suggests that the presence of fewer English translations of Boccaccio compared with other languages might be caused by direct engagement with the originals.

[60] Armstrong, 'Translation Trajectories', p. 127. Reference also to the romance genre being represented as 'feminine', but in practice romance was read by all.

[61] The complete text of Morley's translation has been published: *Forty–six Lives, Translated from Boccaccio's De Claris Mulieribus by Henry Parker, Lord Morley*, ed. by H. G. Wright (London: Early English Texts Society, 1943); James Simpson, 'The Sacrifice of Lady Rochford. Henry Parker, Lord Morley's Translation of De claris mulieribus', in *'Triumphs of English': Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Translator to the Tudor Court*, ed. by Marie Axton and James P. Carley (London: British Library, 2000), pp. 153–169.

[62] Booklist attributed to Richard Morison, BL Add. MS 40676, f. 114^{v}; Anne M. Overell and James M.W. Willoughby, 'Books from the Circle of Cardinal Pole: The Italian Library of Michael Throckmorton', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 75.1 (2012), 111–140 (p. 129).

[63] Ascham, *The English Works*, p. 222.

entertainments compared with men. However, Boccaccio's paternalistic focus on women does not translate to a solely female readership; on the contrary, the early modern English male readership wanted to read what was declared as literature for women.[64] The number of male readers was consistent considering that Ascham, in another passage, complained about the 'Englishmen Italianated' who had more reverence 'of a tale in Bocace, than a storie of the Bible'.[65] The same kind of readership that was keen to read *Decameron* in Italian also likely read *Il Cortegiano*, which was clearly in debt to Boccaccio's work in terms of book genre and referenced material.

Most of the second book of *Il Cortegiano* presents the rhetorical delivery of jokes, with examples often from *Decameron*; thus, we can presume that this reflected and influenced why and how English individuals used Boccaccio's book for Italian language-learning. *Il Cortegiano* and *Decameron* stimulated readers' metalinguistic awareness by sharing a similar nature in terms of genre and function. Both books simulated, in a 'quasi-documentary' style, typical court games where women and men dialogue on specific questions by exploring several theoretical positions with a mix of real and fictional examples.[66] The framework of *Decameron* presented ten young aristocrats in the outskirts of Florence, seven women and three men, who each told a novella a day for ten days. In this courtly game, each day had a theme that the novellas helped to explore.[67] Similarly, the discussions regarding the perfect courtly man and woman reported in *Il Cortegiano*

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[64] Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 11.
[65] Ascham, *The English works*, p. 256.
[66] Virginia Cox, 'Seen but not Heard: The Role of Women Speakers in Cinquecento Literary Dialogue', in *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society,* ed. by Letizia Panizza (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre, 2000), pp. 385–400. For an overlap of *Il Cortigiano* with *Decameron* framework as a parlour–game, see Peter Burke, *The Fortunes*, pp. 21, 45–47.
[67] The first day of *Decameron* does not have a formal theme, but the novellas of the first day are in general about the corruption of power, gender relationships, and religious figures. The second day the theme is adventures with happy ending. The third day is about finding again something that was desired for long. The fourth day presents sad love stories. The fifth day's theme is happy ending love stories after extraordinaries adventures. The sixth day shows clever and witty pun that help to resolve issues. The seventh day is about women pranking their lovers for love or fear. The eighth day of the *Decameron* is all about *beffe*, or practical jokes. The ninth is a 'free theme' day. And the tenth day describes positive protagonists having adventures and love stories.

was a game at the court of Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga in Urbino. Language awareness was essential in such games of courtly conversation. Male and female players needed to be quick-witted, possess developed storytelling skills, and be knowledgeable about literature to provide examples. According to Hoby, *Il Cortegiano* helped to train these skills, being 'a storehouse of most necessary implements for the conversacion, use, and training up of mans life with Courtly demeaners'.[68] Furthermore, to Ascham, *Il Cortegiano*, was 'an excellent booke' 'to joine learning with comlie exercises', that if practiced for one year would benefit the reader more than spending three years in Italy.[69] Part of practicing 'comlie exercises' with *Il Cortegiano* included studying how Boccaccio's novellas 'can achieve their purpose effectively when written down' 'although stories like this require both gestures and the power of the spoken word'.[70]

In particular, the characters of *Il Cortegiano* discussed some novellas of *Decameron* (VIII, 2; VIII, 6; IX, 3; IX, 5) as the best written examples to entertain and instruct how to make people laugh in a witty and ingenious way.[71] *The Courtier* (1561) translation signalled that this part of the book was about these specific novels by referencing them in a marginal gloss. This suggests a familiarity of the English readership with *Decameron*'s structure and these novels. Considering that these novellas did not have an English translation, it was implied that one should read them in Italian if possible. The rhetorical centre of these novellas was the delivery of 'burle' ['practical jokes'] that Hoby translated as 'Boordes or meerie Prankes'. Gabriel Harvey as well demonstrated a particular interest in these *Decameron* novels by labelling them as '[…a] kind of Iests: Merrie narrations […]' in an inscription in his copy of Hoby's *The Courtier*.[72] In general, Harvey was keen on studying the 'Art of Jesting' which was an essential element of early modern culture.[73] In fact,

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[68] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, sig. A.iii^{v}.
[69] Ascham, *The English Works*, p. 240.
[70] Bull, *The Book*, p. 159.
[71] Ibid., pp. 158–159.
[72] Hoby, *The Covrtyer* (London, 1561), sig. Y.iiii^{r}.
[73] Stamatakis, 'With diligent studie', pp. 22–28.

the perfect courtier needed to be 'pleasant [..] and a meerie talker, applied to time and place'.[74] Given the authority of *Il Cortegiano* in England, it is reasonable to believe that English people read *Decameron* to find themes and rhetorical devices that caused laughter in oral performances and writings.

Il Cortegiano presented what causes laughter as an important subject for humankind historically, for social peace, and individual relief that can be studied through *Decameron* examples, but also as something that needed to be regulated.[75] According to *Il Cortegiano*:

> [the perfect man of court] never lacks for eloquence adapted to those with whom is talking, and that he should know how to refresh and charm the minds of his listeners and move them to merriment and laughter with his agreeable pleasantries and witticism ['meerie conceites and Jestes' in Hoby's *The Courtier*], in such way that, without being tedious or boring, he is always a source of pleasure.[76]

Il Cortegiano helped to use the right language at the right time so that people laughed with you and not at you. For example, you could become 'a laughing stock', in Hoby's translation, by using old-fashioned Tuscan words.[77] Also it was necessary to make sure to not offend anyone because a 'practical joke consists simply in an amicable deception regarding things that give little or no offence' in which laughter 'is caused by our doing something that is not expected'.[78] Moreover, it was better to avoid 'indecent and unseemly' jokes when 'ladies were present' and any joke that undermined 'respect and reverence for women'.[79] This rule regarded males, but *Il Cortegiano* aimed to regulate women too when its characters established that within *Decameron* women also delivered 'really neat and clever joke[s]'.[80]

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[74] Ibid., p. 158. See at the end of Hoby's *The Courtyer* a bullet point style list condensed 'the chiefe conditions and qualities in a courtier', Z.iii^{r-v}.
[75] Ibid., p. 155.
[76] Bull, *The Book*, p. 151.
[77] Ibid., pp. 70–71, 90.
[78] Ibid., p. 188.
[79] Ibid., pp. 176, 195
[80] Ibid., p. 193.

Il Cortegiano gave crucial relevance to women's behaviour in regard to laughter and choice of language in a way that could limit them, but at the same time, it showed them how to 'win the game', literally and metaphorically, through learning 'conversazione' ['conversation']. The pages of *Il Cortegiano* revealed that reading *Decameron* and learning Italian dramatically enhanced the possibilities of winning games and arguments. Women played a central role in social games that 'based on the *conversazione*' clearly implied a good degree of linguistic competence 'aptly using the tool of language combined with adequate social manners'.[81] The Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga, who is the host of the game in *Il Cortegiano*, is 'a great Lady' because she knows how to laugh and joke 'properly' during pastimes:

> For this respecte were there most honest condicions coupled with wonderous greate libertye, and devises of pastimes and laughinge matters tempred in her sight, besyde most wyttye jestes, with so comelye and grave a majesty, that the verye sober moode and greatnesse that dyd knyt together all the actes, woordes and gestures of the Dutchesse in jesting and laughynge, made them also that had never seene her in their lief before, to count her a verye greate Ladye'.[82]

Hoby's introduction to his *Courtier* underlines how the book intended to enforce a male perspective on female behaviour being 'To Ladyes and Gentlewomen, a mirrour to decke and trimme themselves with vertuous condicions, comely behaviours and honest enterteinment toward al men.' On one hand, *Il Cortegiano* restricted female possibilities by limiting models of behaviour. On the other hand, studying *Il Cortegiano* and its sources, such as *Decameron*, and practicing games based on language were training grounds for real-life conversations and debates. In fact:

> […] beneath the frivolous exterior of such games – as occasions for idle banter, flirting, and seduction – there often lay a lively contest for power and agency, and the opportunity for conventional women to demonstrate their intellect and talent, to achieve

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[81] Sanson, "Orsù, Non Più Signora', p. 109.
[82] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, A.iiii[r].

> a public identity, to engage the *querelle des femmes*, and even to model new behaviour and institutions in the non-ludic world'.[83]

Tudor women could have benefitted from the rhetorical lessons of *Decameron* through translations, but similarly to what I have argued when discussing Italian religious sources, the access to the novellas in original language might have given skilled women further chances for social negotiation in games and real-world power dynamics (see Chapter II.3).

Tudor women and men were likely aware of the advantages of studying *Decameron* in its original language. Certain jokes could work also in English, whilst others could be understood only with a developed knowledge of Italian language and cultural contexts. This kind of metalinguistic awareness was an essential part of language-learning, especially within comparative and contrastive approaches. This metalinguistic awareness of multiple languages emerges clearly in Hoby's translation of *Il Cortegiano* when he presented to his reader some wordplays in the original Italian.[84] Hoby explained that the jokes were fully displayed in Italian – not just the specific word at the centre of the pun – 'because they have no grace in the English tunge by reason of the doubtfulnesse of the woordes that may be taken two sundry ways […]'.[85] Following one of these jokes, Hoby's added an explanation of the pun that demonstrates the pedagogical potential of this kind of comical material for his Italian learning: 'See howe well he tooke avauntage at the diverse signification of *Haver letto* (which is interpreted both to have a bed and to have read)'.[86] Hoby and other English individuals, indeed, developed 'the linguistic, social and cultural competence' to tune their humour to Italian models and reach, therefore, a high

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[83] George W. McClure, *Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2013), p. x.

[84] For the fruitful use of wordplays in the context of EFL, see John Robert Schmitz, 'Humor as a Pedagogical Tool in Foreign Language and Translation Courses', *HUMOR*, 15 (2002), 89–113; Marcy Zipke, 'Teaching Metalinguistic Awareness and Reading Comprehension with Riddles', *The Reading Teacher*, 62 (2008), 128–137; Kristin Lems, 'Pun Work Helps English Learners Get the Joke', *The Reading Teacher*, 65 (2011), 197–202.

[85] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, sig. T.iii^{r}. Gabriel Harvey also underlined these jests in his Italian copy of *il Cortigiano*. See Stamatakis, 'With diligent studie', p. 28.

[86] Ibid. Moreover, cf. Hoby's clarification between brackets echoes the section of *Le Ricchezze* dedicated to the synonyms ('Voci di una medesima o con simile pronontia ma di significato diverse') which recites 'LETTO. Ociose piume, et dal verbo leggere [...]' ['*LETTO*. Sleepy plumes, and from the verb to reads'], p. 190^{r}.

language proficiency.[87] As did *Il Cortegiano*, *Decameron* showed how to deliver different kinds of jokes in several contexts and languages representing an engaging, advanced practice of Italian language-learning for English readers.

Further matters from *Decameron*, besides relationships between men and women, made English people laugh and wish to replicate them in English and Italian. Reformation England particularly appreciated the novellas that negatively described, and often in obscene ways, people and other holy things related to the Catholic Church. English reformists were likely to pick up these elements to benefit their propaganda circle and their personal interests.[88] For example, William Thomas used a pun on St. John Chrysostom's name from *Decameron* (I, 6) denouncing the corruption and avarice of the priesthood in his defence of Henry VIII *Il Pellegrino inglese* (1552).[89] Anti-Catholic elements in *Decameron* have always been problematic, but Catholic authorities started a systematic attack against them only around the 1540s–1550s, probably realising their potential to inspire and legitimise Protestant propaganda.[90] The grammarian and reformer Citolini explained that some people did not read Boccaccio because he gave examples in *Decameron* of the corruption of religious people like '[…] infinite sceleragini de Frati; la dishonesta, e sporca castità di alcune Monache [...]' ['friars' never ending wickedness, the

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[87] Nancy D. Bell, 'How Native and Non–Native English Speakers Adapt to Humor in Intercultural Interaction,' *HUMOR*, 20 (2007), 27–48.

[88] For example, Richard Morison in his 'A discourse touching the reformation of the lawes of England' (1535) wrote that it was necessary to produce plays, songs, and books 'dyvysed to set forthe and declare lively before the people eies the abhomynation and wickedness of the bishop of Rome, monks, friers, nuns, and suche like'. See Sydney Anglo, 'An Early Tudor Programme for Plays and Other Demonstrations Against the Pope'*, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20.1–2 (1957), 176–179 (p. 179); Nicoletta Caputo, "Beware of Rome': The Italian Villainous Priest in Tudor Drama', in *Journeys Through Changing Landscapes: Literature, Language, Culture and their Transnational Dislocations*, ed. by Carla Dente and Francesca Fedi (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2017), pp. 317–335 (p. 318).

[89] Thomas, *Il Pellegrino inglese* (Zurich: Andreas Gessner et Rudolf Wyssenbach, 1552). The sentence is 'fece ungere le mani al Papa con una buona quantità de la grassa di San Giovan Boccadore' from *Decameron* (I, 6). cf. with Alunno, *Ricchezze*, pp. 77^{r}, 87^{v}, 104^{v}, 123^{v}, 197^{r}. See Martin, 'The Manuscript', pp. 638, 640.

[90] *Decameron* was inserted in the Catholic nuncio Giovanni della Casa's *index* printed in Venice in 1549, in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* by the Roman Curia in 1559, and Catholic religious scholars expurgated the *Decameron* in 1573 by order of the Inquisition. See Ugo Rozzo, 'Sulla censura del Decameron a stampa fino all' 'Indice' veneziano del 1549', in *Giovanni Boccaccio: tradizione, interpretazione e fortuna. In ricordo di Vittore Branca*, ed by. Antonio Ferracin, Matteo Venier andVittore Branca (Udine: Forum, 2014), pp. 341–363. The anti–Catholic potential of *Decameron* emerges also from Italian religious reformers' commented editions, as for example, Antonio Brucioli's one (Venezia 1538, 1542, 1543).

dishonest and dirty chastity of some nuns'].[91] Citolini, who wanted to defend Boccaccio and was linked to the English and reformist environments in Venice, asked rethorically 'chi fu manco religioso; o i sacerdoti, à fare il male, o il Boccaccio, à dirlo?' ['who was less religious; the priests doing wrong, or Boccacio who says it?'].[92] If *Decameron* offered anti-Catholic angles in 1540s Venice, it is not surprising that Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* also raised suspicions and needed to be expurgated later on.[93] These elements made *Decameron* a potentially dangerous tool for the Catholic side, but a welcome source for Thomas Hoby, William Thomas, and other English reformists, even more so in combination with *Le Ricchezze* as we shall see in the next section.

This section temporarily set aside the focus on Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* to argue that *Decameron* was a crucial complement to rhetorical learning for certain English individuals. We looked at *Il Cortegiano* as a window on *Decameron* that showed us how Boccaccio's novellas offered male and female English people intangible social assets to increase their social status with jokes, courtly games, storytelling, discussions on gender relationships, and satire of Catholic figures. Whilst Hoby's *The Courtier* explained in English why it was desirable to read Boccaccio's *Decameron* – to build cultural-capital and to learn language and rhetoric whilst entertained – Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* gave the necessary tools for in depth learning practice. The next section will speculate how Thomas Hoby used *Le Ricchezze* to read and learn Italian with a *Decameron* novel which was mentioned in *Il Cortegiano*. This novel (*Decameron*, VIII, 2) had all the elements to engage an English audience: practical jokes, mocking of a priest, and a man and woman delivering erotic puns.

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[91] Alessandro Citolini, *La lettera d'Alessandro Citolini in difesa della lingua volgare* (Venice: Andrea Arrivabene, 1551), p. 8[v]. I could not read the first edition: Alessandro Citolini, *Lettera di Alessandro Citolini in difesa de la lingua volgare* (Venice: per Francesco Marcolini, 1540).
[92] Ibid.
[93]Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* needed correction by the Congregation for the Index as early as 1582. See Jennifer Helm, *Poetry and Censorship in Counter–Reformation Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 196, 207, 352, 360, 391–398.

4. How Thomas Hoby read his *Decameron* thanks to *Le Ricchezze*

Thomas Hoby read about the scandalous sexual relationship between the married woman Belcolore and the lustful 'priest of Varlungo' (*Decameron* VIII, 2) in his copy of Ruscelli's commented edition of *Decameron* (1555).[94] As we know from his translation of *Il Cortegiano*, Hoby was aware of the popularity of this novella due to its comic effects: 'Who laugheth not when John Boccaccio in the eight journey of his hundreth tales declareth howe the priest of Varlungo strayned himselfe to singe a Kyrie and a Sanctus when he perceived Belcolore was in the Church?'.[95] This was also a controversial novella that declares in its premise:

> [to be] against those who continually offend against us, without being open to retaliation on our part, to wit, the clergy, who have proclaimed a crusade against our wives and who, when as they avail to get one of the latter under them, conceive themselves to have gained forgiveness of fault and pardon of penalty no otherwise than as they had brought the Soldan bound from Alexandria to Avignon.[96]

Due to this direct attack on priests, the reference to the story of the 'priest of Varlungo' was expurgated from *Il Cortegiano* 1582 edition; furthermore, it was probably this kind of content that caused the censorship faced by *Il Cortegiano* under Mary I's Catholic restoration in England.[97] To eliminate the reference to a flawed member of the Catholic Church, the priest that Boccaccio described with the Tuscan word 'sere' became a more neutral 'maestro' ['master'] in expurgated versions of *Decameron*.[98] Due to the sensitive topic and numerous ambiguous comic and erotic innuendos of this novella, we can imagine that it was important for Hoby to understand certain keywords with the help of a dictionary.

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[94] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron,* ed. by Girolamo Ruscelli (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1555); and its appendix with Ruscelli's glossary called *Vocabolario generale di tutte le voci usate dal Boccaccio, bisognose di dichiaratione, d'avvertimeno, o' di regola*.
[95] Hoby, *The Courtyer*, S.iii[r].
[96] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio*, trans. by John Payne (New York: Walter J. Black, n.d.), VIII, 2. The Project Gutenberg eBook <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/23700/23700–h/23700–h.htm#THE_SECOND_STORY8> [accessed 12th July 2023].
[97] Burke*, The Fortunes*, pp. 101, 102–103.
[98] Helm, *Poetry and Censorship*, p. 388.

This section will show how Hoby might have used Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* to disentangle the lexical and grammatical complexities in *Decameron* and thereby develop his Italian skills. I will build my argument on Roberts' study that presents a collection of Thomas Hoby's books. To explain two inscriptions in Hoby's *Decameron* copy by Ruscelli, Roberts reasonably proposes that Hoby used other editions of *Decameron* and Alunno's thematic dictionary, *La Fabbrica del Mondo*, to complement his copy of Ruscelli's *Decameron*.[99] However, I argue that Hoby also employed Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* for some annotations in his *Decameron* for several reasons. First of all, the *Decameron* copy owned by Hoby encouraged the use of *Le Ricchezze* by referencing it twice in the footnotes and twice in the glossary in the appendix.[100] Moreover, the very Alunno, in his introduction of *La Fabbrica del Mondo*, warned that this book was not a comprehensive collection of Boccaccio's words. Alunno, then, exhorted the readers of *La Fabbrica del Mondo* to look at *Le Ricchezze* for all Boccaccio's words in alphabetic order and with precise referencing to the *Decameron* passage.[101] It would have been clear to Hoby, therefore, that *La Fabbrica del Mondo* had encyclopaedical and philosophical purposes, whilst *Le Ricchezze* was a more convenient source for quick reference during readings of *Decameron*. For these reasons, by linking Hoby's annotation on *Decameron* (VIII, 2) with *Le Ricchezze* and what we already know about its paratext, we can shed further light on Hoby's practice for Italian learning and some particular difficulties that English learners of this text might have faced.

We do not know with certainty why Hoby hand annotated the anti-clerical novella of 'Il prete da Varlungo and monna Belcolore' in his copy of *Decameron*, but we can assume that developing his Italian language proficiency was among his aims. At the beginning of the passage where the priest and Belcolore negotiate a reward for the woman in exchange for sexual intercourse, Hoby added a phrase that was missing to his copy of Ruscelli's *Decameron* edition:

[99] For example, Sansovino's *Decameron* (1546) and Dolce's *Decameron* (1552) editions. Roberts, 'Books Owned', p. 58.
[100] Girolamo Ruscelli, *Decameron* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1555), pp. 174, 196. See also definitions of *aiato*, *orza* in the glossary.
[101] Alunno, *La Fabbrica del Mondo*, preliminary section 'L'Alunno della dechiaratione dell'opera'.

'stese i panni in terra, et'. This phrase literally could be translated as 'She spread the clothes on the ground, and'. My proposal is that this phrase raised Hoby's attention by presenting to him issues in terms of ambiguous meaning and morphology that *Le Ricchezze* might have clarified.[102] Hoby might have added this phrase after reading it in other editions of *Decameron*, but *Le Ricchezze* also presented the same phrase among the exemplary sentences under the headword 'stese'.[103] It is reasonable to believe that Hoby wanted to clarify the meaning of this possibly ambiguous phrase and understand why certain editions cut it out. Within this phrase, Hoby might have focused on the most problematic word which is the verb 'stese'. Alunno's *Le Ricchezze*, thanks to its original feature, might have assisted Hoby to overcome the specific issues related to word 'stese' which creates multiple problems fo Italian learners as it is irregular in its conjugation, polysemic, and homophonic of other words.

We can imagine Hoby's investigative process with and without *Le Ricchezze*. First of all, whilst searching for a definition of the word 'stese', Hoby might have found difficult to realise that this is the third singular person of the mood *passato prossimo* or historical past of the irregular verb 'Stendere' ['to extend, to reach, to spread, to display, to stretch, as Tendere' in John Florio, *A World of Words* (1598)]. Hoby would have encountered this problem by searching William Thomas' dictionary which presents only the infinitive form 'stendere' and a short English definition 'to stretche'. On the contrary, *Le Ricchezze* might have helped Hoby by adding the inflected form 'stese' in capital Roman letters which visually stands out on the page. Among the set of exemplar sentences following 'stese', Hoby would have found the phrase that he inscribed on his *Decameron*. If Hoby searched for 'stese' also in the section 'word with the same or similar pronunciation but different meaning', he might have found further essential explanations for Italian language-learning. In fact, within this section, Alunno explained that 'stese' might have

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[102] Roberts translates it as 'spread her skirts on the ground, and', 'Books Owned', p. 58. The alleged John Florio's translation of *Decameron* (1620) goes with 'and having once again given welcome to [the priest]'.
[103] Alunno, *Le Ricchezze*, p. 161r.

been confused with the verb 'stesse' as third person singular subjunctive of the verb 'stare' ['to stay'] or the adjective/adverb 'stesse' ['the same' or 'these']. Moreover, thanks to *Le Ricchezze*, Hoby might have learned that 'stendere' could have two synonyms: 'tendere' and 'distendere'.[104] In particular, the verb 'tendere' might have raised Hoby's attention because the Latin device in his books read 'Tendit in ardua virtus' ['Virtue spreads in hard challenges'].[105] We cannot be certain that Hoby was aware of it, but according to Pietro Bembo, it was Boccaccio's model to legitimise the Tuscan use of the verb 'stendere' as an alternative to the Latin-derivered 'tendere'.[106] This imaginary process involving Hoby was an educated guess, but with the specific example of the word 'stese', it showed some of the difficulties that English learners of Italian faced reading *Decameron*. It further demonstrated that *Le Ricchezze* was indeed a functional guide for reading Boccaccio and learning Italian through his words, more than any other dictionary of the time.

Whilst we cannot be sure that Hoby accessed a copy of *Le Ricchezze* to read his *Decameron,* it is clear that he focused his attention on phrases and words and sought to better understand their meaning and morphology in ways that seem a highly compatible with the material in Alunno's dictionary specialised on Boccaccio. Another example is Hoby's addition of the word 'scioperato' ['idle'] followed by its Italian definition to his copy of Ruscelli's glossary of the *Decameron*, which lacked this word.[107] Hoby's gloss mainly overlaps with the definition of 'scioperato' in *Le Ricchezze*.[108] Thanks to *Le Ricchezze*, we can see that Hoby likely read an example of the word 'scioperato' in the context of the *Decameron* novella of Ser Ciappelletto (I, 1). Ser

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[104] Alunno includes 'Distendere' as synonym of 'stendere' also in the section 'Voci di un medesimo significato, et che in piu' modi si scrivono' ['Words of the same meaning, and that are written in multiple ways'], *Le Ricchezze*, p. 195r.
[105] From Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Book II, 2, 111.
[106] Pietro Bembo, *Prose*, 3. LXXV.
[107] Hoby wrote under the words starting with 'S' 'Scioperato disutile, ignavo, uomo senza pensiero' ['useless, indolent, a heedless man'], Ruscelli, *Vocabolario*, sig. f4^{v}. See Roberts, 'Books Owned', p. 59.
[108] cf. Alunno's *Le Ricchezze* that similarly defines 'scioperato' as: 'Disutile, senza pensiero et che non ha da fare cosa alcuna' ['useless, heedless and without any pastime'].

Ciappelletto was a merchant and a 'scioperato' sinner who, being on the verge of death, told an edulcorated story of his life to a friar and, therefore, became a saint after his death. This novella probably fascinated Hoby because it ridiculed a naïve friar and the Catholic cult of saints and exemplified the power – in this case negative – of language, rhetoric, and storytelling.[109] This further example of Hoby's possible language practice with *Decameron* and *Le Ricchezze* shows in practice the pedagogical potential of the combination of these two books.

[109] English reformers such as Hoby despised the Catholic cult of Saints. See for example how Hoby described with scepticism the cult of Saint Agata in Catania (Sicily), *The Travels*, pp. 46–47.

Conclusions

As we have seen in the first chapter, Claudio Tolomei in his *Polito* (1525) was concerned with the standardisation of Italian spelling and pronunciation so that English people could properly read Boccaccio. This chapter showed that Thomas, Hoby, and others were able to read Boccaccio thanks also to *Le Ricchezze*. To learn Italian by reading a canonical author with a previous basic grammatical background that acknowledged the parts of speech was in line with Tolomei's inductive approach. William Thomas' Italian proficiency inevitably benefitted from accessing *Le Ricchezze*; he also acted as an informal tutor to John Tamworth by selecting, modifying, and creating materials for specific learners that afterwards entered the book market in the form of his *Principal Rules* (1550). The appearance of Thomas' English-Italian manual in London in 1550 does not exclude the contemporary employment of monolingual Italian manuals for Italian language-learning before and after. On the contrary, Thomas' *Principal Rules* worked in two ways: as a short and stand-alone introduction to Italian grammar and vocabulary for the English learners and as a key to access more advanced tools, such as Alunno's *Le Ricchezze*.

By designing *Le Ricchezze*, Alunno's main goal was to enhance access and to reflect on the standard of Italian prose that Boccaccio elaborated in his works. *Le Ricchezze* was a popular book in Italy selling so many copies that required a swift printing of a second edition. As such, English readers probably engaged with *Le Ricchezze* to access the linguistic, rhetorical, and culture capital that they could gain by accessing Boccaccio's *Decameron.* Finally, by analysing Thomas Hoby's marginalia on his copy of *Decameron*, the final part of this chapter hypothesises that *Le Ricchezze* would have worked as a perfect complement for Italian language-learning of word meanings and irregular verbs (for example 'stendere'), synonyms, and homophonic words.

THESIS CONCLUSIONS

This thesis researched how English people learned and used the Italian language from 1509 to 1558 during the Tudor period – with the exclusion of the reigns of Henry VII (1485–1509) and Elizabeth I (1558–1603). Previous studies have concentrated on the Elizabethan period as a much larger corpus of printed primary sources in the English language survives from those later decade. This study has attempted to re-focus the discussion on the reports of English people learning and using the Italian language in the previous period, in the light of this strong scholarly emphasis upon the Elizabethan translations from Italian and John Florio's bilingual conversation manuals. The objective of each chapter has been to ascertain who learned the Italian language, why the language was learned, and how the language was learned through books, formal and informal tutors and pedagogical practices that the text and book materiality allowed.

In the absence of formal curricula, English individuals dedicated time to self-study and peer-learning, using a variety of resources including manuscript grammars, polyglot dictionaries, religious texts, sonnets, specialised Italian vocabularies and novellas. These resources often used comparative and contrastive approaches, comparing and contrasting Italian with other languages such as Latin, English and French. This approach was likely motivated by the multilingual context of Europe at the time, where Latin was still used in the Church and in universities, but modern languages were becoming increasingly important for trade, diplomacy and cultural exchange. This new data calls for a revision of our analysis of the inkhorn controversy, as it was not solely focused on the presence of Latinisms in English, but also addressed the integration of Italianisms.

The biographies and sources analysed urge a re-assessment of the dualism between Italian as a refined literary language for the entertainment of the aristocracy and Italian as a practical

everyday language in the early modern period for more heterogenic users. Some of the principal ways to learn languages in the early modern period conflated with the professional application that language skills allowed. In other words, merchants, soldiers, diplomats and writers learned languages 'on the job'. Tutors were not only Protestant native Italians (for example, the likely English John Clerk and the Welsh William Thomas), as often assumed, and their role as language tutors was sometimes non-official and complementary to their main professional and personal identities (for example, Claudio Tolomei was a diplomat and a law expert, and Michelangelo Florio part of the English religious hierarchies). The study of grammar and the practice of translation was functional for communication and the reading of several kinds of books, which provided practical knowledge and cultural capital in the historical contexts of the geo-political games between England, France, the Empire, the Pope and the Italian States, and the European religious reforms and reformations.

By challenging the very concept of Italian as a language solely for the elites in sixteenth century England, I invite us to also reassess how and to which extent Italians had knowledge of Italian. Through the lens of 'progressivism', 'positivism' and national ideologies promoting monolingualism, most of the studies on Italian speakers at the moment of Italian political unification in 1861 seem to imply that in previous centuries the number of speakers of a common language of the Italian peninsula *must* have been lower.[1] The only variation of a common language seems to be solely a literary and Florentine-centric Italian studied by only the top layers of society. However, by discussing Italian-based Lingua Francas in the Mediterranean areas in sixteenth and seventh century, Joseph Cremona also suggested that 'figures should be

[1] For example, Luca Serianni suggested that only 12% of Italians spoke Italian around 1861, *Storia della Lingua Italiana: il secondo Ottocento* (Bologna, il Mulino, 1990), pp. 17– 18.

revised upwards' and pointed out how the data from state education cannot be our only source to establish Italian language knowledge.[2]

Traditional scholarship on sixteenth-century Italian grammars, word lists and vocabularies assumes a knowledge of Italian and imagines, therefore, an Italian audience. However, Claudio Tolomei's concerns about English understanding and pronunciation of Dante and Boccaccio demonstrated that often the *Italianisti* reflected on the history and standardisation of the Italian language having in mind an English interlocutor. The habit continued with milestones originated on English soil such as John Florio's bilingual dictionaries that capture the reality of sixteenth century Italian more completely than the monolingual *Vocabolario della Crusca* (1612) which was riddled by censorship, Giuseppe Baretti's history of the Italian tongue *Italian Library* (1757) and Anglo–Italian dictionary (1760), and the poet Ugo Foscolo's *Epoche della lingua italiana* (1823–1825), a collection of lessons on Italian language, literature and identity.[3] The linguistic aspect is an essential element of Anglo-Italian intercultural performances and transactions that contributed through the centuries to create the sense of two well defined national identities of 'Englishness' (and lately 'Britishness') and 'Italianità'.[4]

The *questione della lingua* influenced the debate on the English language, but it is also argued that non-Italians impacted the *questione della lingua* by learning and using Italian. These results challenge both the traditional narratives on the supremacy and victorious advent of the English language and its Italian counterpart. In regards of a wider historical-cultural discourse, this solicits a review of certain national myths such as the 'English isolationism/ exceptionalism'

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[2] Joseph Cremona, 'Italian–Based Lingua Francas around the Mediterranean', in *Multilingualism in Italy Past and Present*, ed. by Anna Laura Lepschy and Arturo Tosi (Oxford: Legenda, 2002), pp. 24–30 (p. 29).
[3] Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana*, pp. Vii–Viii.
[4] Manfred Pfister and Ralf Hertel, *Performing National Identity: Anglo–Italian Cultural Transactions* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008).

or the vision that sees English people as passive and later receivers of the Italian Renaissance.[5] This project puts pressure on the word 'forestiero' ['foreign'] in a pre-nationalist Europe. This word in Italian labelled who was from another city/region of Italy and, at the same time, who was coming from 'beyond the Alps' ['oltramontani']. To a Roman, someone from Ferrara or Otranto could be as foreign as someone from Germany or England. But at the same time within the early modern Anglo–Italian cultural dialogue, captured by Thomas Hoby's introduction to *The Courtier* (1561), we can find the roots of the narrative on the supremacy and victorious advent of both Italian and English language on nationalist basis.

The methodology employed for this thesis and its results strongly encourage further research in multiple directions in the field of Italian language learning by sixteenth-century English individuals. First, a wider range of primary sources for Italian language learning beyond bilingual Italian-English language manuals like William Thomas' *Principal Rules* (1550) and John Florio's *First Fruits* (1578) should be considered. Only for reason of space this thesis did not present case studies of classical books mediated by Italian translation with possible language-learning implications. I am referring, for example, to William Thomas treatise on women fashion and politics *An Argument* (1551) from a Tuscan version of Livy's *Deche* (1540) or Daniele Barbaro's translation from Greek into Italian of the philosophical allegory *Tabula Cebetis* (second century CE) for Henry Fitzalan (1538–1556) in 1552. Secondly, other kind of language-learning practices can be explored as for example the material act of hand-writing in italics like Elizabeth Tudor did in her Italian letters and translations. Thirdly, it is necessary to challenge the rigid view that considers only England and Italy as contexts where English people learned the Italian language. For example, Antwerp emerges as a geographical, commercial and political meeting point for Anglo–Italian interests where tutors like the Picard Gabriel Meurier included English

[5] See for example, Ann E. B. Coldiron, 'Adventures in Early Modern Multilingualism' in *Multilingual Texts and Practices in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Auger and Sheldon Brammall (Milton: Taylor & Francis, 2023), pp. 147–161.

speakers amid the learners of Italian and polyglot sources displayed both languages (for example, dictionaries, language manuals and chivalric romances). Lastly, more manuscript materials should be considered as facilitator and result of language–learning practices used independently or in combination with printed material in several languages. I did not engage with manuscript materials because it was priority to first compare oneself with the critical literature on the most well-known texts such as Thomas Hoby's *The Courtier* and William Thomas' *Principal Rules* and the English reception of the Italian canonical authors Boccaccio and Petrarch.

By challenging the 'canonical' periodisation of the presence of Italian language in England my thesis joins a wider body of scholarship on Italianate culture in the Tudor period that addresses the relative paucity of written primary sources. For example, Susan Foister challenges the assumption of a lack of interest in visual arts – and therefore direct engagement with the experiences of Italian Renaissance – in England until the end of sixteenth century.[6] On the contrary, Foister argues that the scarcity of written responses to art in printed English in the first part of the sixteenth century does not imply the absence of art in England in that period. Foister, therefore, points at the documented presence of 'Italianate artists' (like for instance Antonio Solario), even non-Italians such as the influential Holbein in the 1520s–30s and John Leland's manuscript works discussing art collections in England in Latin.[7] Working with a manuscript collection of dancing choreographies written between 1480–1520, Jennifer Nevile challenges the fact that 'it has always been tacitly assumed that knowledge of Italian genres and styles came to England only much later in the 16th century […]'.[8] Italian words were, not surprisingly, involved

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[6] Susan Foister, 'Humanism and Art in the Early Tudor Period: John Leland's Poetic Praise of Painting', in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 129–150.
[7] Also, to confirm Foister's periodisation and offering examples of Italian art in England, see Jonathan Woolfson 'Renaissance Intersections: The Arts of Italy and Early Tudor Visual Experience', *Visual Resources* 36.1 (2020), 1–20.
[8] Jennifer Neville, 'Dance in Early Tudor England: An Italian Connection?', *Early Music*, 26.2 (1998), 231–244 (p. 232).

in naming the dance steps.[9] These works confirm that through analysis of updated biographical data and expanding the range of primary sources it is possible to find Italian culture and language in pre-Elizabethan England. By presenting the specific context of early modern English individuals learning Italian my thesis contributes to the more general field of Tudor cultural history.

By countering the idea that the Italian language was taught in Tudor England according to the Grammar–Translation method, this thesis offers a new contribution to the historical research on language-learning and teaching and present practices. Although Tudor individuals studied Italian grammar and translated Italian texts, we cannot consider their learning approach as the Grammar–Translation method which focuses exclusively on grammatical content and written translations of canonical literary authors and does not develop effective communicative skills, in particular oral, and students' independence. Correct historical evidence is necessary to develop effective language-teaching and learning policy reforms.[10] In fact according to Koerner 'a scientific field reaches its maturity only by becoming aware of its history and by taking a serious interest in having it documented'.[11] Teachers who are more aware of the history of language teaching and learning are better equipped to understand and apply current pedagogical theories and practice. They have a deeper understanding of the principles behind different teaching methods and approaches, as well as their relative strengths and weaknesses. This allows them to be more flexible and adaptable in their teaching, and to tailor their instruction to the specific needs of their students and the teaching contexts. Overall, this thesis shows how language teaching of a given language is enriched by the cultural and meta-discourse on such language,

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[9] 'The steps are a mixture of French and Italian', with some steps names unique to Italian such as *volta tonda* ('whol torne'), *meza volta* ('half torne') and *salto* ('lepe'). Guglielmo Ebreo's Italian dancing treatise was the original source, Ibid., 238–239.

[10] See for example, Henri Bessem 'La Société Internationale pour l'Histoire du Français Langue Étrangère ou Seconde (SIHFLES), ou vingt–cinq ans d'investigations historiographiques sur l'enseignement/apprentissage du français langue étrangère ou seconde', *Language and History*, 57.1 (2014), 26–43.

[11] E. F. K. Koerner, *Professing Linguistic Historiography*, (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1995), p.119.

being aware of the non-fixity of the language in time and space and the connections with other languages and cultures.

Reviewing the sixteenth-century Italian *questione della lingua*, with non-Italian interlocutors in mind, is still relevant today because the question has not been definitely answered. In fact, the Sardinian Marxist intellectual Antonio Gramsci wrote around 1932: 'Every time the *questione della lingua* surfaces anew, in a way or the other, it signals that a series of other problems are becoming dire: the formation and expansion of the ruling class, the necessity to stabilise an intimate and secure relationship between the ruling classes and the popular masses of the nation, in other words to re-organise the cultural hegemony'.[12] A recent examples, of how apparently innocuous cultural products highlight some unsorted linguistic, social and political tensions is Netflix animated series 'Strappare lungo i bordi' ['Tear Along The Dotted Line']. This series has been criticised for the pervasive presence of Roman dialect and the slang of its protagonists belonging to the millennial generation. Roman dialect is perceived as not sufficiently highbrow, but at the same time, it is an expression of the cultural hegemony traditionally promoted by the national central power in Rome with film (Cinecittà studios) and state-owned public broadcaster (RAI – Radiotelevisione italiana). Again an imaginary English interlocutor entered the scene when perplexity was raised also by the dubbing in Received Pronunciation (RP) British English that cannot express the flavour of the streets of Rome and the cultural references belonging to Italians in their 30s-early 40s.

This thesis demonstrated how the Italian debate on language did not happen in isolation, but it was a European conversation with other national *questioni* (in England, France, Spain and Portugal) that is still going on. This has to be considered to understand the trajectory of English

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[12] 'Ogni volta che affiora, in un modo o in un altro, la questione della lingua, significa che si sta imponendo una serie di altri problemi: la formazione e l'allargamento della classe dirigente, la necessità di stabilire rapporti piu intimi e sicuri tra i gruppi dirigenti e la massa popolare–nazionale, cioe di riorganizzare l'egemonia culturale', Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, 4 vols (Torino: Einaudi, 1975), III, *Quaderno 12*, p. 2346.

which is currently the L2 language with the most speakers (more than 1 billion) and third L1 (380 million speakers) in the world.[13] These huge numbers have created in certain English speakers a 'monolingual attitude that other languages are twee and funny and indistinguishable'.[14] On the other hand, the 'language question' remains open even in Britain, where RP British English does not represent the majority of its citizens who act as players in a world of regional and national variants of English, English based creole languages and proficient non-native English speakers. Furthermore, in post-Brexit Europe the hegemony of English is rediscussed and in this sense the request to adopt French as the main working language of the European Union is a symptom of this reshuffling of the ruling classes. Overall, by researching Italian learning in England, it is inevitable to empathise with Francis Yates when she wrote in the conclusion to her article 'Italian Teachers in Elizabethan England' in 1937: 'A study of this kind makes one realize, I think, how much we Europeans are bound together by innumerable ties, how much we all owe to one another, and also how forgetful of past benefits and how ungrateful we are'.

[13] <https://www.ethnologue.com/insights/ethnologue200/> [accessed 23 October 2023].
[14] See Gearóidín McEvoy on Eurovision, multilingualism, and Amanda Holden, 'Hello Europe! London calling!' <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/news/2021/hello–europe–london–calling>.

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