UNIVERSITA' CA' FOSCARI VENEZIA

Dottorato di ricerca in Lingue, Culture e Società, 22° ciclo
(A. A. 2006/2007 – A. A. 2008-2009)
Indirizzo Filologia moderna

'So flourishing a Commonwealth'.
Some Aspects of Lewkenor's Translation (1599) of Contarini's *La Republica e i magistrati di Vinegia* (1544)

SETTORE DISCIPLINARE L-LIN/12
LINGUA E TRADUZIONE - LINGUA INGLESE

Tesi di dottorato di Maria Stella Florio, matricola 955343

Coordinatore del Dottorato
Prof. Rosella Mamoli Zorzi

Tutore del dottorando
Prof. Valerio de Scarpis

Patricia H. Labalme
1927-2002

CONTENTS

SUMMARY- INDEX

2. Lewkenor as soldier and 'fugitive' (*c.* 1580-1590).
The Duke of Parma's siege of Antwerp
The Queen's contingent in the Low Countries (1585-1587)
Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester (1532-1588)
Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen (1586)
Sir William Stanley (1548-1630)
The Spanish Armada (1588)

3. Back in England (1590)
A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitiues by the Spaniards (1595)
Religious identities
The court
The dedicatee of Lewkenor's translation: Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick
The translation's commendatory sonnets
(Edw.) Spencer
I. Ashley
Maur. Kiffen
Henry Elmes
Iohn Harington

4. Lewkenor as Contarini's translator

III. Lewkenor's sources:
La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia (1544) and *De magistratibus* (1578 edition)

III. 16th century editions of *De magistratibus* (Appendix I)

1. The Italian translation that Lewkenor 'chiefly followed'
Divergences of the Italian translation from the first Latin edition (1543):
'*Vitus and Modestus*'
'*the twelve Kalendes of Iuly*'
'*the seate of Marino Phalerio*'
'*were rather in themselves confounded with amazement*'

2. Lewkenor's 'Latine originall'
The 1571 revision
A working hypothesis
Divergences of a revised Latin edition (1578) from the first Latin edition:

1. a) Stylistic changes not affecting the meaning:
'*civitate*' / '*urbe*', *et al*

1. b) Stylistic changes affecting the meaning:
'diversa quadam ratione'

2. Changes meant to alter the meaning
'*veritate*' / '*virtute*'
the Doge's '*certaine private office*'

IV. Analysis of the translated text

IV. Some examples

Intentional divergences from the Italian text
The example of *reipublicae libertas*

Omissions, additions, and general changes still intending to reproduce the message of the Italian text
Omissions
'Ryalta'
'con un qual perpetuo, et fermo modo'
Additions
Emphasis
Explanations
side-notes: *'becchi di nave'*

Cultural gaps
'illustre', 'chiaro'
Litotes
'*contrada*'

Happy choices
'*animali*' / 'creatures', *et al.*

Translation processes
Literal translation *v.* 'copiousness'
'*omne punctum tulisse videri*'

Equivalence and word-for-word translations
'*le sue radici*'
'savoreth'

Colloquialisms
'besides the cushion'
'*piu chiaro che la luce di mezzo giorno*'

The English translation becomes freer and more colloquial

Mistranslations
The example of *tribù* / *tribus* / 'tribe'

Lewkenor's translation of *respublica* / 'republica'
The example of '*la Republica in stato suol mantenersi*'

Early Modern English

V. Lewkenor's additional sources:
Divers Observations on the Venetian Government

V. The Appendix

1. Identification of the authors and texts that Lewkenor adopted for selection in the Appendix. Methodology of the comparison.

Some examples of the divergences of the Appendix's translations in relation to their respective sources:

The situation of the Citie of Venice described by Donato Gianotti a Florentine …
The example of a modernisation:
Francesco Maria della Rovere duca d'Urbino (1490–1538) / Iohn Baptista de Monte (1540-1614)

Collections taken out of the historie of Signior Bernardo Giustiniani…
The example of some omissions:
i sette mari

Sebastian Munsters description of the Citie of Venice
The example of a 'political' explanation:
'Queene of the sea' / 'commandresse of the Adriatique seas'

Notes out of Girolamo Bardi
The example of a mistranslation:
Gesuati / 'Iesuites'

Francesco Sansovini
The example of a 'political' omission:
questa Città ottiene… il Principato fra tutte l'altre del mondo
A few examples of lexical omissions:
Paraninfo, felze, andar in trasto …
Other divergences:
Religious omissions, additions, interpolations

A breviate of the History & lives of the Venetian princes
More examples of political omissions:
Henrico Rè d'Inghilterra … ribellatosi dalla Chiesa …;
Lisabetta... ritornò le heresie Luterane in quell'Isola…

2. The interaction of Lewkenor's Appendix with his translation of Contarini's text

a) Integration of *De magistratibus* through the addition of sundry points not discussed by Contarini:
a.1.) from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*
'they put many of their Dukes to a shamefull death'
'they possessed themselves of the realme of *Cipres*'

a.2.) from 'Girolamo Bardi'
'Mountebanks, & Chiarlatanes'

a.3.) from Francesco Sansovino
'the rest I have omitted as tedious'

INTRODUCTION

Not long ago, a survey of recent studies in the English Renaissance, and more particularly in English translations for the period *c.* 1520 - *c.* 1590, revealed 'a rather startling failure of correspondence between the corpus of works translated in sixteenth-century England and the fraction of works which attract attention from literary scholars'. Nevertheless, it was felt that this 'widespread lack of concern with how one language is represented in another', (which 'may be faithful to the intentions of the generality of early practitioners of translation'), should 'not be a cause for complaint: if interest in the processes of translation is subordinate for the moment to interest in issues of politics, or of gender', it is 'those very interests', it is felt, that have 'energized the field of English Renaissance studies' [1].

These remarks are particularly true for a 1599 translation, *The Commonwealth and Magistrates of Venice* by Lewes Lewkenor [2]. Combining as it does both issues of politics (the description of a form of government that appeared so perfect as to be the stuff of a 'myth', the 'myth' of Venice [3]) and issues of gender (politics were never gender-free in Elizabethan England), *The Commonwealth and Magistrates of Venice* has attracted a wealth of scholarship. Yet, 'despite the extensive work by recent historians on the "Myth of Venice", there has never been a thorough study' of *The Commonwealth and Magistrates of Venice* itself [4], let alone of Lewkenor's translation, though it is 'one of the central documents through which the myth was transmitted to England – and England, after all, was the country in northern Europe in which the myth had its most profound effects' [5].

---

[1] Robert Cummings, 'Recent Studies in English Translation, *c.* 1520 - *c.* 1590', in *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 37, n. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 274-316, at p. 311.

[2] *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice. Written by Cardinall Gasper [sic] Contareno, and translated out of Italian into English, by Lewes Lewkenor Esquire, With sundry other Collections, annexed by the Translator for the more cleere and exact satisfaction of the Reader. With a short Chronicle in the end of the liues and raignes of the Venetian Dukes, from the very beginninges of their Citie, imprinted by Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes*, London, 1599. A facsimile reprint (Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Da Capo Press, Amsterdam and New York, 1969) and an on-line facsimile edition (The Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text & Image), which is the text adopted here, have been recently published.

[3] It is unclear, however, when exactly the topos of Venice's optimal political model, which can be traced to the Middle Ages (see chap. II, 'The language of the myth of Venice'), began being referred to as the 'myth' of Venice.

[4] David McPherson**, '**Lewkenor's Venice and Its Sources', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 459-466, at p. 459.

[5] *Ibid*.

Closely associated with the 'myth of Venice' is the author of the treatise that Lewkenor translated, the Venetian patrician, later Cardinal, Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542), who never saw his book in print and might never have anticipated its success. In fact the manuscript, *De magistratibus et republica venetorum* [6], published posthumously in 1543 [7], was immediately translated into Italian [8] and French [9] (1544), with several Latin, French, and Italian editions following over the centuries. This confirms the importance of *De magistratibus* for Renaissance political thought not only on the Continent but in England as well, where it was appreciated long before Lewkenor's translation brought it to the attention of a wider public. Sir Philip Sidney, who had acquired a copy of it in Italy (1573), praised it as 'a really choice' book [10].

The reasons for the book's success may not be immediately apparent nowadays. *De magistratibus* was published almost at the same time as another treatise on the same subject, Donato Giannotti's

---

[6] Biblioteca Nazionale, Firenze, Cod. Magliab., cl. XXX, N. 146, fols. lr-78r.

[7] *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri quinque, authore Gasparo Contareno Patricio Veneto*, Parisiis, ex officina Michaëlis Vascovani, MDXLIII (1543). New editions appeared in 1544, 1547, 1551, 1571 (as part of Contarini's *Opera*), 1578 (again as part of the *Opera*), 1589 (both as part of the *Opera* and separately), 1592, 1616, 1626 and 1628 (twice) - these last are the three celebrated Elzevier editions - 1636, 1692 (*rectius* 1592?), and 1722. A facsimile reprint (Gregg Press, Farnborough, 1968), and an on-line facsimile (*Opera*, 1578 edition) have been recently published.

[8] *La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia*, di M. Gasparo Contarino, novamente fatti uolgari. In Vinegia, appresso Girolamo Scotto, 1544. New editions of the Italian translation appeared in 1545, 1548, 1551, 1554, 1563, 1564, 1591, 1630, 1650, and 1678. A facsimile reprint of the first edition, recently published, is the edition adopted here, see Gasparo Contarini, *La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia*, a cura di Vittorio Conti, Centro Editoriale Toscano, Firenze, 2003. The translator, who signs his preface as ERANCHIRIO (or ERANCHIERO) ANDITIMI, possibly an anagram, has not been identified yet. The *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* tentatively indicates Lodovico Domenichi (Piacenza 1515-Pisa 1564), as Contarini's Italian translator, see Angela Piscini, 'Domenichi, Lodovico', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, vol. 40, 1991, pp. 595-600, at p. 600, as well as Gaetano Melzi, *Dizionario di opere anononime. e pseudonime di scrittori italiani o come che sia aventi relazione all'Italia*, 3 voll., Pirola, Milano, 1849-1859, I, 365. Lodovico Domenichi's rich bibliography, edited by Enrico Gavarelli (June 2008, on-line), includes the translation of Contarini's treatise. However, the translation has been attributed also to one Giovanni Antonio Clario, see Giovanni Silvano, *La 'Republica de' Viniziani'. Ricerche sul repubblicanesimo veneziano in età moderna*, Il pensiero politico, Biblioteca, 18, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze, 1993, p. 86, n. 7, who, however, does not give any details.

[9] *Des magistratz, & république de Venise* composé par Gaspar Contarin gentilhomme Venetien, & despuis traduict de Latin en vulgaire Francois par Jehan Charrier natif d'Apt en Provence... On les vend à Paris en la grand'salle du Palays en la boutique de Galiot du Pré, libraire de l'université, 1544. (Imprime nouvellement à Paris par René Avril, M. D. XLIIII). Another edition of the French translation appeared in 1577. Jehan Charrier, or Carrier, secretary to Jean Bernard, President of the Parlament of Paris, was also the French translator of Machiavelli's *Arte della guerra*, presented to Henri the Dauphin in 1456.

[10] William R. Drennan, "Corrupt means to aspire': Contarini's *De Republica* and the Motives of Iago", in *Notes and Queries* 1988, Dec 35 (233) (4): 474-475, at p. 474, quoting M. N. Raitiere, *Faire Bitts: Sir Philip Sidney and Renaissance Political Theory* (Pittsburgh, 1984), 53.

equally successful *La Republica de' Vinitiani* (1540) [11], and both were the standard works on the government of Venice from the Renaissance 'almost up to the present day' [12]. However, Contarini's work is sometimes unfavourably compared with Giannotti's. Unlike *La Republica de' Vinitiani*, *De magistratibus* is said to be static, its world-view neomedieval, and its political content simply a eulogy of the Republic, though sufficient to start the myth of Venice at the very moment the power of the Republic was beginning to decline.

Other scholars take a different view. The myth of Venice, and particularly the political myth - *i.e.* the idea that the liberty, security, and internal peace it enjoyed derived from its perfect realization of the Greek philosophers' concept of 'mixed government' - existed long before Contarini wrote *De magistratibus*. What Contarini did was to give it shape. It was 'the primary literary work through which this myth gained acceptance' [13]. *De magistratibus*, not *La Republica de' Vinitiani*, became 'the great source that fed republican thought in monarchical centuries', and it was only with the disappearance of absolutism that Giannotti's realism appeared to offer 'greater interest to the development of modern political thought' than Contarini's 'idealizing republicanism' [14]. Nowadays, several modern facsimile reprints and on-line publications indicate a renewed scholarly interest in Contarini's treatise. Yet, '[d]espite its importance, the literature analyzing rather than describing it is scant' [15].

How Contarini's treatise was rendered into English is the primary purpose of this doctoral research in the area of 'Modern Philology'. Of necessity, only some aspects of Lewkenor's translation are taken into consideration. In fact, the first concern is to determine the meaning of the 'source' text. A second, intermediary concern involves identifying the 'source' text itself, since Lewkenor used, in turn as well as simultaneously, both a Latin edition of *De magistratibus* and its Italian translation, *La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia*. A further area involves identifying some terms expressing

[11] Donato Giannotti, *Opere politiche e letterarie* collezionate sui manoscritti da F. L. Polidori, voll. I e II, Firenze, Felice Le Monnier, 1850, vol. II, *Libro della Repubblica de' Viniziani*, facsimile on-line

[12] Felix Gilbert, 'The Date of Composition of Contarini's and Giannotti's Books on Venice', in *Studies in the Renaissance*, vol. 4, 1967, pp. 172-184, at p. 172.

[13] *Ibid*., p. 183.

[14] *Ibid*., p. 184.

[15] Elisabeth G. Gleason, 'Reading Between the Lines of Contarini's Treatise on the Venetian State', Ellery Schalt (ed.), *Culture, Society and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques, 15, 1, Spring 1988, pp. 251-270, at p. 252.

mostly political, philosophical, and moral concepts, since Lewkenor's linguistic choices often have a wide range of implications [16].

In fact, both the contexts of the work's composition and of its English translation, and in particular the lapse of time between Contarini's writing of his treatise and Lewkenor's translation of it, must be taken into consideration before attempting an understanding of Lewkenor's choices, if not of Contarini's original meaning. Professor Gilbert has established that Contarini composed possibly four of the five books of *De magistratibus* in the 1520s and that he added the fifth at the beginning of the 1530s [17]. Lewkenor's translation was published in 1599. This means that from the time Contarini was writing – or rather dictating – his treatise, to the time Lewkenor was translating it, upwards of seventy years had elapsed. Two generations had passed since Contarini's depiction of the fundamentals of the Republic. Renaissance Venice at the close of the sixteenth century was not Renaissance Venice at its beginning. It had resisted the League of Cambrai (1508-1518), begun to change St Mark's square to its present aspect (1536-7), celebrated the naval victory at Lepanto (1571), seen most of the paintings in the Doge's Palace burn and be replaced (1577), and the Arsenal further enlarged. Time had subtly altered the way in which Venice perceived itself and was in turn perceived by foreign eyes. A textual example is Lewkenor's addition to the sentence:

> [ed. 1544] [Venezia] '*si è conservata libera dalla violentia degli inimici*', I, 40

translated as:

> [ed. 1599] 'it hath preserved itselfe free (1) and vntouched from the violence of any enemie', I, 5

(1) 'and vntouched' is a significant addition in that it carries into the body of the translated text the metaphor of Venice as a virgin maiden. Lewkenor had already employed it to the full in his introduction: '*sundry & mighty / kinges and Emperours being enamored with her beauty and goodlinesse* […] *yet have they* [the citizens] *hitherto kept her like a pure and vntouched virgine*' [18]; However, this metaphor - whose implication was political, with obvious reference to Elizabeth I,

[16] See more recently Geoffrey P. Baldwin, 'The translation of political theory in early modern Europe', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 101-124.

[17] Gilbert, 'The Date of the Composition ….', cit., p. 177.

[18] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', sig. A3*r*-A3*v*.

'the Virgin Queen' [19] - occurs neither here nor anywhere else in Contarini's text. The original passage, which the Italian translates literally, is:

> [ed. 1543] *immunis* semper ab hostilis vi urbs Veneta perseveravit, I, 4

The 1578 revised edition of *De magistratibus* that Lewkenor seemingly employed, however, had already altered the Latin text of the first edition on this point:

> [ed. 1578] *integra* semper ab hostili vi urbs Veneta perseveravit, I, 263

This indicates that a change in the way Venice was represented, if not perceived, by Venetians had already taken place in the period between Contarini's writing of his treatise and Lewkenor's anglicisation of it – typically choosing to translate from both the texts available to him: 'free' (from the Italian) *and* 'vntouched' (from the Latin).

Consequently, CHAPTER I, '*Gasparo Contarini, (1483-1542)*', examines the context in which *De magistratibus* took shape through a brief outline of Contarini's life that favours the features that may be relevant for a better understanding of the text. Thus, a very minor episode appearing in recent biographies - Contarini's appointment as 'censor' in the case of a newly-printed book which had been brought to the attention of the Council of Ten as 'licentious' and 'heretical' - is dealt with in some detail primarily because the way in which it is construed may cast a shadow on Contarini's intellectual integrity. Further investigation, in fact, proves that the suggestion of any inquisitorial-tinged censorship on his part, or of any aquiescence of his towards the Council of Ten, is based on ambiguous and partly incorrect data, and confirms Contarini's luminous intelligence and personality.

CHAPTER II, *'Lewes Lewkenor (c. 1560-1627)'*, considers Lewkenor's translation against the background of the issues that were often tragically in dispute in England, and the little that is known of Lewkenor's life. It is a life, it may be observed here, typical of the individual difficulties and resourcefulness that the shaping of the nation entailed. Also relevant for a better understanding, if not of Lewkenor's feelings, then of the environment in which the translation was carried out, are the circles in which Lewkenor moved and the connections that it can be safely assumed he entertained

[19] Lewkenor, begging that '*this famous commonwealth*' be kindly received by the readers, justifies his entreaty thus: *'if in no other regarde, yet in this, that the rest of the whole world honoreth her with the name of a Virgin, a name though in all places most sacred & venerable, yet in no place more dearely and religiously to bee reuerenced, then with vs, who haue thence deriued our blessednesse, which I beseech God may long continue among vs',* 'To the Reader', sig. A4*r*.

or cultivated. Pre-eminent are, therefore, the figures of the dedicatee (and possible inspirator) of the translation, Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick, and of the five writers who contributed prefatory verses to the translation and were indicated as *(Edw.) Spencer*, *I. Ashley*, *Maur. Kiffen*, *Henry Elmes*, and *Iohn Harington*.

CHAPTER III, *'Lewkenor's sources'*, tries first to establish which editions of Contarini's treatise Lewkenor actually used (a tentative list of all the book's editions and translations, sketched for the purpose, is enclosed in APPENDIX I), before moving on to examine in detail the more likely sources adopted, namely, an unvaried edition of the 1544 Italian translation, *La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia*, and a revised Latin text, probably a 1571 or 1578 edition of *De magistratibus*. The result is that significant divergences from the first (assumed original) edition of 1543 are present both in the Italian translation and in the revised Latin edition of (1571) 1578. Though the purpose of this research is basically to establish what use Lewkenor made of his sources rather than discover what Contarini's orginal words were, it remains that Contarini's thought was altered on seemingly crucial points and that these alterations were inadvertently passed on to the English translation. By contrast, Lewkenor was very alert to the divergences existing between the two texts he compared. Thus, some examples of how he reacted to them do contribute to a fresh appraisal of the English translation of *De magistratibus*.

Equally relevant are some aspects of Lewkenor's own divergences from the two texts. For instance, in both 'source' texts, *tribù* and *tribus* respectively are used in the sense of *sestiere*, corresponding to *ward*, the term for London's territorial divisions since the 11th century. Lewkenor's choice of *tribe*, examined in CHAPTER IV, '*Analysis of the translated text. Some examples*', is a noticeable example of a mistranslation. Nonetheless, it is still largely unquestioned, no matter how discordant the use of 'tribe' appears in connection with Renaissance Venice. Arguably the most significant example of a mistranslation, however, is Lewkenor's interpolation of the text in his treatement of Contarini's expression *reipublicae libertas*. The chapter is complemented by a reasoned bibliography on the subject of *sestiere* / tribe and on Renaissance translations in general (APPENDIX II).

CHAPTER V, *'Lewkenor's additional sources'*, examines Lewkenor's translations of '*sundry other Collections'* which, under the title *Divers Observations on the Venetian Government*, he included as an appendix to the main work for '*the more cleere and exact satisfaction of the Reader*'. As he explains himself, in fact, '*being now aboue fourescore years since* [Gasper Contareno] *wrote the*

same, since which time there haue succeeded many alterations of lawes, and changes of matters in his country, I thought it not vnnecessarie to adde thereunto sundrie other particularities, gathered (as I said) partly by conference, partly by reading of other learned Authors' [20]. These additional sources are eventually indicated by Lewkenor simply as follows: 1) *The situation of the Citie of Venice described by Donato Gianotti a Florentine, more plain & particular in mine opinion then that of Contarenus*; 2) *Collections taken out of the historie of Signior Bernardo Giustiniani, a Gentleman of Venice;* 3) *Sebastian Munsters description of the Citie of Venice*; 4) *Notes out of Girolamo Bardi*; 5) *Francesco Sansovini*. Lewkenor's selection for his *Divers Observations on the Venetian Government* includes also 6) *A breviate of the History & lives of the Venetian princes*, culled mostly from Sansovino. Nevertheless, what is required is a correct identification of these passages and their authors.

Needless to say, also the translations in the Appendix offer many examples of divergences in relation to their respective sources and at the same time interact with Lewkenor's translation of Contarini's text. The translations are therefore examined from two points of view, the one in relation to the original texts and the other in relation to Contarini's text. In the latter instance, in fact, Lewkenor's excerpts from other authors are meant to supplement *De magistratibus* by introducing points not discussed by Contarini, explicating Contarini's unclear points, providing fresh information on Contarini's material, and at times even criticising it. As a result, the translation of Contarini's book into English, complemented by the Appendix, supplied not only food for political thought but a wealth of authoritative information on the city as well as on many of the most intriguing and colourful aspects of Venetian life and customs.

Thus a wider public began to share an ever growing interest in Venice, which made its entrance, literally, on the English stage – as indeed did Contarini himself, whose treatise is mentioned by Sir Politic in Jonson's *Volpone* [21]. Other descriptions of Venice and its government had already appeared in English before Lewkenor's translation of Contarini, for instance William Thomas's

[20] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', sig. A3*v*.

[21] Sir Politic: 'Within my first week of my landing here / All took me for a citizen of Venice: / I knew the forms so well -'/ Peregrine (aside): 'And nothing else' / Sir Politic: 'I had read Contarene […]'. Ben Jonson, *Volpone or The Foxe*. *A Comedie. Acted in the yeere 1605 by the K. Maiesties Seruants*, London, William Stanby, 1616, Act IV, i, ll. 37-40.

Historie of Italie (1549) [22]. But, besides the reputation it acquired as one of the sources for the setting of Shakespeare's and Jonson's Venetian plays [23], *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* is notable in that it was the first English book *entirely* devoted to Venice.

Its popularity with the English public, however, can also be accounted for by the newly-acquired English perception of the world following the victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588. Since then, English naval power had been steadily growing: new trade routes opened up on the oceans, more and more English scholars, artists and aristocrats travelled on the Continent, mainly to Italy. Unsurprisingly, Venice was uppermost in English awareness [24]. Not only was this small city-state an island which could command a most powerful and efficient fleet and dominate the Mediterranean and Eastern trade routes - a stimulating example to the other island of the North - but it also compelled the traveller's admiration by the fascinating uniqueness of its environment, history, and traditions. How much of Venice's 'uniqueness' is due to Lewkenor's *Commonwealth* and the lapse of time rather than Contarini's *Republica di Vinegia* remains, however, to be seen.

Obviously, it was not only the English that were curious about Venice. The republic too was keeping an eye on Tudor England, as the Venetian ambassadors' *relazioni* to the Senate indicate, though making it apparent that Venice's interest at the time was mainly economic rather than

[22] See the section on 'The Venetian State' in *Lezioni ai potenti: William Thomas e l'Italia*. Con una selezione da *The Historie of Italie*, a cura di Angelo Deidda, Maria Grazia Dongu, Laura Sanna, testo inglese a fronte, CUEC Editrice, Cagliari, 2002, pp. 232-262.
.

[23] For Lewkenor as Shakespeare's source, scholars mention *Othello* rather than *The Merchant of Venice* which, though printed in 1600, had been entered in the Stationers' Register in 1598. See, for instance, Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Othello. A Contextual History*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, and David McPherson, *Shakespeare, Jonson, and the Myth of Venice*, University of Delaware Press, 1990. On *Othello* and how 'the governmental structure of Venice […] is indispensable for generating the basic dramatic situation', see Mark Matheson, 'Venetian Culture and the Politics of *Othello*', in *Shakespeare Survey* n. 36, 2002, pp. 123-133, at p. 124.

[24] Though there had been commercial and economic exchanges of long standing between the two maritime states, cultural and intellectual associations only began in the 16th century, when English scholars also attended the University of Padua. The historian Rawdon Brown (1806-1883), who undertook to account for every Venetian document bearing mention of an individual coming from Great Britain and Ireland, covered a period from 1202 to 1509 in the first volume of his *Calendar of State Papers* (1864), while it took the following six volumes to cover the period from 1509 to 1580, see *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, edited by Rawdon Brown, published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, 38 vols., London, 1864-1947 (*CSP Venice*).

cultural [25]. But Lewkenor's is the genuine traveller's curiosity, though he still finds it necessary to qualify it:

> nothing is here farther from my meaning then those who hauing gotten a fonde affected phrase of speech, or some conceited toyes in their habite would be accounted great trauellers, because perchaunce they haue seene the clocke at *Strasburge*, or can talk of *Maddona Margaritas* pantables, [26]

Lewkenor's concern must have been real enough, so much so that it was also expressed, with the telling detail of a reference to Venice, by Shakespeare in Rosalind's words to the departing Jaques:

> Farewell, Monsieur Traveller; look you lisp and wear strange suits, disable all the benefits of your own country, be out of love with your nativity, and almost chide God for making you that countenance you are; or I will scarce think that you have swam in a gondola, [27]

By contrast, the spirit Lewkenor put into his translation and his '*sundry other Collections*' about Venice may be best gathered by what he himself says in his preface:

> there is not any that doth more beautifie the speaker or delight the hearer, then the description of forreine regions, the manners & customes of farre / distant countries, the diuersitie of their complections, humor, diet and attire, and such like other singularities, especially if they come from the mouth of a wise and well speaking traveller' [28]

Thus, it was also with his unaffected and wide-ranging travelling curiosity, as well as with the choice of Contarini's treatise and the use of all the linguistic resources at his disposal, that Lewkenor was giving his patriotic contribution as much to the rise of a standard national language as to the country's feeling of national identity. Incidentally, he was also very effectively contributing to the myth-making process of Venice's image as upheld by the Venetians, as well as to the English myth-making of Venice.

---

[25] This side of the story is better told by Rawdon Brown. See, for instance, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII: Selection of dispatches written by the Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, and addressed to the Signory of Venice, January 12th 1515, to July 26th 1519*, Smith, Elder and Co., 2 vols., London, 1854, and, of course, the *Calendar of State Papers …*, cit.

[26] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', A1*r*. 'pantables': obs. var. of *pantofle*, 'slipper', from a. F. *pantoufle* (1489). It has been remarked that the English stress on the first syllable facilitated the corruptions *pantople*, *pantocle*, *pantable*, assimilated to words in *–ple*, *-cle*, *-ble*. The form *pantable* was common from c. 1586 to c. 1650 (*OED*).

[27] *As You Like It*, Act 4, Scene I.

[28] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', sig. 4*v*-A*r*.

Methodology

Lewkenor's proviso of having '*chiefly followed*' the Italian text '*though still comparing the same with the Latine originall*' [29], and the circumstance that the Latin text he adopted was a revised edition of the original, imply that an analysis of his translation must proceed from an interlinear comparison not only with the Italian but also the two Latin texts, as the example below, Contarini's opening lines, makes apparent (the italics signal the divergences between the two Latin texts).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude goes to the many institutions that publish material of academic interest on their websites, in particular the American universities for their generosity in making valuable primary sources easily accessible on-line. Above all, I should like to thank the Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text & Image of the University of Pennsylvania, whose publication of *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* first gave me the idea of comparing Lewkenor's translation with the original.

[29] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', sig. A3*v*.

Edition	Text
1543	*Saepe numero* animadverti complures advenas, prudentes homines, nec bonarum artium ignaros,
1544	Io ho più volte considerato molti forestieri, uomini savi, non ignoranti delle buone arti,
1578	*Saepenumero* animadverti complures advenas, prudentes homines, nec bonarum artium ignaros,
1599	I having oftentimes observed many strangers, men wise & learned,
1543	*qui cum* primum Venetias venissent, *ac* amplitudinem eius urbis contemplati essent
1544	& tosto ch'arrivano a Vinegia, & hanno contemplato la grandezza di quella città
1578	*quum* primum Venetias venissent, *atque* amplitudinem eius urbis contemplati essent,
1599	who arriving newly at Venice, and beholding the beautie and magnificence thereof
1543	*adeo sunt admiratione* ac veluti stupore quodam *perculsi*
1544	essersi talmente empiuti di maraviglia, & quasi d'un certo stupore
1578	*tanta esse admiratione* & veluti stupore quondam *perculsos*,
1599	were stricken with so great an admiration and amazement,
1543	ut nihil mirandum magis aut illustrius se unquam vidisse *præ se tulerint*,
1544	che mostrano non haver mai veduto cosa piu degna di maraviglia
1578	ut nihil mirandum magis, aut illustrius se unquam vidisse *præseferrent*,
1599	that they woulde, and that with open mouth confesse, never anything which beforetime they had seene
1543	ac totius oris significatione *ostenderint*,
1544	ne piu con l'aspetto di tutto'l volto anchora
1578	ac totius oris significatione *ostenderent*
1599	to be thereunto comparable, either in glory or goodlinesse.

I. Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542) *

Sources. 1. The Contarini family. 2. Education (1495-1509): *'Renaissance Aristotelianism'*. 3. Friends: *The Aristotelic ideal of* philia. 4. Religion. 5. The choice of life. 6. The traditional role of a Venetian patrician: *At war*. 7. The humanist: vita in villa; a 'friar without a hood'. 8. Public office: *Broglio, campaigning for office. Censors. Office holding: duration, expenses.* 9. The diplomat (1520-1535): *Martin Luther; At the Spanish court; The New World; Writings*: *Primae philosophiae compendium; De magistratibus et republica venetorum; The Spanish Inquisition; Back in Venice; Contarini as 'censor'; The diplomat again*. 10. The cardinal (1535-1542). 11. Poisoned? 12. Publication of Contarini's *Opera*.

Gasparo Contarini

Gasparo Contarini has been the object of biographies since almost immediately after his death in 1542 up to the present day. To these, an increasing number of studies have been added. Contarini's first biographer was Giovanni Della Casa, whom the family entrusted with the task in 1553 [30]. Della Casa having died without completing it, another of Contarini's friends, Pietro Vettori, took it up while he was editing Della Casa's *opera omnia* [31]. Later on, Lodovico Beccadelli, Contarini's secretary in the 1540s, wrote a second biography [32], and also encouraged Contarini's nephew,

---

* NB. According to the Venetian calendar, the new year began on March 1. This system is referred to as *more veneto* (Venetian custom), abbreviated as *m.v.* Thus Jan 30, 1521 would be Jan 30, 1522 on the modern calendar. All the dates in the text for January and February follow the modern calendar except when the Venetian dating system is relevant to the issue being discussed. It is then signalled by the abbreviation *m.v.*

[30] Giovan Battista Della Casa (Mugello, Florence 1503-Rome 1556). In 1551 Della Casa left Rome for Venice, where he spent one year. In 1553 he retired to the abbey of Nervesa, near Treviso, where he wrote *Il Galateo* and most of his works in Latin and in the vernacular. See Giovan Battista Della Casa, *Latina monimenta, quorum partim versibus, partim soluta oratione scripta sunt*, Firenze, Giunti, 1564, edited by Pietro Vettori, with Della Casa's *Life* of Gasparo Contarini besides his verses (*Carmina*) and prose writings: a *Life* of Bembo, a Preface to Bembo's *Historia*, some letters (to Ranuccio Farnese and Pietro Vettori himself), and translations from Thucydides' orations.

[31] Pietro Vettori (Florence 1499-1585). A philologist and scrupulous editor of ancient texts, in 1522 he went to Spain to collect ancient inscriptions. A fervent republican, upon the return of the Medici to Florence in 1530 he retired to the country where he wrote *Il trattato delle lodi e della coltivazione de li ulivi*, one of the foremost examples of didascalic prose of his times. He refused high positions in order to attend to his studies. On his completion of Della Casa's biography of Contarini, it has been worked out that 'Vettori corrected what Della casa had written and perhaps added one-third', see Antonio Santosuosso, 'On the Authorship of Della Casa's Biography of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 28 (Summer), 1975, pp. 183–189, at p. 186.

[32] Lodovico Beccadelli (Bologna 1501-Prato 1572). He was secretary to Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509-1580) and accompanied him in his legations to Hagenau (1540), Worms (1541) and Speyer (1542). At the same time he was also secretary to Contarini and accompanied him to Regensburg (1541). After Contarini's death he was secretary to Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-1558), whom he accompanied in his missions to Spain. Finally, he was secretary to Marcello Cervini (1501-1555), later Pope Marcellus II. See Lodovico Beccadelli, 'Vita di Monsignor Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo Messer Gasparo Contarino Gentilhuomo Venitiano et Cardinale della S. Romana Chiesa', in *Monumenti di varia letteratura tratti dai manoscritti di Monsignor Lodovico Beccadelli*, a cura di Giambattista Morandi, Bologna, 1797-1804, on-line. It was

Alvise, to sponsor a complete edition of Gasparo's works, which appeared in 1571 with the Della Casa-Vettori biography [33]. Other biographies followed over the centuries [34]. Franz Dittrich's monograph [35], following his publication of Contarini's letters [36], is now considered the classic biography on the life and works of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini. More recently, Elisabeth Gleason has contributed a very comprehensive study [37].

Primary sources, however, remain invaluable. The discovery by Hubert Jedin of thirty more letters to two of Contarini's best friends, Tommaso Giustiniani and Vincenzo Querini (also spelt Quirini), has engaged scholarly attention ever since their publication in 1953 [38]. In fact, they cover a twelve-year period - from 1511 when Contarini was twenty-eight until 1523 when he turned forty – which was fundamental in shaping his thought and his choices both in the secular and the religious sphere. In this respect, other relevant sources – made readily accessible thanks to Rawdon Brown's researches in the Venetian archives [39] - are Contarini's own dispatches to Venice in the course of

---

written in Italian and later translated into Latin. Beccadelli also wrote a *Life* of Bembo and of Cardinal Reginald Pole, *Vita Reginaldi Poli, Britanni, S.R.E. cardinalis, et Cantuariensis archiepiscopi*, Venedig 1561, translated into English two centuries later by Benjamin Pye as *The Life of Cardinal Reginald Pole, Written Originally in Italian by Ludovico Beccadelli*, Bathurst, London, 1766. See also Titian's *Portrait of Bishop Ludovico Beccadelli* (1552), on-line.

[33] The Della Casa-Vettori biography was printed as an introduction to Gaspare Contarini's *Opera* (*Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera*, Parisiis, apud Sebastianum Nivellium, sub Ciconiis in via Iacobaea, 1571) and subsequent editions. See *Gasparis Contareni Vita a Ioanne Casa Conscripta* in *Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera*, Apud Aldum, Venetiis, MDLXXIIX (1578), pp. 8-38, available also on-line. On Contarini's three early biographers see Gigliola Fragnito, *Memoria individuale e costruzione biografica. Beccadelli, Della Casa, Vettori alle origini di un mito*, Argalia Editore, Urbino, 1979.

[34] See Hubert Jedin's survey of biographical studies in 'Gasparo Contarini', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, vol. XIII, currently edited by Luc Courtois and Eddy Louchez of Louvain and published by Letouzey et Ané of Paris, 1956, cols. 771-784, on-line.

[35] Franz Dittrich, *Gasparo Contarini, 1483-1542. Eine Monographie*, Braunsberg, 1885.

[36] Franz Dittrich, *Regesten und Briefe des Cardinals Gasparo Contarini*, Braunsberg, 1881.

[37] Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993.

[38] Hubert Jedin, 'Contarini und Camaldoli', Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome, 1953, pp. 3-67 (later in *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*, II, 1959, pp. 53-117). In fact, the 'resurgence of scholarly interest' in Contarini was mainly related to interest in Italian religious history, see James Ross Bruce, 'The Emergence of Gasparo Contarini: A Bibliographical Essay', in *Church History*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Mar.), Cambridge University Press, 1972, pp. 22-45.

[39] Contarini's dispatches to the Senate from his missions to Charles V, about four hundred, copied by his secretary Lorenzo Trevisani, are in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice (VBM, MS It., Cl. VII, 1009 (=7447). See also Rawdon Brown, *CSP Venice*, cit., vols. 3-4, London, 1869-71. The translation by Rawdon Brown of extracts and summaries of the dispatches referring to English affairs, now in London

his ambassadorial missions and the final reports (*relazioni*) he delivered to the Senate [40], as well as the less official letters he exchanged with the Doge and with his own family. Equally relevant are the remarks of his contemporaries, first of all the diarists Marcantonio Michiel (from 1512 to 1521), Girolamo Priuli (from 1494 to 1512), and especially Marin Sanudo (from 1494/96 to 1532) [41], together with Pietro Dolfin (*Annali veneti* 1500-1505) [42], all of which contribute to a better understanding of Contarini's personality and of his life and times.

1. The Contarini family

Gasparo was born into one of the oldest Venetian families, claiming descent from one of the twelve families that elected the first doge in 697, the so called 'apostolic' families. In fact, it was later listed among the *case vecchie*, or *longhe*, as one of twenty-four (or twenty-eight) families existing in Venice before 800, as opposed to the houses of more recent nobility called *case nuove*, or *curte*. As it is, the origins of the Contarini family were linked with the very beginning of the city [43]. Since then, it had branched out into over twenty familial lines recorded on the property rolls of all the six administrative districts (*sestieri*) of Venice [44], and by the 16th century it had more members in the Great Council than any of the other 146 patrician families of Venice: in 1527 there were 172 Contarini out of the 2708 members of the Great Council, followed by the Morosini with 102 and the

---

(Public Record Office, MSS. 31/14/70, 31/14/71, and 31/14/91), 'is accompanied by valuable marginal notes', see Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 30, n. 133.

[40] See '*Relazione di Gasparo Contarini ritornato ambasciatore da Carlo V. Letta in Senato a dì 16 Novembre 1525*', also called '*relazione di Germania*', in Eugenio Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie I, vol. II, Tipografia all'Insegna di Clio, Firenze 1840, pp. 9-73, facsimile reprint in *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato* a cura di Luigi Firpo, vol. II, 'Germania (1506-1554)', in 'Monumenta politica et philosophica rariora', Bottega d'Erasmo, Torino, 1965, pp. 83-150. The text is available also on-line.

[41] Marin Sanudo, *I Diarii (1496-1533)*, a cura di Rinaldo Fulin, Federico Stefani, Nicolò Barozzi, Guglielmo Berchet, Marco Allegri, 58 voll., R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, Tipografia del commercio di Marco Visentini, Venezia, 1879-1902. Sanudo's *Diarii* also include copies of many of Contarini's letters, vols. 31-39 *passim*.

[42] See Cristiane Neerfeld, *"Historia per forma di diaria". La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, trad. Matthias Zucchi, Memorie dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere e Arti, vol. CXIV, Venezia, 2006.

[43] The Contarini family is mentioned in the *Chronicon altinate* (11th c.) as one of those that moved to Rialto at the beginning of the 9th c. See *Origo civitatum Italie seu Venetiarum* (*Chronicon altinate et Chronicon gradense*), a cura di Roberto Cessi, Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, n. 73, Scrittori. Secoli XI-XII, Tipografia del Senato, Roma, 1933.

[44] Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venise trionfante. Les horizons d'un mithe*, Éditions Albin Michel, 1999, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2002, at p. 218.

Malipiero with 81 [45]. By the 16th century three doges – there would be five more before the end of the Republic [46] - had also issued from the Contarini family, one of whom, Andrea, in 1379 saved Venice from the Genoese fleet during the War of Chioggia and is evoked by Gasparo as an example of the civic modesty practised by patricians in former times.

Gasparo's branch, the Contarini of the Madonna dell'Orto, took its name from its proximity to the Cannaregio church in whose family chapel he is buried [47]. He was the eldest of seven sons and four daughters born to Alvise Contarini and Polissena Malipiero [48]. With the addition of Alvise's two natural children they seem to have formed a family not only as tightly-knit as patrician families usually were in Venice, but also of a particularly warm and affectionate disposition. Gasparo's father meant to start off all his sons in administering the extensive family property both in Venice and on the mainland, as well as managing the family trading ventures in Apulia, Alexandria, Cyprus, and Spain; but he recognised Gasparo's academic interests [49], as did his brothers and sisters when they insisted that he pursue his studies in Padua after their father's death in 1502 [50]. Gasparo himself, in a letter of 1511 to his friend Vincenzo Querini, explained what a strong obligation family affection represented for him. By 1549, however, only the oldest of Gasparo's younger brothers, Tommaso, who had accompanied him in his four-year diplomatic mission at the imperial court of Charles V, was alive [51].

---

[45] Sanudo, *Diarii*, 4: 569-72.

[46] With eight doges, elected between 1043 and 1676, the Contarini family had more doges than any other family in Venice. There followed the Mocenigo – their eternal 'rivals' - with seven. See Claudio Rendina, *I Dogi*. *Storia e segreti*, 2.ed., Newton, Rome, 2003, p. 340.

[47] The palazzo, in Cannaregio 3539, is called Contarini del Zaffo.

[48] Gasparo had other contemporary namesakes in the Contarini family, so he is usually referred to in Venetian records as 'Gasparo Contarini, qu. sier Alvise' ('son of'), to distinguish him, for instance, from 'Gasparo Contarini, qu. sier Francesco Alvise', see Sanudo's *Diarii*.

[49] '… vedendolo volto a i studi delle lettere, et farvi dentro progressi sopra la tenera sua etate, si risolse di lasciarlo continuare, et ajutarlovi, onde il giovene allegramente se li diede', Beccadelli, 'Vita', in Morandi, *Monumenti* …, cit., p. 10. Apparently Alvise would even good-humouredly encourage his son's preferences by telling him that 'he wanted to make a Cardinal of him', ('el lo volea far Cardinale'), see Gigliola Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, 1983, vol. 28, pp. 172-192, at p. 172.

[50] The brothers then formed a *fraterna*, a *de facto* partnership with all the family property in common.

[51] Tommaso himself, later *procuratore di S. Marco*, became one of the most distinguished patricians of the Venetian government, see Renzo Derosas, 'Contarini, Tommaso', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, 1983, vol. 28, pp. 300-5.

2.Education

Gasparo had first studied in Venice at the school of San Marco (1495-1500), where he was admitted when he reached the required age of twelve. His teachers there including the historian Marco Antonio Sabellico and the humanist Giorgio Valla, at whose death in 1500 Gasparo moved to the school of Rialto where he attended the lessons of Antonio Giustinian [52]. Afterwards, from 1501 to 1509, he frequented the *Studium* of Padua for a degree *in artibus* [53], but 'little material about his years at Padua has come to light' [54].

It is possible that Gasparo applied himself also to theology [55]. Certainly he studied Greek under Marcus Musurus who held a chair there from 1503 to 1509, and natural philosophy under Pietro Pomponazzi [56], who is generally regarded as the strongest Paduan influence on the intellectual formation of the young patrician [57].

'Renaissance Aristotelianism'

Pomponazzi was fundamentally an Aristotelian. In many of the Renaissance universities in Italy the teaching of philosophy centred on Aristotle and his commentators, a practice which has been called 'Renaissance Aristotelianism' as opposed to the medieval reception of Aristotle's works and its

---

[52] For a general outline of the two schools of San Marco and Rialto, see Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 172.

[53] On Italian renaissance universities in general and the *studium* of Padua in particular see Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2002.

[54] Gleason remarks that Dittrich, in his biography [*GC*, 13-21] 'discusses Contarini's teachers and the subjects he studied' but that '[t]he evidence for these years is sketchy, and much of what Dittrich suggests is inferred from general works about the university and the curriculum of that period, Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 8, n. 25. For more positive indications, however, see Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., pp. 172-3.

[55] Gleason indicates: 'For a survey, see Antonino Poppi, "La teologia nell'Università e nelle scuole," in Arnaldi and Stocchi (eds.), *Storia della cultura veneta* 3(3):1-33' (Gleason, p. 8 n. 27).

[56] Pietro Pomponazzi (Mantova 1462-Bologna 1525), often called *Peretto* or *Perettus* ('Pieretto'?)**,** "little Peter", for his slight built, was a key figure in expounding the Aristotelian philosophy of the time and a star teacher at the university of Padua, where he graduated first *in artibus* (1487) and then in medicine (1495) and where he taught natural philosophy from 1488 to 1496 and from 1499 to 1509. During the war of the League of Cambrai, Pomponazzi was briefly at the University of Ferrara, then in 1511 was appointed professor at Bologna where he wrote his major works (*Tractatus de immortalitate animae*, *De nutritione*, *De fato and De incantationibus)*, as well as commentaries on Aristotle, and where he died in 1525. His thought continued to be extremely influential for centuries after his death.

[57] See Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 172.

schools. In fact, Leonardo Bruni, who translated Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Economics* from Greek into Latin, did so to call attention to that part of Aristotle's work 'that deals with man and his life in society and which had been neglected or even ignored by the medieval writers' [58].

The Renaissance 'opposition' to the conventional medieval reception of Aristotle, however, varied greatly from one university to another. At Padua it flourished. Thus, of the *corpus aristotelicus*, the *philosophy of nature* was taught more intensively than elsewhere since philosophy students tended to pursue a medical degree, and for the same reasons metaphisocs was without relevance for the regular degree examinations. Also, considerable stress was laid on moral philosophy, with ethics far more prominent than politics [59]. To this there was added Pomponazzi's spirit of intellectual independence and the skeptical tone which played a large part in his teaching style as he tried to establish Aristotle's original thought, or even challenge Aristotle's *a priori* demonstrations [60].

As for Gasparo's interest, suffice it to say that Bernardo Navagero, the father of one of the most distinguished among his fellow-students, Andrea [61], used to declare that Contarini 'knew Aristotle's

---

[58] Nicola Abbagnano, 'Renaissance Humanism', in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas. Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas* (*DHI*), Philip P. Wiener (ed.), Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1973-74, Vol. 4, p. 133, on-line.

[59] See David A. Lines, *Aristotle's Ethics in the Italian Renaissance (ca. 1300-1650): The Universities and the Problem of Moral Education*, Brill NV, Leiden, 2002, on-line.

[60] For instance, Aristotle's *a priori* demonstrations of the uninhabitability of the Southern hemisphere, which Pomponazzi challenged 'citing recent geographical information about inhabited settlements in that part of the world and stating that "if we do not know about the things that are on earth and can be seen by us, how are we to know about the heavens? Thus, only fools believe that they can demonstrate such matters. Aristotle said many things, but experience moves in the opposite direction." On the basis of such statements, Bruno Nardi concluded that "Pomponazzi, who started as an Aristotelian and Averroist, faced with the widening of experience in every field of human knowledge, soon asked the question whose answer produced the renewal of modern science", Stefano Perfetti quoting Bruno Nardi, *Saggi sulla cultura veneta del Quattro e Cinquecento*, Antenore, Padua, 1971, p. 52, in 'Pietro Pomponazzi', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2004, on-line.

[61] Andrea Navagero (Venice 1483-Blois 1529), also studied with Sabellico, Musurus, and Pomponazzi. He later edited Latin authors for Manutius, and was such a keen botanist that he is said to have planted the first botanical garden of Europe at Giorgio Cornaro's villa on Murano. In 1516 Navagero was at one stroke entrusted with continuing the history of Venice commenced by Sabellico, the overseeing of the Marciana (then called Nicean) library, and the literary censorship of all new books being printed in the humanities. In 1525 he was appointed ambassador to Charles V in Spain, where he relieved Contarini, and after that ambassador to Francis I in France, where he died. He had composed the funeral orations for Caterina Cornaro 'Regina di Cipro' (1510), Bartolomeo d'Alviano (1515), and the doge Leonardo Loredan (1521). Navagero was buried on Murano in the church of San Martino, since demolished. See E. A. Cicogna, *Della vita e delle opere di Andrea Navagero, oratore, istorico, poeta veneziano del secolo decimosesto*, Tipografia Andreola, Venezia, 1855, on-line. Also, Christopher James Pastore, *Expanding Antiquity: Andrea Navagero*

works so well that if all of them were lost he would be able to write them again from memory' [62]. Nonetheless, Gasparo returned to Venice without a degree in 1509, at the outbreak of the War of the League of Cambrai. It was the gravest crisis in the history of the Republic since the War of Chioggia in the 14th century, and as Padua came under siege the university closed, to reopen only at the end of the war, late in 1517 [63]. However, to study at Padua was part of a young patrician's *curriculum* in view of his future public career, and the attainment of a degree was not necessary to this end, though it did confer a number of 'singular privileges' [64].

3. Friendships

To the Paduan years date Gasparo's most important friendships [65], first of all with Tommaso Giustiniani [66] and Vincenzo Querini [67]. Their friendship was renewed later in Venice, when a

---

and Villa Culture in the Cinquecento Veneto, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 2003, abstract on-line. Navagero's *Opera Omnia*, Girolamo Fracastoro, Gio. Antonio Volpi Gaetano Cristoforo Volpi, ex typographia Remondiniana, 1754, is available on-line.

[62] Giuseppe De Leva, 'Della vita e delle opere del cardinale Gasparo Contarini', *Rivista periodica dei lavori della I. R. Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Padova* 12 (1863): 53, quoted by Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 8, n. 26.

[63] Padua fell early in June but the Venetians recaptured it only five weeks later. An unofficial account of the event is in Girolamo Priuli's diaries, see Lester J. Libby, Jr., 'The Reconquest of Padua in 1509 according to the Diary of Girolamo Priuli', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 28, n. 3 (Autumn), 1975, pp. 323-331.

[64] 'Singolari privilegi erano concessi ai nobili laureati, come quello di un seggio distinto nel gran consiglio di Venezia e la precedenza sugli stessi cavalieri nelle pubbliche solennità', Pompeo G. Molmenti, *La Storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, 3 voll., Lint, Trieste (1927) 1973, p. 231. It must be noted, however, that by contrast with northern Renaissance universities, especially English and German universities, Italian universities taught students at graduate and professional levels. The bachelor's degree had disappeared in Italian universities by about 1400. Hence, students at Italian universities sought doctoral degrees. This is why many northern students came to Italy, and to Padua in particular, for doctorates in law and medicine. On Renaissance Padua and how the university influenced Tudor life and thought, see Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy 1485-1603*, James Clarke & Co. Ltd, Cambridge, 1999. An extract from the 'Biographical Register of English Visitors to Padua, 1485-1603' is published on-line.

[65] James Bruce Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', *Studies in the Renaissance* 17, 1970, pp. 192-232. See also Eugenio Massa, 'Gasparo Contarini e gli amici, fra Venezia e Camaldoli', in *Gaspare Contarini e il suo tempo: atti convegno di studio*, a cura di Francesca Cavazzana Romanelli, Comune di Venezia, Assessorato Affari Istituzionali, and Studium Cattolico Veneziano, Venezia, 1988, pp. 39-91.

[66] Tommaso Giustiniani, Father Paolo (1476-1528). Contarini's elder by eight years, he returned from Padua in 1505 and entered Camaldoli in late 1510, see Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 193.

[67] Vincenzo Querini, Father Pietro (c. 1479-1514). He was *oratore* (ambassador) at the papal court of Alexander VI in 1502 and followed a diplomatic career from which he retired, disgusted, in 1507. He entered Camaldoli in early 1512, see Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 193, n. 5, also noting that no modern study existed on 'Quirini' despite 'a basis' laid by E. A. Cicogna, *Iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 voll., Venice, 1843, at V, pp. 63-75. This gap has since been filled. See, for instance, Stephen D. Bowd, who explains to have been 'initially led to this rather austere and forbidding man through […] fascination with his

'circle' formed around the strong personality of Giustiniani and met at his house on Murano. To the group also belonged Niccolò Tiepolo [68], Sebastiano Zorzi [69], Giovanni Battista Egnazio [70], and Trifone Gabriele [71].

Gasparo would make many more friends in his life. Early on in Florence he met the philosopher Francesco Cattani da Diacceto [72], who very likely introduced him to Giovanni Rucellai and the celebrated political discussions of the *Orti Oricellari* [73]. Friends and acquaintances of later periods included Cardinal Pietro Bembo [74] and, among Florentines, his future biographers Pietro Vettori and Giovanni Della Casa. During his ambassadorship in Spain, in the course of which he also met

---

friend Gasparo Contarini', in Stephen D. Bowd, *Reform Before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy*, vol. 87 of Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, Brill NV, Leiden, 2002, on-line, at p. ix. I have adopted the current spelling of the name, 'Querini' rather than 'Quirini', although, as Bowd has ascertained, 'Querini himself most often signed himself using the latter', see *ibid*., at p. xiii.

[68] Nicolò Tiepolo (d. 1551), about whom no study exists. He and Querini were the only ones of the group who had received doctorates in arts from the *Studium* of Padua. Like Querini, he was accredited at the papal court of Julius II in 1507. The only one of the group to marry, Tiepolo, like Contarini, did not immediately seek public office, Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 195, n. 9 *et passim*.

[69] Sebastiano Giorgi (Father Girolamo), entered Camaldoli with Querini in 1512, see Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 195, n. 12.

[70] Giambattista Egnazio (c. 1478-1553). Humanist, of a non-noble family (Cipelli), he felt the impulse to retire to a life of contemplation and study. He was the only professional scholar of the group, Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 195, n. 11. See also James Bruce Ross, 'Venetian Schools and Teachers Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and a Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 29, 1976, pp. 548-549.

[71] Trifone Gabriele (c.1470-1549), resigned 'in horror' from his first criminal magistracy, see Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 201. A gifted writer and 'pure spirit', Gabriele, called 'the Venetian Socrates', lived ascetically in Venice and at his villa, *ibid*., p. 195, n. 11. He is the main speaker in Donato Giannotti's *Libro dela Republica de' Vinitiani* (1540), which is cast as a dialogue.

[72] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 175.

[73] The family name Oricellari, later Rucellai or Ruccellai, appears first mentioned as the nickname of a certain Giunta d'Alamanno, an alchemist at the court of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen who returned from the 1268 Crusade with a secret process by which an appreciated red dye could be obtained from lichens of the *roccella tinctoria* species. For the colour obtained from this dye see also the English term 'orchil', ME 'orchell', ultimately from Old Catalan 'orxella', possibly of Mozarabic origin. Bernardo Rucellai (1448-1514) initiated the tradition of the Platonic academies, hosted in the Rucellai gardens (*Orti Oricellari*) and continued by his sons, see Felix Gilbert, 'Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari. A Study on the Origin of Modern Political Thought', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 12, 1949, pp. 101-131.

[74] Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 201, n. 34.

Sebastian Cabot [75], Gasparo befriended the humanist Pietro Martire d'Anghiera and the Florentine ambassador Giovanni Corsi. Later on, he made friends with Francesco Nasi, the Florentine ambassador to Bologna, and the English Cardinal Reginald Pole. It is doubtful whether he met Erasmus, who arrived in Venice in 1508 to finish his *Adagia* and edit some of Aldus Manutius' works, but he met and remained friendly with Thomas More. Most notably, Gasparo won the appreciation of both the Pope and the Emperor and, at home, of the doge, Andrea Gritti.

However, no subsequent friendship appears to have been as relevant in Gasparo's life as the earlier one with Giustiniani and Querini, informed as it was by their Paduan ideal of friendship, the Aristotelic *philia*.

The Aristotelic ideal of philia

The part of Aristotle's work that seems to have most absorbed the young patricians at Padua was the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Aristotle regarded friendship as a crucial component of a 'good', *i.e.* 'virtuous', life, and thus placed the notion of *philia* in a social context. In fact, for most of the ancients, ethics and politics were linked. According to Aristotle, therefore, the best friendship – that which is based on the good, on virtue [76]- is a personal achievement, but it flourishes in, and contributes to, a community of citizens thus enjoying concord, or *homonoia*, 'friendship between the citizens of a state' [77].

What better example of *philia* than that among the patricians of the Republic of Venice? Already the Venetian humanist Ermolao Barbaro (1453-1493) had remarked that, while in Florence the family constituted the human space in which individuals achieved self-realization, patricians in Venice found it in the state [78].

Yet, these young patricians, however great the Venetian state's need at this juncture, seemed hesitant about, if not definitively adverse to, seeking their self-realization in its service. Other

[75] Sebastian (born probably in Venice c.1474- died 1557), was the son of John Cabot, the navigator and discoverer of the American mainland, who was originally from Genoa but had obtained Venetian citizenship on 28 March, 1476, before moving to England with his three sons in 1490.

[76] The Italian term *virtù* ('virtue') and the meaning it acquired in the Renaissance has been largely discussed. See Jerrold E. Seigel, '*Virtù* in and since the Renaissance' and bibliography there indicated, *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas,* cit., vol. IV, pp. 477-486, on-line.

[77] Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 198.

[78] *Ibid*., p. 200.

currents were at work in the group. The ideal of an ascetic life was, in fact, as deeply rooted in Venice's history and culture as the tradition of a civic career. This, combined with the ideal of *philia*, hinted at the possibility that a 'good and virtuous' life could perhaps best be realized in a spiritual context whereby the Church itself, painfully in need of reform, would be returned to its primitive purity.

4. Religion

Nowadays, the members of the Murano 'group', and particularly Giustiniani, Querini, Egnazio, and Contarini himself, are defined as 'among the "best interpreters" of a mystical awakening in early sixteenth-century Venice' [79]. In fact, what happened to the Murano 'circle' was that in 1510 Giustiniani left Venice to enter the Camaldolese hermitage near Arezzo and became Fra Paolo. A year later he was joined by Vincenzo Querini (Fra Pietro) and Sebastiano Zorzi (Fra Girolamo). At the time, Gasparo may or may not have seriously considered entering the monastery himself, but the letters he wrote to his friends at Camaldoli over the period 1511-1523 tend to confirm that he never really felt the vocation for the life of a hermit. Yet, and especially by comparison with his friends' choices, Gasparo's vocation in life appears to have remained undecided for many years more.

They continued their discussion on *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* in writing, which makes it possible to follow both the terms of the argument propounded by each side, and the forming of Gasparo's personality. Truly, from the point of view of the church, it could be said that the contemplative life had more value in the eyes of God than the active life. But on strictly theological grounds, Giustiniani himself believed that, without God's gift of salvation, even a life of self-abnegation would not be sufficient penance for past sins. Gasparo's own conviction - following an insight which, according to some, finally resolved what had amounted to a prolonged spiritual crisis – went somewhat further. Indeed, man could never win God's forgiveness and merit salvation by his own efforts, but must trust in the love of God, who had sacrificed His only Son for man's sins. Consequently, whether one lived in the cloister or in the world was, in itself, irrelevant [80].

This letter, in which Gasparo expounds what has been called 'his belief in justification by faith' – *i. e.* that salvation was a gift of God - has particularly attracted the attention of the scholars 'both with

[79] Roberto Cessi, 'Paolinismo preluterano', in *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei: classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 12 (1957): 3-30, p. 8', quoted by Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 10.

[80] Letter of Gasparo Contarini to Tommaso Giustiniani of 26 Dec. 1511, in Jedin, 'Contarini und Camaldoli', (letter 7), quoted by Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 210, *et alii*.

regard to his later theological thought and for its similarity with Luther's insight' [81]. It has been noted, however, that '[i]t would be a mistake to regard these serious young men as proto-Lutherans simply because they expressed that belief' [82].

5. The choice of life

Besides, a monastic vocation was a privilege granted to only a few. In this same letter, the most famous in the correspondence, Gasparo marshalled his arguments. According to Aristotle, 'the solitary life is not natural to man, whom nature has made a social animal' [83]. So, without God's calling, a monastic life should not be attempted, as one would be doing violence to one's own nature. Gasparo's second argument was that of human affections and of the obligations to friends and family, and his third and last that of civic duty, which at the time was represented by the War of the League of Cambrai [84]. Thus, the progress of Gasparo's correspondence makes it increasingly evident how he felt that his calling was in Venice, and his self-realization possible in the natural human environment of a young patrician, the State.

In fact, it has been argued that what really was at issue over the next three years was not so much Gasparo's choice of an active as opposed to a contemplative life, but rather the Christian quality of such a life in the world.

6. The traditional role of a Venetian patrician. At war

Moreover, for Contarini and others, like Nicolò Tiepolo, the problem involved not only the Aristotelian ideal of a 'good life' in harmony with one's personality and native milieu, but also the 'building a sound ladder of loyalties out of traditional materials lying at hand, classical, Christian, and specifically Venetian' [85]. No wonder, then, that the dramatic events entailed by the War of the League of Cambrai against Venice should bring into relief the traditional role of the patriciate in

[81] Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 15.

[82] Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 17. In fact, 'It is only in the light of subsequent interpretations of *fides sine operibus* and the momentous implications of this formula that Contarini's description of the hoped-for solution to his religious problems acquires a more radical tinge' (*ibid*.).

[83] Aristotle, *The Ethics*, Book IX, ix.3, in Jedin, 'Contarini und Camaldoli', (letter 7), quoted by Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 210, *et alii*.

[84] Letter of Gasparo Contarini to Vincenzo Querini, who had taken his vows on 26 Feb. 1512, printed in *Annales Camaldulenses*, J. B. Mittarelli and A. Costadoni (eds.), vol. ix, Venice, 1773, but not present in the collection found by Jedin, quoted by Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 211, n. 75 *et alii*.

[85] Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 194.

times of war [86]. A patrician was expected to contribute to the war by furnishing both men and means, when not himself volunteering [87]. And in fact we learn from Sanudo's *Diaries* that Gasparo was at the siege of Padua in September 1509 with his brothers and twenty men [88] and that, when again Padua came under siege in 1513, he sent one of his brothers with fifteen men to its defence [89]. Contarini himself, however, never mentions his own participation in these events in his letters, and when he evokes the siege of Padua in his writing it is only to stress that patriotic feelings in the face of the Republic's danger were shared by patricians and commoners alike [90].

7. The humanist – *vita in villa* - a 'friar without a hood'

Though ready for public office Gasparo was never elected, despite being nominated many times: in 1511 twice, in 1512 five times, in 1514 once, and again once in 1515 [91]. This last occasion, for the election of an *avogador di comun* (public prosecutor in criminal cases), is the first and last mention in his letters of his interest in, albeit not yet his ambition for, a public career.

---

[86] In connection with these events, recent scholarship has examined aspects as diverse as 'the impact of apocalyptic speculation on political action, the driving force behind the creation of the Ghetto, the Venetian contribution to the infamous Sack of Rome, links between the spice trade and military disaster, the significance of old age in the ruling class, the role of the family in patrician politics, and the Republic's attempt to preserve itself in the great struggle between the Ottoman Turks and the Spanish-Habsburg Empire', see Robert Finlay, *Venice Besieged. Politics and Diplomacy in the Italian Wars 1494-1534*, Ashgate Variorum, 2008. For the defence of Padua, see Frederic C. Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1973, pp. 242-45.

[87] The future Doge Andrea Gritti (r.1523-1538) was a commander in the War of Cambrai: 'on 3 September 1509 as Imperial forces moved to besiege Padua, Gritti addressed all the condottieri in the sacristy of Santa Giustina, exhorting the commanders to defend the Republic and achieve "la liberation de Italia"; he then had them take a solemn oath of fealty to Venice upon a missal left open on the altar. Numerous young patricians volunteered for service in Padua after Gritti's report of this inspiring event reached the Senate', see Robert Finlay, 'Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai, and the Rise of Habsburg Hegemony, 1509-1530', *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Winter), 2000, pp. 988-1031.

[88] Sanudo, *Diarii*, 21:85.

[89] *Ibid*., 17:257, 300.

[90] '[W]hen *Maximiliano* the Emperour, raising every where forces, came with a mighty Armie to besiege the same Cittie, many not onely of the Gentlemen, but also of the plebeians, waging sundrie souldiers at their owne charge, went unto the defence thereof, indevoring themselves there, in such noble and valorous sort, that the Emperour was constrained to withdraw his Army, without delivering so much as one assault to the Cittie', trans. Lewkenor (V, 147), faithful to the Italian: 'Massimiliano imperadore havendo d'ogni parte ragunati aiuti, et con infinito essercito assediata quella Città [Padova], molti cittadini non solo nobili, ma ancho plebei voluntariamente se n'andarono co i soldati condotti à loro private spese, à trar quella d'assedio, et à difenderla, et fecciono grandissimo effetto in quella ispeditione, talmente che l'Imperadore fù costretto ritirar l'essercito senza pur uno assalto alla città' (V, 170).

[91] For the chronology of Contarini's unsuccessful nominations for offices after January 1512, see Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 27, n. 120.

Gasparo took it as an opportunity to concentrate on his studies and, as he wrote to his friends, lead the life of a 'friar without a hood' [92]. In fact, the dramatic reality of the war and his own prolonged political uncertainty seem to have hardly affected the philosophical, mathematical and theological studies he continued to pursue after leaving Padua in 1509, to such an extent that his fame began to attract large numbers of patricians to the family palazzo at the Madonna dell'Orto [93].

In addition, the course of events allowed him to cultivate the pleasure he took in music, the company and conversation of his friends, the social occasions with relatives[94], and the occasional travels to Camaldoli and Florence, all practical means by which he essayed to bring together the Aristotelian ideal of *philia* and that of Christian *caritas* [95]. It also afforded him more time to spend in solitude at the family villa at Piove di Sacco, south of Padua [96]] where he took an interest in agriculture.

The principal source of information on agriculture during the Renaissance was a collection of Latin texts, which included Varro, Cato, Columella, and Palladius, entitled *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*, first printed in Venice in 1472 by Nicolaus Jenson [97]. The 'rediscovery' of these texts – early in the 15th century the Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini had found Columella's in a 9th century manuscript from Fulda - was part of the humanists' fascination with the ancient world, and the Roman writers of the *Rei Rusticae* remained the authorities on agricultural matters and rural life well into the 16th century. It is not difficult to imagine Contarini among its readers. The life *in villa* afforded both *utilitas* (profits) and *delectatio* (pleasures) and, to the philosopher, a wealth of

[92] Quoted in Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 25.

[93] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 173.

[94] Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 23.

[95] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 173.

[96] The place is 'Piove' di Sacco, not 'Pieve' di Sacco, as in Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 220 n. 116.

[97] A second edition appeared ten years later (Reggio Emilia, Bartholomeus & Laurentius de Bruschis, 1482); a third in 1494, printed by Benedictus Hectoris in Bologna; a fourth, edited by Philippus Beroaldus, was printed in Reggio Emilia by Dionysius Bertochus in 1496, etc.

metaphors from crops, bees, vines, olives, cattle-breeding, bee-keeping, and the like. Besides, the farmer's cardinal virtue, prudence, was traditionally associated with the art of 'good' government [98].

It must have been a very fertile period. While he continued to be nominated but not elected – a further four times in 1516, three in 1517, and six in 1518 – Gasparo wrote a two-book treatise on the immortality of the soul in answer to his former teacher Pietro Pomponazzi [99], and at the same time the treatise *De officio viri boni ac probi episcope* [100]. In 1518, however, Contarini was finally elected *Provedador sora la Camera d'imprestedi* [101], though continuing to be nominated - in 1519 nine times, in 1520 once - for other and more important offices.

---

[98] See Jean-Louis Gaulin, 'Trattati di agronomia e innovazione agricola', in *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa*, vol. III, *Produzioni e tecniche*, a cura di Philippe Braunstein e Luca Molà, Fondazione Cassamarca, Angelo Colla Editore, Treviso, 2007, pp. 145-163, at p. 155.

[99] See Pietro Pomponazzi, *De immortalitate animae* (1516), on-line. Pomponazzi disputed the notion, as received from the Aristotelian texts, that the immortality of the soul could be rationally demonstrated. The strong reaction this caused in Venice induced Pomponazzi to ask his former pupil to support his thesis. However, in his answer - also entitled *De immortalitate animae* - Contarini, who as a student had been inspired by Pomponazzi's critical reading of Aristotle, took the contrary view. Nevertheless, his remarks on the relationship between faith and reason won Pomponazzi's consideration and were enclosed in his reply. The first book of Contarini's *De immortalitate animae*, together with Pomponazzi's reply, was published anonymously in Bologna in 1518. It was to remain the only work published in Contarini's lifetime, the second book of this tract appearing in his *Opera* in 1571.

[100] *De officio episcopi libri II*, in *Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera* (1578), pp. 401-432, on-line. See Gigliola Fragnito, 'Cultura umanistica e riforma religiosa: il "De officio boni viri ac probi episcopi" di Gasparo Contarini', *Studi veneziani* 11, 1969. It was recently translated into English as *The Office of a Bishop: De Officio Viri Boni Et Probi Episcopi*, John Patrick Donnelly, S.J, ed., Reformation Texts With Translation (1350-1650), Theology and Piety, Vol. 1, Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 2002. The treatise was written at the request of the newly elected Bishop of Bergamo, Pietro Lippomano, who had been named as successor to his uncle, Nicolao Lippomano, when still a teenager - a case, literally, of nepotism - although he did not serve as bishop until his consecration in 1530.

[101] 1518, 17 Oct., see Sanudo, *Diarii*, 26:129. The *Camera degli Imprestiti* – or Chamber of Loans – was a body of commissioners instituted in 1171 for the purpose of managing the public debt. It originated in the financial difficulties of the State, which in 1262 established a loan fund called the Monte Vecchio whereby, in exchange for the sums they paid, the citizens received stock certificates bearing a five percent interest. Commissioners were thus appointed to manage the payment of the interest to the bond holders and the transfer of the stock. Afterwards two similar public loan funds were established: during the War of Ferrara (1482-1483) the so-called Monte Nuovo (see the text of the decree of the Great Council of 23 April, 1482, in David Sanderson Chambers, Brian Pullan, and Jennifer Fletcher, *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, Renaissance Society of America, (Basil Blackwell, 1992), University of Toronto Press, 2001, pp. 158-9), and during the War of Cambrai (1509-1517) the *Monte Nuovissimo*. Therefore, it is not clear why it has been said that 'He [Contarini] was in charge of surveying and measuring reclaimed land in the Po delta before it was put up for sale by the government. He was also responsible for drainage and irrigation projects and had to deal with complaints and disputes, some of which reached the Senate', Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 27, and Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 176. It is true that *Provveditori sopra camere* were entrusted to sell the Republic's feuds in the Polesine, but that occurred later, in 1550, see Andrea Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, Biblioteca d'Arte Editrice, Roma, 1937, p. 114. However, the activity described above might have been entailed by the office to which Contarini was elected, if it concerned 'efforts at reduction of the public debt',

8. Public office

Why did Contarini – who was 35 years old - make such a late entrance into public life? Gleason discusses the point with reference to more general circumstances than those attending Contarini's personal experience [102]:

> First of all, by Venetian criteria he was relatively young for the holding of office.[103] If he entered the Great Council in 1508, at the usual age of twenty-five, he would most likely have spent the next few years attending meetings and voting on candidates for office rather than competing for office himself. A patrician theoretically could be elected to the Senate at thirty-two, or to the Council of Ten at forty; however, 'deference to the elderly pushed the age of de facto eligibility to councils some ten to twenty years beyond the legal requirement [104]. A period of political apprenticeship lasting ten to twenty years was not uncommon; during it one would be regarded as young in politics, even though by the usual standards of the time one could be approaching old age. 'From the age of twenty-five to about forty-five, a patrician found high offices closed to him, although a host of minor positions, in the city and abroad, introduced him to government' [105]

Contarini did well in his first office, and was praised in the *collegio* and acknowledged by the Doge [106], and could now admit to his friends that he was ambitious and, more importantly, that he could take pleasure in competing for office [107]. Thus he definitively set out on a public career, with the moral and financial support of his brothers. The competition was fierce [108], as Gasparo's early

---

see Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 221, n. 126, quoting Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, ed. Fulin, Venezia, 1880, pp. 148-9.

[102] Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit. p. 26.

[103] Gleason suggests: 'For a discussion of the age at which early-sixteenth-century Venetians assumed higher offices, see Robert Finlay, "The Venetian Republic as a Gerontocracy: Age and Politics in the Renaissance," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1978): 157-78; and his *Politics in Renaissance Venice* , 124-41. For an illuminating contrast, see David Herlihy, "Vieillir à Florence au Quattrocento," *Annales: E.S.C* . 24 (1964): 1338-52 (reprinted in *Cities and Society in Medieval Italy* [London: Variorum Reprints, 1980])', *ibid*.

[104] Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, p. 126, quoted by Gleason, *ibid*.

[105] Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, p. 139, quoted by Gleason, *ibid*.

[106] Sanudo, *Diarii*, 29:381.

[107] Jedin, 'Contarini und Camaldoli', cit., letter 22, quoted by Gleason, p. 29, n. 128.

[108] For the notion – which, however, is largely questioned - that many patricians tried to avoid public office, see Donald E. Queller, 'The Civic Irresponsibility of the Venetian Nobility', in *Economy, Society, and Government in Medieval Italy: Essays in Memory of Robert L. Reynolds*, ed. David Herlihy, Robert S. Lopez and Vsevolod Slessarev, Kent, Ohio, Kent State University Press, 1969, 223-36, and Donald E. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality Versus Myth*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1986. *Contra*, for instance, the results of the prosopography studies of Andrea Mozzato, "Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524". Alcune osservazioni sulla schedatura dei registri del Segretario alle Voci', estratto da *Reti Medievali Rivista*, VI, 2005/2, on-line. On the database 'Rulers of Venice 1332-1524' see Mozzato, 'Problems and possibilities of

efforts confirm. Yet these efforts cannot have reached such a point as would 'seem to indicate electioneering for office, an offence against Venetian law from 1303 called '*broglio*', never eradicated despite repeated prohibitions and severe penalties' [109]. The insinuation is based on the account given by Marin Sanudo of the 1515 election of an *avogador di comun* for which Contarini had been unsuccessfully nominated. Sanudo records that on 2 Sept. [1515], 'although his brother had offered to lend the state 3,000 ducats, Contarini was defeated by a nominee who offered only 2,000', while 'on 16 Sept. Gasparo let it be known that he had lent 3,000 and offered 500 more, and that he had served at the siege of Padua (with his brothers and twenty men) but he lost to a nominee who had lent only 500' [110].

Other scholars, however, can explain the circumstances of the Contarinis' repeated 'offers' of money:

> 'I ripetuti insuccessi in tale direzione e, probabilmente, l'aggravarsi della situazione economica generale, lo spinsero nel settembre 1515, quando lo Stato dovette ricorrere alla vendita degli uffici mediante prestiti a basso interesse, a tentare la via dell'ingresso in Collegio. Prestò 3.000 ducati e concorse all'ufficio di avogador di Comun, che gli venne rifiutato il 2 settembre' [111]

---

constructing a research database. The Venetian case', *Storia di Venezia- Rivista*, II, Firenze University Press, 2004, pp. 1-38, on-line.

[109] Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 219, n. 114. The term *broglio* (or *brogio* in the Venetian dialect) possibly derives from *brolio*, *brolium*, *bruolo*, *brolo*, 'orchard', from late Lat. *brŏgilu(m)*, of Celtic origin. The form *brolo* is common to several North-Italian dialects (see Manlio Cortellazzo e Paolo Zolli, *Dizionario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana* (*DELI*), voce 'brolo', Zanichelli, Bologna (1999) 2008, and Giuseppe Boerio, voce 'brolo', *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, Giunti, Venezia, 1856, rist. anast. Firenze, 1998). In Venice, *brogio* or *piazza del brogio* indicated the *piazzetta* in St Mark's square, where patricians met before sessions, hence the expression *entrar* or *venir in brogio* to indicate the first time young patricians wore public robes (Boerio, 'brogio', *ibid*.). Originally, in fact, all St Mark's square, from the church and the ducal palace to a church on the opposite side, *S. Maria in capite brolii* (later *Ascensione*, and in the 19th c. *Albergo alla Luna*) was planted with fruit-trees, allegedly the orchard of the nuns of S. Zaccaria (see Francesco Sansovino, 'Santa Maria in Broglio', in *Venetia, città nobilis*[sima] *et singolare*, Venetia, 1581, rist. anast. Leading Edizioni, Bergamo, 2002, II, pp. 51-2. Another connection, however, might be established through the Venetian *brogèto*, 'little *broglio*', *i.e*. primarily 'small dossier' but also the paper where the results of the elections were published, with the names of the candidates, the number of votes received, and the sign + beside the names of the elected. Sanudo's diaries offer numberless examples of *brogèti* he transcribed. Therefore the term *broglio* might have originated more from the meaning of 'register', or 'results of elections' than from the sense of the place, a former orchard, where lobbying for elections was carried out. *Contra DELI*, 'brogliàccio: registro di prima nota': 'la connessione con i *brogliétti* veneziani […] non ha l'appoggio della cronologia e delle attestazioni dialettali (*brogliaccio* non è attestato nel Boerio, bensì nel piemontese: *bro(u)jàss* […] che deve stare sicuramente a capo della voce italiana, come lo è sicuramente del corrispondente sardo *brogliàcciu*'. Boerio, however, does mention the term *brogèto*.

[110] Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., p. 219, n. 114, quoting from Sanudo's *Diarii*, 21: 15-17, 85-87.

[111] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 173.

In fact, loans to the government were nothing new [112]. However, as the expenses of the War of the League of Cambrai increased, a new system was introduced offering in exchange for loans not state bonds but political privileges and positions, though one still had to be nominated and elected by the necessary majority.

In early August 1515 a 'general loan to deal with the great need' was launched, and at the elections offices went – mostly – to the highest bidders. In some cases, 'credentials' and 'service at the siege and defence of Padua' still counted for more than the amount offered. In other cases, as in Contarini's, neither did. Thus, it is more likely that, far from practising any intrigue or *broglio*, Contarini himself had at the time been the target of one.

Broglio - campaigning for office

Political manoeuvres were widely practised [113]. In fact, the Venetian system had not developed with a view to preventing all antagonism among the leading families. More realistically, it tended to ensure a degree of healthy competition (and thus no bloodsheds and no feuds, as in Florence) while preventing one of them from acquiring supremacy over the others (no risk of hegemony or tyranny, as elsewhere). Competition was particularly rife between the oldest patrician houses, the *longhi*, and the houses of more recent nobility, the *curti*. Another feature was the opposition to the '*papalisti'*, the families whose members held ecclesiastical benefices [114].

---

[112] See above. For details of the government loans during the 1509-1517 war based on Sanudo's *Diaries* see Patricia H. Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White (eds.), *Città Excelentissima*. *Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, trans. Linda L. Carroll, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2008, p. 13 and p. 268 ff.

[113] On the notion of *broglio* and how the word 'became dynamite for American anti-myth-makers', see Satya Brata Datta: 'On the basis of their competent analyses […] of the phenomenon of *broglio*, they must have assumed that they had finally found a thunderbolt for devastating the century-old solid foundation of the Venetian myth. […] Our anti-myth fighters should be surprised by the fact that they cannot explain why the Venetian political structure embodying the evils of *broglio* could sustain its longevity. As far as broglio is concerned, it may be added that its presence and form – which caused a great deal of anxiety on the part of the top councils and their concomitant illusory efforts at its elimination – should appear to us today harmless if we think of the extent and art of soliciting before an election, for instance in the United States or in any Western democratic country', in *Women and Men in Early Modern Venice*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2003, p. 42.

[114] See Gaetano Cozzi, 'Authority and the Law', in J. R. Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice,* Faber & Faber, London, 1973, pp. 293-345, esp. pp. 321-35. In addition, there were at the time 'pro-imperial' and 'anti-imperial' parties and, finally, personal antipathies, also to be reckoned with in the undercurrents of political life in Venice. Yet another form of antagonism, that of the so-called 'young' towards the 'old' patricians, emerged later on in the century.

Therefore it is not surprising to find the *broglio* praised – not necessarily ironically, as recently suggested – in the diaries of Girolamo Priuli, 'who put the case for it as a method of ensuring stability and peace and avoiding patrician faction' [115], when recording on 2 March, 1510, that:

> […] 'The Trevisani [members of the Trevisan family] made great dealings (*pratiche*) and begged all those whom they suspected of having some doubts, not to go to the Council, and thus to reduce the vote to a small number; and by these intrigues every evil was done. And these intrigues and supplications will yet be the cause of Venice's ruin […] On the other hand some have said that these intrigues [lobbying for] offices and magistracies, and these supplications, have been the salvation of the Venetian republic and the principal cause of [the nobles] not offending in tranquillity, friendship and peace. So that if they were without intrigues, salutations and flattery, within a short time they would be seduced into factions and discord among themselves, as in all cities of the world, and there would be great discord in the Venetian nobility […] It is because of these intrigues and lobbyings for magistracies and offices that everyone avoids self-publicity, and likewise they keep secret their enmities, factions and particular interests' [116]

Marin Sanudo mentions *pregierie* (political importuning), *pratiche* (machinations), *brogli* (intrigues) and *procure* (procurements) [117], and opposes them all equally. There was, however, politicking and politicking. Some manoeuvres, as in the case of the Trevisani seen above, must have been accepted political practices, however formally banned. Other machinations, however, definitively could not be accepted and caused great scandal, as for instance the putting into the urns of more than one ballot [118], or the paying of bribes, though also to be considered was the delicate aspect of the sale of votes practised by the more impoverished patricians [119].

Censors

In 1517, the Great Council established that two Censors, with powers of inquisition and jurisdiction, were to be elected to one-year terms to guard against illegal electoral practices in the Great Council

[115] Chambers, *Venice: A Documentary History…,* cit., p. 67. See also Dorit Raines, 'Office Seeking, Broglio, and the Pocket Political Guidebooks in '500 and '600 Venice', in *Studi Veneziani*, n. 22, 1991, pp. 137-94.

[116] Diary of Girolamo Priuli, 2 March, 1510, BCV ms Prov. Div. 252c, vol. 5, ff 89v-90r, trans. in Chambers, *Venice: A Documentary History* …, cit., p. 77. However, Priuli writes 'some have said that …', so that his view seems to have been common knowledge. It is expressed also by Contarini in various passages of *De magistratibus et republica venetorum*.

[117] The translation of these terms is offered in Labalme, *Cità Excelentissima*…, cit., p. 12.

[118] Sanudo, *Diarii*, 28: 65, 93-4.

[119] Gleason argues that the events of the war had not only increased the number of impecunious patricians but also produced 'a new type of noble who no longer subordinated his own interests to those of his class or the state as a whole', see Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 123. Professor Gilbert remarks that the War of the League of Cambrai completed the formation of a bloc of rich nobles who held high office, see Felix Gilbert, 'Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai', in J. H. Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, cit., pp. 274-292, at p. 298 (reprinted in Felix Gilbert, *History: Choice and Commitment*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977, pp. 269-91). However, already in 1442 the Maggior Consiglio passed a law setting aside offices for needy patricians.

and Senate [120]. However, the first Censors were apparently of such severity, especially towards the most prominent patricians, that disorders followed and their functions were transferred to the *Avogaria di comun* after only four years, though the office was reintroduced in 1524 [121].

Office holding: duration – expenses

A characteristic of the Venetian office-holding system was that, with the exception of the Doge and the Procuratori di San Marco, who were elected for life, the appointment to all other offices was very short-termed, usually between eight and eighteen months, and subject to *contumacia* limits [122]. Furthermore, in the case of collegial offices, there could be no more than one member of the same family elected. These and other devices were instrumental in ensuring a reasonable distribution of offices throughout the patriciate, thus contributing to meeting the problems of internal feuding and the maintenance of public order. The principle seems to have been voiced first in August 1410, when the ducal counsellors introduced a motion to the Maggior Consiglio to restrict repeated office holding, saying that it was only just that offices should be shared equally among eligible nobles.

Yet there was clearly tension between the principle of sharing offices equally among all patricians and the practicality of putting the most experienced men in positions of power. Obviously, no one could be expected to fill offices as diverse as those established by the Venetian government with equal competence, nor to be able to acquire the necessary competence during such a short time in office. In theory, therefore, 'holding political office was an unspecialized or unskilled job, something Venetian patricians did out of a sense of duty or collective responsibility. There were no formal qualifications or training in order to hold office', and in any case 'loyalty to the Venetian state sometimes counted more than individual ability' [123]. In practice, however, the private education that a young patrician received at home from an early age was designed to prepare him

[120] Marin Sanudo had greatly supported this law and saw its approval almost as a personal success, see Labalme, *Città Excelentissima*…, cit., pp. 15-21. In the elections of the following year (12 Sept. 1518), Gasparo Contarini was nominated, but not elected, as one of the two censors, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, 26:39, and Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 27, n. 120.

[121] Da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia* ..., cit., 1, 177. The decisions of the Censors could be appealed to the Council of Ten, *ibid*., p. 53. On the issue see Jotham Parson, 'The Roman Censors in the Renaissance Political Imagination', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 22, n. 4, 2001, pp. 565-586.

[122] The period of time during which one could not be re-elected to the same office, and sometimes to other offices as well, called *contumacia*, aimed at preventing the concentration of power.

[123] Monique O'Connell, 'Officials of the Venetian State, 1380-1420', Class History (3), s.d., on-line, pp. 17-18.

for a wide range of future tasks [124]. Furthermore, a quick rotation in appointments to public offices was possible because the burden of the day-to-day management of the Venetian administration was entrusted to a special class of civil servants who formed the bureaucracy [125]. Finally, recent research has proved that, for instance, the higher offices on the Venetian terraferma were not allowed to suffer from any lack of specialization and therefore that 'the electoral system functioned to put experienced men in positions where they were needed' [126].

If no formal qualifications or training were expected, what *was* expected was that the elected should meet the expenses entailed by his office. These could be quite onerous as in the case of the embassies, though the terms of these offices were also kept as short as possible to avoid the risks of a prolonged association of the Venetian ambassador with a foreign power. If this is a measure of the distrust with which the Venetian government viewed its own ambassadors, it is a noteworthy sign of the esteem in which Contarini was held that his first diplomatic mission should be extended over a period of four years.

The diplomat

On 24 September, 1520, aged thirty-seven, Contarini was nominated *oratore* to Charles V, newly elected Emperor by the Diet meeting at Worms [127]. His instructions were to defend the alliance of Venice with Francis I of France and to prevent all hostile measures on the part of the Emperor [128].

---

[124] See for instance Dorit Raines, 'L'arte di ben informarsi. Carriera politica e pratiche documentarie nell'archivio familiare di patrizi veneziani: i Molin di San Pantalon' in *Archivi nobiliari e domestici. Conservazione, metodologie di riordino e prospettive di ricerca storica,* Atti del Convegno di Studi, Udine, 14-15 maggio 1998, a cura di L. Casella e R. Navarrini, Forum, Udine 2000, pp. 187-210.

[125] See Ivone Cacciavillani, *La Serenissima. Una repubblica burocratica*, Corbo e Fiore ed., Venezia, 2003.

[126] The consistency of the voting patterns so far identified allows one to posit that part of the strength of the celebrated government of the Venetian Republic 'lay in its flexibility', though further research is needed to ascertain how exactly this flexibility operated within the Republic's institutional framework, see O'Connell, 'Officials of the Venetian State, 1380-1420', cit., p. 18.

[127] Born in 1500 in Flanders, Charles of Ghent became Charles I when he inherited the kingdoms of Spain from his maternal grandfather in 1516, and Charles V in 1519, when he inherited the Hapsburg dominions from his paternal grandfather. Elected King of the Romans by the Diet of Worms in 1519 and crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1530 by Pope Clement VII in Bologna, he abdicated in 1556 and died in 1558.

[128] Born in 1494, the Duke of Valois-Angoulême became Francis I of France in 1515 at the death of his cousin and father-in-law Louis XII. In 1519 he competed with Charles V to be elected Emperor by the Diet of Worms – the Holy Roman Empire was, in theory, an elective monarchy, and a candidate did not need to be a German; the electors, however, who would be offered concessions of land or money in exchange for their vote, usually tended to formalise a dynastic succession within the House of Hapsburg - and continued to fight him, and lose to him, especially in Italy, until his death in 1547.

He joined the imperial court at Worms, where he arrived in April, 1521, and there he heard much about the Lutheran problems then engaging the attention of the Emperor and of the Prince-electors.

Martin Luther

Contarini and Luther apparently never met. A curiosity often remarked upon is that they were almost exact-contemporaries: born the same year, 1483, within a few days of each other - Contarini on October 16, Luther on November 10 – they died a few years apart - Contarini in 1542 and Luther in 1546. They shared an urgent desire for a reform of the Church, so it is no wonder that scholarly attention should have particularly concentrated on the religious aspects of Contarini's life and on his theological writings, mostly in connection with the issues raised by the events of the Reform and the Counter-reform and the attitude of Venice with regard to both.

Luther's works had circulated in Venice just before Contarini left on his mission, having also mentioned his wish to meet him [129]. Once in Worms, however, he found it not only inappropriate as a diplomat but, more to the point, meaningless as a man of thought to meet the man who was antagonizing the Diet so much to so little or no purpose. In fact, his private letters to family and friends show his concern over the dimensions that the issue was acquiring, besides his disappointment in the rebellious monk who, had he been prudent and kept to the most important points, without getting involved in manifest errors of the faith, would be more than followed, he would be adored by the whole of Germany [130].

At the Spanish court

Contarini found his career as a Venetian diplomat very congenial 'because', he wrote, 'it is a most beautiful and honourable life, very similar to a life of studies, except that this is greater' [131]. His brother Tommaso, who was accompanying him, also found life at the imperial court very agreeable. [132]. For Gasparo, however, there was the added pleasure of meeting with Greek and Latin scholars

---

[129] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 176.

[130] 'se costui fusse stato prudente et fusse stato su le prime cose, né se avesse implicato in manifesti errori di la fede, saria, non dico favorito, ma adorato da tutta la Germania', letter of Gasparo Contarini from Worms, 25 Apr. 1521, to Niccolò Tiepolo, newly appointed ambassador to England, in Sanudo, *Diarii*, 30: 216. Copies of many of Contarini's letters are included in Sanudo, *Diarii*, vols. 31-39 *passim*.

[131] 'perché tal vita è bellissima et onoratissima simillima a quella di studi, se non che questa è maggiore', *ibid*., in Sanudo, *Diarii*, 30:217.

[132] 'Tommaso's surviving letters, all addressed to relatives, show that he enjoyed the journey and that he took special delight in jousts, dances, and pageants at the imperial court. He describes ball games, bullfights, and

and with the representatives of European diplomacy [133]. Thus, though his enthusiasm would eventually be sorely tested and his four-year mission to Charles V ultimately fail – Venice's alliance with France was indefensible, and the Emperor *did* adopt hostile measures - he does not seem to have thought the diplomatic life any the less beautiful or honourable, or inferior to a life of studies.

From Worms Contarini moved with the imperial court to Flanders, dining in Bruges with Thomas More – who was travelling in Cardinal Wolsey's suite – whom he described as 'uno cavalier Englese molto letterato' [134]. Thence he moved to England, and finally to Spain.

The New World

Contarini's mission to the court of Charles V in Madrid obviously absorbed most of his energies (the political and military context in which it was carried out is one of the most important pages in Italian history). Still, he found time to pursue his scientific interests which, however, coincided with those of the Republic. Thus he reported on geographical expeditions and on the products arriving from the New World, all very important news for the declining Venetian maritime traffic and merchant ventures. At the same time, Contarini studied the geography of Central America, wrote a *Geographia*, now lost, and was the only one who could explain to an astonished Spanish court the divergence, with the seeming loss of one day, between the date recorded in the *log* of the only ship of Magellan's expedition to reach Seville after her voyage around the world and the *actual* date of her arrival there [135]. Not surprisingly, he was instructed by the Signoria to engage the services of Sebastian Cabot, then in Madrid, with a view to a possible Venetian expedition to the Americas [136].

---

other festivities and writes in admiring terms about the knightly qualities of Charles V', Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 30, n. 132. See Sanudo, *Diarii* 32:270-71, 33:67, 34: 356-58, 36:543-44.

[133] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 176.

[134] Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 30. Sanudo sums up Contarini's letter of 19 Aug., 1521: 'Scrive, come ha menà a pranzo con lui domino Tomà Moro secretario anglese, persona literata, et scrive coloquii auti insieme', *Diarii*, 31:320.

[135] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit. p. 177. Also Gleason, quoting Paola Mildonian, 'La conquista dello spazio americano nelle prime raccolte venete', in *L'impatto della scoperta dell'America nella cultura veneziana*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò, Bulzoni Editore, Rome, 1990, at p. 118 n.9, and Giovanni Stiffoni, 'La scoperta e la conquista dell'America nelle prime relazioni degli ambasciatori veneziani (1497-1559)', *ibid*., at p. 356 (Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 37, n. 157). Apparently, the episode has been made known by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera.

[136] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 177. A contrasting version is offered by Gleason who writes: 'strangely, [Contarini] showed little interest when approached by Sebastian Cabot with a plan, whose details were not spelled out, for launching an enterprise that could be "of great use" to Venice. Contarini duly reported his conversations with the navigator, but did not conceal his skepticism, which was shared by

Writings: *Primae philosophiae compendium*

Together with his scientific interests, however, Contarini investigated also their philosophical implications. These found expression in his first major work, *Primae philosophiae compendium*, dedicated to Tommaso Giustiniani. The theme, as already in his previous *De immortalitate animae*, was the relationship between reason and faith, and once more Contarini's argument was that human reason, which by its very nature is limited, cannot penetrate God's mysteries, yet it can purify man of his affections and draw him nearer the Divine. Contarini's view of the universe, however - a hierarchical structure with God at its apex, followed by angels, celestial bodies, human beings, animals, plants, metals, and elements, in that order – is considered mostly derivative.

De magistratibus et republica venetorum

Contarini applied the same well-ordered view to the society of men and their government in the other work which he composed during his mission in Spain, and which to this day has granted him the fame that his theological writings alone might not have won him [137].

Professor Felix Gilbert has established that Contarini 'dictated the first books' of *De magistratibus et republica venetorum* 'during his mission to Charles V in the 1520s, and added the final parts', particularly Book V, in Venice 'at the beginning of the 1530s' [138]. What prompted the work as a whole is a matter of speculation. Apart from the ostensible reason - to offer to non-Venetians a precise description of the institutions of the Republic - many other factors may have concurred: Contarini's meetings with Thomas More, the author of *Utopia*; the presence in Spain of the Florentine ambassador Giovanni Corsi and the renewal of the political discussions of the Orti Oricellari; even homesickness, it has been suggested, may have played a role, with memories of the League of Cambrai threatening Venice's extinction, and idealized views of the Venetian modes of

---

enough Venetian senators to cause Cabot ultimately to offer his services to England instead. Cautious and conservative, Contarini had no sympathy for untried schemes in unknown lands', and quotes Giorgio Padoan, 'Sulla relazione cinquecentesca dei viaggi nord-atlantici di Nicolò e Antonio Zen (1383-1403),' in *L'impatto della scoperta dell'America nella cultura veneziana*, cit., at p. 234 n.45 (Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p.37 and note 161). The subject interested also Rawdon Brown, who published *Notices Concerning John Cabot and his Son Sebastian: Transcribed and Translated from Original Manuscripts in the Marcian Library at Venice by Rawdon Brown*, in *Philobiblon Society Miscellanies*, 2, pp. 26, London, 1855-6.

[137] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., at p. 177.

[138] Gilbert, 'The Date of the Composition…', cit., p. 177.

government, particularly when compared to the way the Empire was run, later illustrated by Contarini in his final *relazione* to the Senate [139].

The Spanish Inquisition

While in Spain, Contarini had to turn his thoughts to the Spanish Inquisition and first expressed them, albeit unofficially, on an occasion involving his brother Andrea (see below): 'this inquisition in these kingdoms is quite a terrible thing' [140].

The Inquisition had originally been instituted in Spain by Pope Sixtus IV in 1478, during the last stages of the *reconquista* and upon the urgent request of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile. Its object was to investigate the sincerity of the *cristianos nuevos*, mostly the Jews converted to Christianity (*conversos* or, derogatively, *marranos*) and the converts from Islam, especially the Granadan Muslims (*moriscos*) [141]. By Contarini's time, however, all residents of Spain were officially Christian [142], and the Inquisition had turned to controlling foreigners and the foreign press in order to prevent the dissemination in Spain of the new doctrines of Luther.

In January 1525, Andrea Contarini and two other masters of Venetian vessels were seized by the inquisition in the port of Almazarón and brought to Murcia for interrogation. They were suspected of having carried and /or sold Bibles with texts in Hebrew, Latin, and Chaldaean, and annotations by a rabbi. Officials of the Inquisition demanded the surrender of all books carried by the galleys, threatening to board the vessels and search for any writings that might be against the faith. One of the captains protested in vain, declaring that he could not permit anything so contrary to Venetian

---

[139] Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', cit., at pp. 230-1, and Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 35.

[140] 'questa inquisitione in questi regni è una cosa terribilissima', Letter of Gasparo Contarini to Federico Contarini and his other brothers, Madrid, 7 Feb. 1525, in Sanudo, *Diarii*, 38: 202. Despite the personal union of the Castilian and the Aragonese crowns it should be noted that Castile and Aragon, as well as Catalonia, and Valencia remained distinct political entities with separate councils of state and parliaments; this is why Contarini refers to Spain as 'these kingdoms'; see the detailed description he gives of each of them in his report, *Relazione di Gasparo Contarini ritornato ambasciatore da Carlo V,* cit.

[141] 'Everywhere in sixteenth-century Europe, it was assumed that religious unity was necessary for political unity, but only in Spain was there such a sense of urgency in enforcing religious conformity. Spain's population was more heterogeneous than that of any other European nation, and it contained significant nonChristian communities', see Robert Rinehart and Jo Ann Browning Seeley, *A Country Study: Spain – The Golden Age*, Library of Congress Country Series, 1998, on-line. From 1536 there was also a Portuguese Inquisition, instituted upon the request of King John III by Pope Paulus III. Both the Spanish and the Portuguese Inquisition were state-controlled, with the inquisitors appointed by the sovereign.

[142] *Ibid*.

laws. Andrea Contarini, for his part, sent for help to his brother Gasparo [143]. Obviously, Contarini was involved primarily in his capacity as Venetian ambassador, acting for the protection of Venice's interests and subjects abroad.

Gasparo immediately spoke to the Emperor, his council, and the grand inquisitor, then sent his brother Tommaso to take charge of the galleys. On 4th February he addressed the entire council of the Inquisition. In a letter home he wrote:

> 'I spoke for a long time, explaining to them that the practice in Italy as well as in the whole Catholic church was to tolerate any infidel author, such as Averroes and many others, although, as it seemed to them, he contradicted the faith. I adduced many reasons why it would be wrong not to permit our adversaries to be heard and read' [144]

The accused were freed, but as for the Spanish Inquisition, Contarini became convinced that 'not even the king has power over it', adding that 'As far as the New Christians are concerned, what appears to us insignificant seems serious to the Inquisition' [145].

Back in Venice

In June 1525, after fifty-two months at the Spanish court, Contarini was finally replaced by Andrea Navagero and returned to Venice [146]. If he had failed in his official mission, he had nevertheless left the Emperor with a very favourable personal impression of himself, as evidenced by the former's parting gift of one thousand ducats - which, however, he was not allowed to retain, even though the

---

[143] Copy of the letter from Andrea Contarini to Gasparo Contarini, Murcia, 28 Jan. 1525, is in Sanudo, *Diarii*, 38:200-201.

[144] Letter of Gasparo Contarini to Federico Contarini and his other brothers, Madrid, 7 Feb. 1525, in Sanudo, *Diarii*, 38:202-3. Contarini, however, lived just long enough to see also the Roman Inquisition (*Sant'Uffizio*) instituted to combat Protestantism by the same Pope Paulus III on 21 July 1542, one month before Contarini's death. In the Roman Inquisition not only were the inquisitors appointed by the Pope, as was the case in the medieval inquisition (1170-c.1350), but the Pope himself presided over a permanent tribunal in Rome.

[145] Letter of Gasparo Contarini to Federico Contarini and his other brothers, Madrid, 7 Feb. 1525; in Sanudo, *Diarii*, 38:202-3. In his oral report to the Senate, Contarini briefly but significantly commented on the Spanish 'inquisizione contro la pravità eretica': 'Presidente di questo consiglio è l'arcivescovo di Siviglia, uomo di gran sangue, di casa di Manrico, e di buona fama, e buona mente. Questo consiglio è di tanta autorità e tanta venerazione, che tutti tremano di lui. Nel suo procedere, procede con maggior severità, e più terrore di quello, che in questa eccellentissima repubblica soleva essere il consiglio dei Dieci. A me pare che eserciti una vera tirannide contro quei poveri cristiani novelli, delli quali hanno fatto tanto strazio, che più dire non si potria', *Relazione di Gasparo Contarini ritornato ambasciatore da Carlo V,* cit.

[146] He made the traditional report to the Senate on the following 16 November: Contarini, wearing black velvet, 'fe' la sua relation con voce molto bassa, che mal se intendeva, ma molto copiosa', Sanudo, *Diarii*, 40:285-6.

mission had cost him four thousand ducats more than the 730 ducats originally voted by the Senate for his expenses.

The episode did not dampen Contarini's wish to be of further service to the Republic. Early on in his mission he had been elected *in absentia* to the office of *savio di terraferma*, one of five officials who oversaw the affairs on the Venetian mainland with especial regard to war and defence. Therefore he entered into the office of *savio*, although shortly before he had also been elected *capitano*, *i.e.* military governor, of Brescia. This office Contarini never assumed - though it was being kept open for him while he acted as *savio* - for reasons still unclear but possibly linked both to an attack of quartan fever and the news, in May 1527, of the sack of Rome.

Contarini as 'censor'

Upon the expiration of his office as *savio* there followed other appointments [147], among which Gleason recalls the following:

> 'In January 1527, he [Contarini] and Lorenzo Priuli were appointed censors by the three heads of the Council of Ten and charged to examine a book that Franciscans in Venice claimed contained libelous and heretical material. Contarini and Priuli presented their report on this book, Alvise Cinzio's *Libro della origine delli volgari proverbi*, on 18 March 1527, as a consequence of which the author had to modify his text. This seemingly minor episode was to have significant consequences. On 29 January 1527, while the matter was still pending, the heads of the Council of Ten issued a regulation providing that no book could be printed in Venice unless they first licensed it after examination by two censors. This requirement of an *imprimatur* marked the beginning of official press censorship in Venice' [148]

In a footnote, Gleason adds that

> 'The Franciscans objected to a commentary on the proverb 'Ciascun tira l'acqua a suo molino' (Everyone diverts the water to his own mill, clxxv -clxxix). It castigates Franciscans who tolerate and perpetuate abuses in their order and no longer follow the teachings of their founder'.

Similarly, however, Fragnito, who may have been Gleason's source:

> '[…] il Consiglio dei Dieci, evidentemente consapevole di un suo interesse e di una sua competenza in materia religiosa, gli affidò l'esame dell'opera di A. Cinzio, *Della origine delli volgari proverbi* (1526), contro cui era stata sporta denuncia per eresia ed indecenza. Tale denuncia portò all'introduzione dell'*imprimatur* a Venezia e all'ingiunzione all'autore da parte dei censori di espurgare il suo poema' [149]

---

[147] Gleason refers to them as 'a series of short-term, often *ad hoc*, appointments', and she places the office as censor among them, see *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 40).

[148] *Ibid*., p. 41.

[149] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 178. More recently, but in the same terms, also Ugo Rozzo, 'Italian Literature on the Index', in *Church, Censorship, and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Gigliola

The episode may be worth investigating further as it casts a shadow over Contarini, such inquisitorial-tinged censorship being inconsistent with his intellectual honesty. In fact, the way in which the episode is related is ambiguous and partly incorrect. It is ambiguous in that it permits the inference that the advice required of the two 'censors' was influenced by the Council's regulation issued 'while the matter was still pending'. It is incorrect in defining the appointees as 'censors' and, possibly, also in dating to 29 January 1527 'the beginning of official press censorship in Venice'.

There exists a decree of the Heads of the Council of Ten dated January 29, 1527 [150], published on-line with the highly misleading editorial title 'Venetian Decree on Pre-publication Censorship (1527) [151]. Once transcribed and translated, however, the document appears to be a decision of the Heads granting Cinzio, upon his 'humble application', the restoration of the volumes seized [152]. In addition, the document is dated *more veneto*, so that '29 January, 1527' is, in fact, '29 January, 1528' on the modern calendar.

The same document further records the order, dated 14 February (1527 *m.v.*), to restore the volumes to the printers in the same condition - '*in eum locum, gradum et conditionem precise*' - they were in

---

Fragnito (ed.), Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 194-222, at p. 198, and Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-century Venice and Rome*, Brill NV, Leiden, 2004, at p. 65.

[150] Archivio di Stato di Venezia, (*ASV*), Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, Notatorio, reg. 7, c. 161 r.

[151] *Primary Soyrces on Copyright (1450-1900)*, L. Bently and M. Kretscmer (eds.), Faculty of Law, University of Cambridge, on-line.

[152] '*MDXXVII Die XXIX Januarij*. Infrascripti D[omi]ni Capita Ill[ustrissi]mi Consilij X humili instantia facta / coram D[omini] suis ex parte D[omi]ni Aloysij Cyntij Doctoris Physici infirmi / et magna inopia opressi vel ob eam causam praesertim [quod] cum [per] / longos labores magnosque sumptus compositum a se librum quonda[m] / proverbiorum materno carmine imprimi fecisset impetrata prius / gra[tiam] imprimendi ab ex[cellentissi]mo Senatu nec non confirmata ab Ex[cellentissi]mis / D[omi]nis Capitibus tunc impius Ill[ustrissi]mi Consilij X qui fuerunt Cl[arissi]mi / D[omi]ni Aluisius Gradeonicus Lazarus Mocenicus et Leonardus / Hemus [cum] ergo fretus ea replicata fide publica ipse / edidisset dictum opus, ad requisitionem vener[abi]lium Fratrum / S[ancti] Francisci observantiae omnia eius volumina ablata de / librarij officina sequestrata fuerunt p[er] m[a]n[da]to Ex[cellentissimorum] D[ominorum] Capitum / qui post impetratam eiusmodi gra[tiam] successerunt unde maxi- /mam iacturam passus e[st] quia minime modum habeat satisfaciendi / creditoribus suis dicta de causa constatis. Visis itaq[ue] his et intelle- /ctis et[iam] alijs in hac materia, consideratisque qu[ae] merito consideranda / esse censuerunt, decreverunt, et ita mandaverunt omnia eius / volumina sequestrata, ut supra, eidem D[omino] Aluisio restitui / debere, et ita a[nn]otari. / + Gaspar Maripertus C[aput] C[onsilij] X [Decem] / + Hieronymus Lauredanus CCX / + Hieronymus Barbadico CCX', ASV, Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, *Notatorio*, reg. 7, c. 161 r. I am grateful to Annamaria Conti and Claudia Salmini of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia for their kind assistance in the transcription of the above.

when confiscated on the printer's premises - *in quo erant priusquam auferrentur de librarii officina*' [153] . In other words, no modifications of the text were required of the author [154], and in fact that from one of the few copies of the book still extant, now in the Marciana Library, a new edition has recently been published to mark the fifth centenary of the introduction of book censorship in Venice [155].

As for Contarini and Priuli, they had not been appointed 'censors', a term indicating the one-year office to guard against illegal electoral practices, seen above [156]. Their nomination had come, logically enough, after a decision of the Council of Ten on January 29, 1526 *m.v.* (*i.e.* the previous year), that no new work could be published in Venice without the prior licence of the Heads, who must first have had it seen 'by at least two persons' (*da do persone almeno*) [157] - a decree certainly

[153] '*Die xiiij m[ensi]s Febr[uarij]*. Cl[arissi]mi D[omi]ni Aluisi[us] Gradon[icus] Lazarus Moc[enicus et] Ant[onius] / de Mula C[apita] Ill[ustrissi]mi C[onsilij] X [Decem]ad expressionem declarationem mandati s[uprascri]pti declaraverunt et iniunxerunt / Viro Nobili D[omin]i Joanni Baduario d[omino] et equiti et ita [per] [personas] mandant ut restituat / omnes libros d[om]ini Aluisij Cyntij in eum locum gradum, et conditionem precise in / quo erant priusque auferrent[ur] de librarii officina, ut hoc modo nemini jus / tollat[ur] et ita a[nn]otari jusserunt. / +Aloysius Gradonicus CCX / + Lazarus Mocenicus CCX / + Antonius de Mula CCX', *ASV*, Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, Notatorio, reg. 7, c. 161 r, cit. I am grateful to Annamaria Conti and Claudia Salmini of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia for their kind assistance in the transcription of the above.

[154] See F(rancesco) Piovan, 'Fabrizi, Alvise Cinzio de', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, 1993, vol. 43, pp. 794-796, at p. 795.

[155] Aloyse Cynthio de gli Fabritii, *Libro della origine delli volgari proverbi*, a cura di Francesco Saba Sardi, con sonetti di Pietro Aretino illustrati da Giulio Romano, Collana 'Questioni aperte con i classici', Spirali, 2007.

[156] In fact, Gasparo Contarini had been nominated, but not elected, as one of the two censors in the elections of 12 Sept., 1518, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, 26:39, and Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 27, n. 120.

[157] '*MDXXVI, die 29 Ianuarii. In Consilio X*. Per la licentia che facilmente ognuno ha de stampar libri in questa nostra città, si vede qualche volta uscir in stampa opere disoneste et de mala natura; al che è da metter sufficiente ordine, et però; L'andarà parte, che da mo' *in futurum* non si possa stampar né stampata dar fuora alcuna opera over libro da novo composto over non più stampato, qualunque idioma si voglia, se prima non li serà permesso da li Capi di questo Conseglio per termination de man loro sottoscritta; la qual permission però et termination si habia far da poi che essa opera serà stà veduta da do persone almeno a cui parerà a loro Capi di commetter che la debiano veder et examinar, et referita la opinion sua *in scriptis cum iuramento*. Né altramente far si possa sotto pena di perder le opere stampate et de altratanto per pena, la qual sia de lo inventor; et così sotto la pena soprascritta non si possa vender in questa cità alcuna opera composta da novo et stampata fuor de questa terra senza licentia de li Capi de questo Conseglio, *modo ut supra*. Dechiarando che alcun non possa stampar libro alcuno da novo composto over non più stampato se'l non vederà la licentia *in scriptis* come è ditto di sopra; et l'ordine presente publicar si debba in Rialto a noticia di ciaschaduno', *ASV*, Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, Notatorio, reg. 7, c. 117 r. On the same day, Sanudo entirely transcribed the *parte* (see *Diarii*, 43:745), and further summed it up as follows: '*A dì 29* […] Preseno una parte, che non si possa stampar alvuna opera nova in questa città se non la sarà vista per li Capi di X e hauto licentia da loro Capi, i quali la faciano veder a doi prima, sotto pena *ut in parte*. Et cossì opere nove stampate fuora si possino vender senza esser viste da li Cai di X et con licentia *ut in parte*', *Diarii*, 43:748.

occasioned by the denunciation of Cinzio's book, as recorded by Sanudo [158]. In fact, the nomination decree is dated the following day, January 30, 1526 [159], and so is the entry in Sanudo's diary mentioning Contarini and Priuli by name as having been charged by the Council of Ten to examine Cinzio's book and report if there was anything against the Church [160]. Thus, it is certain that the Council's decree requiring the prior license of the Heads for any new work to be published in Venice did not intervene 'while the matter was still pending' in front of the appointees.

Finally, the decree itself was nothing new. Already in 1506 the Council of Ten proclaimed that no new work could be printed in Venice without first obtaining a license from the Chiefs of the Council of Ten [161]. No mention was then made of having the work examined by someone competent before issuing a licence to print, but this could be the case when authors touched on religious matters. For instance, the licence issued to Gregorio de' Gregori on 31 August 1508 to print Cristoforo Marcello's *Universalis de anima traditionis opus* mentions that the Chiefs had had the work examined by Vincenzo Querini [162].

---

[158] '*A dì 29* [1526 *m. v.*] … 'Et nota. Tutto questo è processo per una opera composta per un medico domino Aloisio Cynthio veneto […]', Sanudo, *Diarii*, 43:748.

[159] '*MDXXVJ Die XXX Januarij*. Cum plures coram Ex [cellentissi]mis D[omi]nis Capitibus Ill[ustrissi]mi Consilij X / reclamatum per venerandos Fratres S. Francisci a vinea fuisset de opera / et libro quodam Proverbiorum in materno Idiomata composito et nuper / ex imprissura publicato per Mag[istr]um Aloysium Cynthium Doctorem / Physicum, quod contra honorem M[aesta]tis divina Christiana Religionis / ex denique signanter ac nominatim in obrobrium Ipsorum / venerabilium Religiosorum S. Francisci, vocato ob id ad praesentiam suam / ipso D. Aloysio Cynthio, et vehementer admonito tanti et tam / absuedi inconvenientis De Infrascripti Ex[cellentissi]mi D[omi]ni Ca[pi]ta Volentes / potius ad clementia[m] declina quam al[iter] rigore iustitia adversus eum / uti, decreverunt et statuerunt, quod opus ipsum examinatur per N. H. / Sier Laurentium De Priolo equitem, et Sier Gasparenum Contarenum, et / illud totum ex eo amoveri facere teneatur ipse D.us Aloysius, quod / ipsi duo Nobiles statuerint nephas esse prodire in public[u]m Religionem […] que in dicto opere vel honestim vel adversus Deum / impietatem non sapere censuerint; Remaneant in facultate ipsius / auctoris. Qui quid[am] auctor terminationis predict[…] praesens a sensu / est et gratiam eorundem nominationis humiliter agenas se prompte / promisit pe[…]ariturum. / + Franciscus […] CCX / + Andreas Molino CCX / + […]', ASV, Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, *Notatorio*, reg. 7, c. 111 v.

[160] '*A dì 30* [1526 *m. v.*] … In questa matina, in Rialto […] fo publicà la parte, che non si possi far stampar opere nove, presa in ditto Conseio di X; la copia di la qual sarà scripta qui avanti [see above, *Diarii*, 43:745]. Et nota. Che l'opera di domino Alvise Cynthio dotor, stampata, li Cai di X la commesseno a veder a sier Lorenzo di Prioli el cavaliere et sier Gasparo Contarini, a veder si è cosa contra la Chiexia; et debbano riferir a li Cai di X', Sanudo, *Diarii*, 43:756-7.

[161] Decree of 11 October, 1506, quoted by Witcombe, *Copyright…*, cit., p. 62.

[162] Witcombe, *Copyright…*, cit., p. 63 and n. 23. Witcombe also quotes Horatio F. Brown, who regards this as 'the first instance of a religious censorship exercised by a secular government', see *The Venetian Printing Press 1469-1800: An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished*, John C. Nimmo, London, 1891, p. 62, on-line. Contrary to Witcombe's note, however, in 1508 Querini was not yet – nor would he be for the next three years – a monk at the hermitage of Camaldoli.

This confirms also that the Council of Ten did not concern itself with the evaluation - let alone the censorship – of theological matters, which were left entirely to the Church, the point between the secular and the religious powers being not so much a question of dogma as of jurisdiction.

Interestingly, as it indicates a weak enforcement, the 1506 prohibition to print any book without a prior licence from the Council of Ten had to be re-stated in 1519 [163], and then again, as seen above, on 29 January, 1526 *m.v*. (1527). Therefore, it is not clear how this last proclamation can be said to have marked 'the beginning of official press censorship in Venice'. A more likely date - if any before the establishment of the Roman Inquisition in 1542 - would be 30 January, 1516 (1515 *m.v*.), when the Council gave Andrea Navagero the task of supervising all books printed in the humanities (*opere de humanità*) [164]. This, however, took place in quite a different context and can hardly be called 'censorship' in the modern sense of the term [165].

As for Contarini's involvement with the book, we know that on 5 Feb., 1527 (1526 *m.v*.) – *i.e*. a very few days after his appointment Pietro Bembo was induced – '*astretto a farlo*' as he put it [166]– to write to him to recommend Cinzio's book. It also appears that two months after their appointment, on March 28, 1527, the two appointees presented a request asking the Council that their task be better specified [167], a delaying tactic if any [168]. After this, and until January next,

[163] Decree of 3 July 1519, quoted by Witcombe, *Copyright…*, cit., p. 64. I have examined the original in ASV, CX, *Proclami*, busta 2, fol. 33, as indicated by the author.

[164] ASV, CX, *Misti*, filza 39, fol. 39v, see Witcombe, *Copyright…*, cit., p. 64, offering H. F. Brown's English translation from *The Venetian Printing Press…*, cit., p. 65. A facsimile of the document is also reproduced on-line, albeit with the indication 'unknown source', see 'Decree of the Council of Ten Appointing the First Literary Censor, Andrea Navagero', at *Primary Sources…*, cit.

[165] Already in 1503 Marcus Musurus had been appointed *revisore* of the works printed in Greek. The general idea behind these appointments was to ensure the maintenance of the high standards – both in terms of the philological accurateness of the texts and the quality of their printing - that made Venice the leading place of business in Europe for printing and the book trade.

[166] Letter of Pietro Bembo to Gasparo Contarini, Padua, 5 Feb., 1527 (1526 *m.v*.): 'Sono astretto raccomandarvi la causa di M. Luigi Cinzio, rimessa a voi e a M. Lorenzo Prioli. La qual causa tuttavia vi raccomando con quel rispetto che si conviene, e a me che v'amo e osservo come fratello, e a voi che sète così buono e così prudente, come il mondo conosce. E' vero che tutto quel piacere e commodo, che egli da voi riceverà, io il riputerò come se a me appartenesse. E quantunque io non sappia il particolare delle opposizioni dategli, pure stimo che elle siano molto deboli per più conti, e forse non meritavano d'essere udite dalla gravità di quello severissimo Magistrato de' Dieci. Come si sia, a voi lo raccomando, e me insieme con esso lui', see Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*. Edizione critica a cura di Ernesto Travi, vol. II (1508-1528), Collezione di opere inedite o rare, Commissione per i testi di lingua, vol. 143, Bologna, 1990, lettera 734, p. 402.

[167] '*MDXXVII. Die 28 Martij*. Cum per relationem ex[cellentissi]mis D[omi]nis Capitibus Ill[ustrissi]mi Consilij X nuper […] factam / a viris Nobilibis [sier] Laurentio di Priolis equite et [sier] Gasparo Contareno, appareat non nihil dubitationis eorum mentibus ortum esse / ex verbis infrascriptis appositis in terminatione

nothing else emerges about the *affaire* Cinzio. So, as the decision of the Heads to restore the volumes to the printers upon Cinzio's 'humble application' suggests, it may very well be that the matter was simply let drop. Given the definitively licentious content of the book, this was possibly the only sensible thing to do.

The diplomat again

Obviously not only Contarini but the Republic too must have felt that he was best employed in some other capacity. If, however, his next mission as *oratore* to the Duke of Ferrara Alfonso d'Este, to persuade him to join an anti-Hapsburg league, was swiftly accomplished – after the sack of Rome, not many Italian states needed convincing[169] – the one that followed, as *oratore* to Pope Clement VII with the same object, proved as lengthy as it was unsuccessful [170]. In fact, it was extremely difficult for Contarini to convince the Pope to be in the league together with Venice and at the same time resist his demands to restore the cities of Cervia and Ravenna that Venice had seized from the Pope (or that had thrown themselves under its protection, according to Venice) during the Pope's forced exile from Rome. No wonder Contarini failed in both objects despite two very intensive years spent at the papal court, then at Viterbo. Nonetheless, he was personally greatly appreciated by Clement VII, otherwise a famously difficult personality.

Thus it was Contarini who finally negotiated the peace with the Emperor and signed it in Bologna in January, 1530, where he also attended the solemn coronation of Charles V as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in the following February [171]. He then made his return to Venice, where he

---

Ex[cellentissi]mo[rum] Capitu[m] Diei / penultimi Januarij proximi, an scilicet ipsa verba et costringant aucto- /ritatem ipsis attributam statuendi quid de libro proverbior[um] d[omi]ni Aloysij / Cynthij amovendum sit ut pote[..] nephas prodir[..] in publicum, verba / autem suborta dubitationis hac et sunt vidilicet Reliqua vero qua[m] in / dicto opere nil hoc nil adversus Deum impietatem sapere non censuerint / Remaneant in facultate ipsius auctori; Hac re intellecta / Ex[cellentissi]mi D[omi]ni Capita infrascripti, ob removendam omnem dubitationem / quo praenominati duo Nobilis; quibus jniunctum fuit examen et / iudicium op[er]is, seu libri int[er]dicti; clarius et expeditius statuere / ac determinare possint quod senserint. Et dixerunt ergo, et de-/claraverunt ea verba minime restringere auctoritatem et libertati / per praecedentem ipsius terminationis contextum ipsis duobus Nobilibus / attributam: et consequent omnia qua[ecumqua] ipsi D[omi]ni Laurentius / et Gaspar statuerint nephas esse prodire in publi[cum] et dicto opere / ipsius auctoris opera et sumptu amoveri debere. + […] + Franciscus Pisaurus, CCX + Hieronymus Grimanus CCX', ASV, Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, *Notatorio*, reg. 7, c. 117 r.

[168] See also Piovan, 'Fabrizi, Alvise Cinzio de', *DBI*, cit., p. 195.

[169] The League of Cognac was concluded in May 1526 among France, England, Milan, and Venice.

[170] Clement VII reigned 1523-34.

[171] Charles V was the last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire to be so crowned by a Pope. The title itself, however, lasted until 1806, when it was cancelled by Napoleon.

presented his report to the Senate on 9 March, and where again a motion seconded by the Doge, Andrea Gritti, to allow him to retain the Emperor's parting gift of 1,500 ducats - or at least half of it - was voted down [172]. Worse, two days later he was attacked for having signed the peace treaty of Bologna without noticing that it contained a phrase that might offend the Turks. However, the motion to have him investigated and tried for not following his instructions exactly did not pass.

In spite of the bitter outcome of his mission and of his vociferous political adversaries such as the anti-papal Alvise Mocenigo, Contarini had by now made a significant step forward in his career. In fact, there followed several appointments to increasingly high offices: on 1 April he was elected *savio*; on 1 September he entered the Council of Ten, within which he was often one of the three Heads, and to which he was re-elected in 1533; then he was in turn *revisore delle casse*, *riformatore dello studio di Padova*, *savio grande* and one of the Doge's six councillors. He was serving in this capacity for the third time in May, 1535, when the newly elected Pope Paul III created him a Cardinal.

Contarini's policy line within the Venetian government had always been inspired by principles of moderation and reflection which often led to clashes with his more sanguine opponents but which in the long run won him respect and appreciation, a measure of which is that, when the totally unexpected news of his appointment as Cardinal reached Venice on a Sunday, during a balloting session of the Great Council, Alvise Mocenigo himself was heard to exclaim: 'These priests have robbed us of the foremost gentleman our city has' [173].

The Cardinal

Contarini left for Rome in October, and though he returned briefly to the city once – on which occasion he visited Belluno where he had been appointed Bishop - the rest of his life was spent away from Venice in an entirely different milieu. Yet, in a way, he was but going back twenty years to the discussions of the Murano group and the spirit of ecclesiastical reform that animated them.

---

[172] Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 61.

[173] 'Questi Preti ci hanno pur rubbato il miglior Gentilhuomo, ch'avesse questa Città', Beccadelli, 'Vita', cit., p. 21, also quoted by Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 74, n. 338, and Molmenti, *La Storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, cit., p. 237.

Very soon, Contarini was involved in the diplomatic and political activities of the Holy See [174]. The project to convene a council – the future Council of Trent (1545-1547) - was taking shape. As this called for a state of peace among the Christian monarchs, a commission of seven cardinals which Contarini chaired was charged to submit a plan for the reform of the Church ahead of the council itself [175]. At the same time, Contarini worked to set out the programme of the future council [176], and finally chaired a commission for the reform of the Roman Curia and its officials [177]. However, the rest of the Roman Curia was devoting its best efforts to avoid the inclusion of the most sensitive issues in the reform programme, while at the same time obstructing the idea of a 'political understanding' advanced by the Emperor as an alternative to the council promoted by the Church. The result was that the opening of the council kept being delayed and that eventually the initiative was taken by the Emperor. In 1541, Charles V called a 'Christian conference' followed by an Imperial Diet at Ratisbon, where he expressly desired that Contarini should be sent as the papal legate.

Much has been written of Contarini and of the conference of Ratisbon between Catholics and Protestants, for instance that his misgivings were political but that he had great hopes that the religious breach could be healed; also, that for the first time he became aware of the real dimensions

[174] During his first months in Rome, however, he could still devote time to his studies, and also follow Cardinal Pole's composition of his *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione* (also known as *De Unitate*), which condemned Henry VIII's claim to assume religious authority over the Church of England. On Cardinal Pole's writings, especially on *De Unitate*, his most famous work, see Thomas Frederick Mayer, *A Reluctant Author: Cardinal Pole and his Manuscripts*, Volume 89, Parte 4, Transactions Series, DIANE Publishing, 1999, on-line.

[175] The other cardinals were Giovanni Piccolomini, Lorenzo Campeggio, Giacomo Simoneta, Girolamo Ghinucci, Alessandro Cesarini and Rodolfo Pio de Carpi. The document, *Consilium delectorum cardinalium praelatorum de emendanda ecclesia*, was presented to the Pope in the consistory of March 9, 1537 and then read and explained by Contarini. There was no discussion at that time and copies of the document were given to the cardinals to discuss with their counsellors, see Salvador Miranda, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church*, digital Biographical Dictionary (1998-2009), Florida International University Library, on-line.

[176] The other cardinals in the commission were Giovanni Domenico de Cupis, Lorenzo Campeggio, Giacomo Simoneta, Girolamo Ghinucci, Gian Pietro Carafa, Giacomo Sadoleto, Alessandro Cesarini and Reginald Pole, *ibid*.

[177] The other cardinals were Giovanni Domenico de Cupis, Reginald Pole, Alessandro Cesarini, Giovanni Maria del Monte, Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, Marino Grimani, Girolamo Aleander de Motta, Nicolò Ridolfi, Girolamo Ghinucci, Gian Pietro Carafa and Marcello Cervini, *ibid*. On the nature of the differences among the reformers themselves, which in the end would successfully pitch Cardinal Carafa against the more moderate reformers, Contarini and Pole, see Romeo De Maio, *Riforme e miti nella chiesa del cinquecento*, Guida Editori, Roma, 2 ed., (1973) 1992: 'il disaccordo, reale anche se non dichiarato, era totale sui metodi e l'ispirazione delle riforme: per Carafa, il parametro costante della sua "guerra spirituale", anche nei progetti pastorali, erano gli eretici, per Giberti e Contarini era la chiesa delle origini e la fede a ispirare la pedagogia suasoria e dissuasiva', at p. 19.

of the Protestant breach – particularly of the articulated organization and ecclesiastical hierarchy of a 'church' which menaced the very roots of Catholicism [178] - and of its theological implications. He was particularly surprised that the point of the 'justification by faith' could raise so much contention and in Rome be 'pondered', he wrote, 'as if it were an essential article of faith such as the Trinity and the like' [179]. As it is, the conference broke off on the too great doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants, but the discussions had brought to light the contrasts in doctrine among the Catholics themselves [180].

There was, in fact, a certain amount of debatable ground over those doctrinal speculations that had not as yet been rendered articles of faith. The need for definitions, therefore, was urgent. However, even before the definitions of the Council of Trent, as the conflict grew more desperate it became heretical to question some of the points under discussion. Consequently, although at the Conference of Ratisbon Contarini had repeatedly stated that he would not sanction anything contrary to the Catholic doctrine and had left the final decision of all matters of faith to the Pope, part of the Roman Curia maintained that he had favoured the Emperor's interests against those of the Church. His theological positions were not openly criticized, but it was in an atmosphere tense with suspicion that Contarini made his return to Rome.

Poisoned?

Some time after, on January, 1542, Contarini was appointed Cardinal legate at Bologna, where he died a few months later, on 24 August. Hence the rumour that he had been poisoned. He was first buried in the church of the Benedictine monastery of San Proculo in Bologna, and twenty-one years later, in December, 1563, was transferred to the family chapel in the Madonna dell'Orto church in Venice [181].

---

[178] Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., p. 188.

[179] '… in Concistoro […] tanto ponderato come se 'l fosse un'articolo [sic] essentiale della fede, cioè quello *De Trinitate*, o cosa simile', letter from Contarini to an unidentified Cardinal, Ratisbon, July 22, 1541, see Beccadelli, 'Lettere del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini e di altri al medesimo sino ad ora inedite, con varie notizie sopra il Colloquio di Vormazia, la Dieta di Ratisbona, e la Legazione di Bologna', in Morandi, *Monumenti* …, cit., Lettera LXXI, pp. 186-189, at p. 186. Contarini's sentence is quoted in a slightly different form ('come se 'l fusse un articolo essenziale della fede, cioè la Trinità o cosa simile') by Fragnito, 'Contarini, Gasparo', *DBI*, cit., at p. 188.

[180] *Ibid*. For details of Contarini's theological role at Ratisbon see Heinz Mackensen, 'The Diplomatic Role of Gasparo Cardinal Contarini at the Colloquy of Ratisbon in 1541', in *Church History*, 1958, pp. 312-337, esp. for his relationship with the Curia, pp. 327-33.

[181] For an interpretation of the chapel as an intent to clear the Cardinal's reputation see Michael Douglas-Scott, 'Jacopo Tintoretto's Altarpiece of St Agnes at the Madonna dell'Orto in Venice and the

Contarini's moderate position had been more and more isolated in Rome in the face of rumours about the increasing diffusion of heresy. A widespread fear that heresy in Modena, Lucca, and Naples might provoke the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in those kingdoms possibly accelerated the institution of the Roman Inquisition itself, on 25 July 1542. One of the last episodes of Contarini's life refers to the visit paid to him on August 17 by Ochino, then on his way to Rome where he had been summoned by the Inquisition presided over by Cardinal Carafa. Apparently, it was following Contarini's advice that he took flight [182].

As for Contarini himself, his death put him well beyond investigation. But his family was left doubly exposed to the approaching storm: on the one hand, the Roman Inquisition announced 'very minute' investigations to be conducted about Contarini's group of friends, the *spirituali*; on the other, Ochino's sermons from Geneva were rumoured to contain *cose gravi*, 'serious matters', concerning the Cardinal.

Publication of Contarini's *Opera*

Memorialisation of Cardinal Contarini', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 60, 1997, pp. 130-163.

[182] Bernardino Tommassini (1487-1564), called '*Ochino*' - from 'Oca', the name of the *contrada* in Siena where he was born - entered the order of the Observantine Friars at an early age and rose to be its general. In 1534, however, he joined the newly-founded Order of Friars Minor Capuchin, a branch started in 1525 as a reform movement to return to a stricter observance of the Rule of St. Francis (c. 1223), of which he was elected vicar-general in 1538. The most popular and celebrated preacher in Italy, Ochino was the intimate friend of Juan de Valdes, Pietro Bembo, Vittoria Colonna, Pietro Martire Vermigli, and others who, like Contarini, were destined to incur the suspicion of heresy, either from the moderation of their theology or from its evangelical bent. In 1539, upon Pietro Bembo's invitation, Ochino visited Venice and delivered a course of sermons showing his tendency towards the doctrine of justification by faith, as confirmed by his dialogues published the same year. He was suspected and denounced, but nothing ensued until the establishment, at the instigation of Cardinal Carafa, of the Inquisition in Rome, whose summons Ochino had set out to obey. According to his own statement, however, he was deterred from presenting himself at Rome by the warnings of Contarini, whom he found at Bologna, dying of poison administered by the reactionary party. Thus Ochino fled to Geneva, where he was well received by Calvin, and after two years to England, where he was made a prebendary of Canterbury, received a pension from King Edward VI's privy purse, and composed his capital work, the *Tragedy*, originally written in Latin and extant only in the translation of Bishop Ponet which has been defined 'a splendid specimen of nervous English'. A probable influence of some of his writings upon Milton has been traced. In 1533, however, at the accession of Mary, Ochino returned to Switzerland, but in 1563 he was banished from Zürich for allegedly having justified, if not practised, bigamy: he was then refused shelter by other Protestant cities, went to Poland, where an edict was issued (Aug. 8, 1564) banishing all foreign dissidents. Fleeing from the country, he encountered the plague at Pinczoff, where three of his four children died and he himself expired at Austerlitz, Moravia (now Slavcov u Brna, Czech Republic), about the end of 1564. See on-line resources.

To pre-empt Ochino and defend 'l'innocentia del cardinale' from any blemish of heresy, it seemed at one point advisable to make public all his treatises and letters on theological issues [183]. However, when it was found that what Ochino had written of Cardinal Contarini was not 'scandalous' and that his 'honour' was hardly affected, it was concluded that, if nothing else emerged, it was best to keep silent [184]. It was a wise decision. It has been now confirmed that, though established to prevent the diffusion of the Protestant Reform throughout Christendom, the Roman Inquisition was initially the instrument of a major struggle for power within the Roman Curia. In fact, the Santo Uffizio concentrated exclusively against those reformers, most notably Contarini and Pole (both 'papabili'), strongly opposed by Cardinal Carafa, whose 'hard line' by means of the Santo Uffizio was going to be pursued well into the second part of the century [185].

Consequently, although apparently four of Contarini's short theological works were published in Florence in 1553, probably by his *spirituali* friends [186], his family moved with caution. Gasparo's *De magistratibus et republica venetorum* was also published in 1553, possibly because of its neutral import and as a safe subject towards clearing his reputation. This was also, obviously, the intent of the biography that the family committed that same year to Della Casa, whose death, however, closely followed by the election of Cardinal Carafa as Pope, put a stop to all publication projects for the duration of his and the following papacies [187]. Therefore, it was not before 1571 that Contarini's nephew Alvise published Gasparo's *Opera* [188], though, as will be seen, many adjustments were

[183] 'fusse bene dare fuori tutti quelli trattati et epistole che sono scritte dal Cardinale sopra queste materie', letter from Scipione Bianchini to Lodovico Beccadelli, Bologna, January 16, 1543, edited by Gigliola Fragnito, 'Gli "spirituali" e la fuga di Bernardino Ochino', *Rivista storica italiana*, 84, 1972, pp. 777-813, at p. 798, quoted by Adriano Prosperi, *L'Inquisizione romana: letture e ricerche*, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, Roma, 2000, p. 104, on-line.

[184] 'a me pare che in questo sia poco tocco l'honore del cardinale et se non vi è altro si può benissimo tacere', Fragnito, 'Gli "spirituali" …', cit., p. 813, quoted by Prosperi, *L'Inquisizione romana* … cit., p. 104.

[185] Prosperi, *L'Inquisizione romana* … cit., pp. 241-2. The acts of the process against Cardinal Pole, however, are still missing.

[186] Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini* …, cit., p. 18.

[187] Carafa, as Pope Paul IV (1555-1559), was followed by Pius IV (1559–1565), who proceeded to rehabilitate some of the moderate reformers like Cardinal Morone and to reassemble the Council of Trent, but he was followed by Pius V (1565–1572), who renewed the Inquisition's hard line.

[188] *Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera* (1571), cit. The printing firm of Sébastien Nivelle was noted for its Catholic orthodoxy. Moreover, Alvise was Venetian ambassador to France from 1569 to 1572 and hence in a position to see his uncle's work through the press at Paris. The *Opera* includes Contarini's principal works: (I) *Libri duo de immortalitate animae*; (2) *De officio episcopi libri duo*; (3) *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri V*; (4) *Compendii primae philosophiae libri VIII*; (5) *De potestate Pontificis*; (6) *De elementis libri V*; (7) *Confutatio articulorum seu quaestionum Lutheri*; (8) *De libero arbitrio*; (9)

necessary. In fact, Contarini's nephew and his assistants had to excise several passages [189]. Two subsequent editions of the *Opera* appearing in Venice underwent even stricter censorship [190]. By this time, however, the fame of Gasparo as the author of *De magistratibus* had spread throughout Europe and would continue to thrive to the present day.

Nonetheless, the 'secret' of the government of Venice continues to be as intriguing as ever. It was, in fact, a very complex system, a 'delicate piece of constitutional engineering' [191], essentially completed by the end of the 13th century, strong enough to last for centuries, and flexible enough to adjust to any necessary change, and it took a very clear mind just to describe it. At the same time, however, it was a very simple system. It rotated around a few, mostly unwritten, principles which Contarini had the ability to isolate and articulate for the first time ever.

The result is a remarkably complete and systematic synthesis of the fundamentals of the Venetian state and government. Contarini's approach entailed the sifting of the traditional body of knowledge on Venice ranging from prophetical and legendary accounts to historical records, philosophical speculations, and legal arguments. This he further allied to his own personal experience and values. In so doing, he asked, and answered, in a Latin style of classical precision and brevity, the questions that were to accompany the debate on the 'republican' (or 'democratic') themes during the Renaissance, as well as in the aftermath of World War II and again at present [192].

Conciliorum magis illustrium summa; (10) *De Sacramentis christianae legis et catholicae ecclesiae libri IV*; (11) *De justifications*; (12) *Cathechismus*; (13) *De Predestinatione*; (14) *Scholia in epistolas divi Pauli*. A *Geographia* is among Contarinis' lost works.

[189] See Gigliola Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato veneziano al servizio della cristianità*, Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa, Studi e Testi, IX, Leo S. Olschki Editore, Firenze, 1988, esp. chap. V, 'L'edizione parigina delle opere: una impresa al servizio della Controriforma', pp. 307–368, and the previous 'Aspetti della censura ecclesiastica nell'Europa della Controriforma: l'edizione parigina delle opere di Gasparo Contarini', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 21, 1985, pp. 3-48. For a better understanding of how the Counter-Reformation censorship worked in practice, the recent English edition of *De officio episcopi libri duo*, cit., indicates the differences between the manuscript original, the Paris edition, and the Venetian editions. On the point see below, Chap. III, 'Lewkenor's sources', § 2., 'Lewkenor's 'Latine originall': The 1571 revision'.

[190] They were published by the presses of Aldo Manuzio (*Gasparis Contareni cardinalis Opera*, Venetiis, apud Aldum, 1578, on-line, with *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri V* at pp. 259-326) and Damiano Zenario (*Gasparis Contareni cardinalis Opera omnia, hactenus excussa, ad omnes philosophie partes, & ad sacram theologiam pertinentia*, Venetijs, apud Damianum Zenarium, 1589).

[191] See Vittorio Conti, 'Introduzione', Gasparo Contarini, *La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia*, a cura di Vittorio Conti, rist. anast., Centro Editoriale Toscano, Firenze, 2003, pp. 7-32, at p. 15.

[192] On the current debate in Italy see for instance, among others, Massimo L. Salvadori, *Democrazia senza democrazia*, Laterza, 2009, its review by Luciano Canfora, 'La democrazia malata' in *Il Corriere della Sera*,

29 giugno 2009, and the comments by Eugenio Scalfari, 'Élite e democrazia' in *L'espresso*, 23 luglio 2009, p. 109.

II. Lewes Lewkenor [193] (c. 1560-1627)

Background: *The English Catholic community*; *The Lewkenor family; The 'Iesuites' (1580).* Lewkenor as soldier and 'fugitive': *The Duke of Parma's siege of Antwerp (1584-5)*; *The Queen's contingent in the Low Countries (1585-1587); Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester; Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen; Sir William Stanley; The Spanish Armada (1588).* Back to England (1590): '*A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitiues by the Spaniards*' (1595); *Religious identities; The court; The dedicatee of Lewkenor's translation: Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick; The translation's commendatory sonnets: (Edw.) Spencer; I. Ashley; Maur. Kiffen; Henry Elmes; Iohn Harington.* Lewkenor as translator.

Lewes Lewkenor (*c.*1560-1627)

It has been said that Lewes Lewkenor, Contarini's English translator, is the most representative example of the typical Elizabethan translator because, to begin with, not much is known of his life [194]. However, the present scholarly interest in early modern English times and history has increasingly added to his biography [195]. Born around 1560, Lewkenor came from a well-known, mostly Catholic, Sussex family, and acquired a M.A. at Cambridge [196]. From 1580 on he was in Flanders for ten years, having entered the army of the Duke of Parma. There he became captain of a company, married the heiress of a Brabant merchant in Antwerp, Beatrice de Rota, had a son, was wounded in the arm, and finally retired from active service, to return to England in 1590. In 1596,

[193] The name 'Lewes' is sometimes spelled 'Lewis' and the family name 'Lewkenor' is also spelled 'Lewknor', 'Leukenor', 'Lucnor', 'Lewkner', etc. I have adopted the form 'Lewes Lewkenor' that appears on the front page of the first edition of *The Commonwealth* and at the bottom of the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' and of the preface 'To the Reader'.

[194] 'Lewkenor ejemplifica como nadie el caso del traductor-tipo de este período', Julio César Santoyo, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor (1555?-1627): fragmentos biobibliográficos de un traductor olvidado', pp. 276-288, *Yearbook of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies*, n. 2, 1992, at p. 281, on-line.

[195] See Roderick Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes (c.1560–1627)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* from the earliest times to the year 2000, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison; in association with the British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2004 (*ODNB*). An early source on Lewkenor's life is A. J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans. The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II*, New York, Fordham University Press, 1963, 10-11, 117-8; repr. New York, Greenwood, 1983. The most recent is Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England:Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, Cambridge University Press, 2006, on-line, mentioning at p. 59, n. 137, an unpublished Houses of Parliament Trust biography of Lewes Lewkenor by Alan Davidson [untraced].

[196] See *Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates, and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900 (1922)*, Cambridge University Press, on-line.

following his father's death, Lewkenor inherited the lease of Selsey Park and the adjacent grange in Sussex [197], and one year later was returned to Parliament for Midhurst, his father's old seat [198].

While in Selsey, Lewkenor published four works: *The Resolved Gentleman* (1594), a translation from Spanish (see below) of *El caballero determinado* (1553) by Hernando de Acuña; his own *The Estate of English Fugitiues under the King of Spaine* (1595); another translation, *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice* (1599), and, again from Spanish, *The Spanish Mandeuile of Miracles or The Garden of Curious Flowers* (1600), a translation of the *Jardin de Flores Curiosas* (1570) by Antonio de Torquemada [199].

Lewkenor, however, returned to public life when he was knighted (1603) and then made Master of the Ceremonies (1605), and from then on his name is frequently mentioned in the State Papers Domestic until 1626, so that the presumed date of his death is 1627. Yet from the biographical data at our disposal in conjunction with Lewkenor's book, *The Estate of English Fugitiues under the King of Spaine* (1595), his epistle 'To the Reader' prefatory to *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice*, and some details of the translation itself, a fuller picture emerges. Lewkenor's ten-year absence from England and subsequent thirteen-year semi-withdrawal from public life occurred during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, while the advent of James I marked his entrance to court. The first of these circumstances appears connected with Lewkenor's Catholicism – though Lewkenor is said to have converted to Anglicanism in 1590 when he negotiated his return

[197] They were leased from the Crown and surrendered in 1612 (see Clayton, 'Lewknor ..', cit.). Selsey (*i.e.* Seals' Island), in West Sussex, once an island, is now part of a peninsula, 8 ½ miles south from Chichester station on the London, Brighton and South Coast railway. It was described as a very healthy place, with fine sands and a good view of the Isle of Wight, in *Kelly's Directory*, entry for Selsey, West Sussex, 1918, on-line.

[198] See Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes ..', cit.

[199] See *The Resoved Gentleman*. *Translated out of Spanishe into Englyshe, by Lewes Lewkenor, Esquier*. 'Nel piu [sic] bel vedere, Cieco'. Imprinted at London, by Richarde Watkins, 1594. *The Estate of English Fugitiues under the King of Spaine and his ministers. Containing, besides, a Discourse of the sayd Kings manner of government, and the iniustice of many late dishonorable practices by him contrived* (1595). *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice*, cit., on-line. *The Spanish Mandeuile of Miracles or The Garden of Curious Flowers* […]. At London. Printed by I. R. for Edmund Matts, and are to be solde at his shop, at the signe of the hand and Plow in Fleetstreete. 1600. The maxim 'Nel piu [sic] bel vedere, Cieco' – whose source is still untraced - on the front-cover of *The Resoved Gentleman* appears also on the front-cover of *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*.

to England - while the second follows the advent of James I, on whom Catholic hopes reposed. However, Lewkenor seems to have converted back to Catholicism in the late 1610s [200].

The English Catholic communities

These were indeed difficult and complex times. The religious issue appears a determining factor in Lewkenor's life, as indeed it was for every English Catholic at the time. Recent scholarship has thrown further light on the persistence of Catholicism in late Elizabethan and Jacobean England [201]. In fact, Catholicism would not have survived without the support of social institutions, and it now appears that Catholic communities were centred on noble households, where public authority was in private hands, and consequently varied greatly depending on the geography [202]. Thus, it has been shown that the English Catholic community was not a monolith but presented many different aspects [203], so that it is more helpful to think in terms of several English Catholic communities rather than one.

Post-Reformation Sussex was a county presenting a great variety of Catholic opinions even within the circle of the same family [204]. The Lewkenor family was a case in point. Lewkenor was born into the Tangmere / Selsey branch of the family, a part of Sussex where the Earls of Arundel and the Dukes of Norfolk had held lands – mentioned in the Domesday Book as early as 1086 - for almost 500 years until the 4th Duke of Norfolk was accused of treason and beheaded (1572).

Lewes's father, Thomas (1538-1596), had Catholic inclinations, while by contrast his paternal uncle, Richard (1542-1616), a leading lawyer with whom Lewes had begun his Middle Temple

[200] Questier, *Catholicism and Community*… cit., p. 59 and n. 137, mentioning Lewkenor's Jesuit son.

[201] See for instance Robert S. Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources*, Oxford University Press, 2007, on-line; Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007, on-line; Rebecca Lemon, *Treason by Words: Literature, Law and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England*, Cornell University Press, 2006, on-line; Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 1558-1660, Cambridge University Press, 1999, on-line. These studies were initiated by John Bossy's seminal *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*, Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 1975.

[202] Bossy, *The English Catholic Community* ..., cit., p. 175, quoted by Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism* …, cit., p. 26.

[203] See Questier, *Catholicism and Community*…, cit., p. 58.

[204] *Ibid*. Also Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism* …, cit.: 'Catholics in early modern England came in all sizes and shapes – conspicuous recusants, martyrs, theologians, scholars, historians, and poets -[…] but also, more numerously and less visibly, lukewarm sentimentalists, superstitious traditionalists, conflicted undecideds, and Church papists', p. 27.

articling in 1579, is said to have been 'a bastion of order and authority against the dangers of incipient popery' [205]. Of Lewes's other uncles one, Samuel, was a Catholic, and the other, Edmund, who was a tutor of the future Jesuit John Gerard, later became a seminary priest himself [206]. On the other hand, at least one of his brothers-in-law, Francis Neville (c. 1585-1647), was considered a non-conforming Catholic though he contracted strong Catholic connections by both his marriages, the first in 1578 to Lewes's sister Mary.

It was after 1559 that Catholicism became so factionalised. The Act of Supremacy (1559) and the Act of Uniformity (1559), by which a newly crowned Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) returned the country to her father's Protestantism, effectively aimed at destroying Catholicism in England. However, like the revolution that Henry VIII (r. 1509-47) had started twenty-five years earlier, the Elizabethan persecution of Catholics, too, was not so much doctrinal and devotional as primarily political and jurisdictional [207]. In fact, Catholicism in England was increasingly viewed as a form of treason, suggesting allegiance to foreign powers (Spain and the papacy), an inference which Pius V's bull of excommunication of the Queen (1570), the Irish rebellion (1579), and the arrival of the first Jesuit mission to England (1580) seemed to justify. Thus, though spiritually a spent force, politically the old religion remained an ever-present menace to most contemporaries.

The 'Iesuites'

[205] Questier, *Catholicism and Community*… cit., p. 58.

[206] *Ibid*., p. 59.

[207] The 1599 Act of Supremacy reinstated Henry VIII's analogous Act of 1534, which imposed the Oath of Supremacy on any person taking public or church office in England. In particular, allegiance had to be sworn to the sovereign as 'the only supreme governor … as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal':

> I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience that the Queen's Highness is *the only supreme governor* of this realm, and of all other her Highness's dominions and countries, *as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal,* and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges and authorities granted or belonging to the Queen's Highness, her heirs or successors, or united or annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the contents of this Book, [emphasis added]

Refusal to sign the Oath of Supremacy was usually followed by an indictment for treason on charges of *praemunire* (a law prohibiting papal jurisdiction in England against that of the sovereign), and consequently execution. One of the first who refused to take the Oath was Thomas More (d.1535).

Lewkenor left England around 1580, the year of the first Jesuit mission to England. As is well known, the Society of Jesus (*Societas Jesus*), founded by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) in 1533 and approved by Pope Paul III in 1540, is usually portrayed as having had the primary objective of thwarting the expansion of the Protestant Reform, thus playing a significant role in the history of the Counter-Reformation. See, for instance, the *OED*'s introductory lines to the term 'Jesuit':

> The object of the Society of Jesus was to support the Roman Church in its struggle with the 16th c. Reformers and to propagate the faith among the heathen. Hated and feared by Protestants, the Order, with its authoritarian constitution and its principle of total obedience to papal commands, became suspect to many in Roman Catholic countries too – more especially when Jesuit schools and confessionals came to exercise great influence on rulers and high society. By their enemies, the Jesuists were accused of teaching that the end justifies the means, and the lax principles of casuistry put forward by a few of their moralists were ascribed to the Order as a whole, thus giving rise, not only in English but in French and other languages, to sense 2 [a dissembling person; a prevaricator. Also *fig. depreciatory*] and to the opprobrious sense attached to *Jesuitical*, *Jesuistry*, and other derivatives, [208]

In fact, recent historiography of the Society has pointed out that Ignatius himself 'never narrowed the scope of the Society to turn it principally in the direction of anti-Protestantism' [209].

The first Jesuit mission to England since Ignatius's visit there in 1531 took place in 1580-81 to support persecuted Catholics [210]. Between these two dates, Jesuit contacts with England are said to have been sporadic, yet they must have been significant if the first attested use of the word in English, dating to 1559, refers to: 'Ye multitud of Iesuitts and seminaryes secrettly comes into ye realm' (*Cecil Papers*, I, 153). In fact, many Englishmen entered the Society and went to study in Rome, notably Edmund Campion, who was part of the mission to England with Robert Persons and was executed in 1581 [211], as was the poet Robert Southwell in 1595 [212].

---

[208] *OED*.

[209] This image of Ignatius's, however, began to form soon after his death through the accounts of one of his help-mates, Jéronimo Nadal, who worried about the situation in Germany, which he started visiting in 1555. See John W. O'Malley, S.J., 'The Historiography of the Society of Jesus: Where Does it Stand Today?', *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, John W. O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy (eds.), University of Toronto Press, 1999, pp. 3-37, at p. 5, on-line.

[210] On the first Jesuit mission to England see Tutino, *Law and Conscience* ..., cit., chap. 2, 'The Political Significance of the First Mission of the Society of Jesus to England', pp. 33-51. Also Victor Houliston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610,* Ashgate Publishing, 2007, reviewed by Lowell Ghallager in *The Review of English Studies*, 2009, 60 (243): 146-148; Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, Indiana University Press, 1995, esp. chap. 6, 'The Jesuit Mission and the "Enterprise" of 1582', pp. 98 ss, on-line; Malcolm H. South, *The Jesuits and the Joint Mission to England during 1580-1581*, Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, New York, 1999.

[211] On Edmund Campion see more recently Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2005, on-line.

To a certain extent, it is understandable that the government should interpret their mission as political. At the same time, Protestant writings began attacking the Jesuits' credibility: *John Nichols Pilgrimage, wherein is displaied the lives of Proude Popes, ambitious cardinals, lecherous bishops, fat bellied Monkes, and hypocritical Jesuits* appeared in 1581, the year of Campion's death, followed by *The English Roman Life* (1582) by John Munday, who testified at Campion's trial about a conspiracy against the Queen, and Charles Sledd's Roman diary for 1579-1580, reporting rumors about more plots against the Queen conducted with the Jesuits' support, such as Fitzmaurice's invasion of Ireland [213]. Thus, the English Jesuits were made 'odious to their contrymen' [214]. In fact, any seminary priest was considered a 'Jesuit' and made the object of a veritable man-hunt involving government agents and traitors, double agents, informers, secret hiding places ('priest holes'), and the ensuing capture, torture, and public execution [215]. The ghoulish details of the executions (which included live disembowelment [216]) confirm that the offence was punished as treason.

Lewkenor as soldier and 'fugitive'

Lewkenor would have been about twenty when he left England. In fact, he says of himself: '*My education hath been in the wars*' [217]. However, as a 'fugitive' in the service of the King of Spain, he eventually found himself on the Spanish side of the Anglo-Spanish confrontation in the Low Countries (1585-1507). The Spanish 'Army of Flanders' that Lewkenor joined was the best army in Europe. Formed entirely of professionals, it was at that moment under the command of King Philip II's nephew, the respected and feared Duke of Parma, Alessandro Farnese, recently appointed Governor of the Spanish Netherlands to subdue the country's rebellion. In fact, there were two

---

[212] For an analysis of Southwell's prose and poetry and the tensions of the period see Scott R. Pilarz, *Robert Southwell and the Mission of Literature, 1561-1595: Writing Reconciliation*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004.

[213] Pilarz, *Robert Southwell*…, cit., pp. 186-7. 'Defending the executions of Campion and the other priests, Burghley [William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's primary advisor] argued that they had been consciously motivated by politics, not religion, and he termed the victims "pseudo-martyrs", Flynn, *John Donne*… cit., p. 105.

[214] Thomas M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in England, Ireland, and Scotland 1541-1588: "Our Way of Proceeding?"*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, n. 60, E. J. Brill, New York, 1996, p. 132, quoted by Pilarz, *Robert Southwell*…, cit., p. 185.

[215] For the period 1588-1605, see more recently Alice Hogge, *God's Secret Agents: Queen Elizabeth's Forbidden Priests and the Hatching of the Gunpowder Plot*, HarperCollins, 2005.

[216] Flynn, *John Donne* ..., cit., p. 105.

[217] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', sig. A4*v*.

fronts to the rebellion. One was the Protestant revolt led by William of Orange in the northern provinces (modern-day Netherlands), and the other was the revolt in the southern provinces (modern-day mostly Belgium) which, though mainly Catholic, fought Spain for their independence.

Spanish Netherlands around the time of the Armada (1588) [218]

The Duke of Parma's siege of Antwerp

The key to the southern provinces was the seaport of Antwerp, a Protestant enclave to which the Duke of Parma laid a successful siege with the building of a memorable floating stockade across the river Schedlt (1584-5).

An English spy's map of Parma's siege of Antwerp [219]

Interestingly, we find glimpses of the Duke of Parma's army in *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice*. For instance, in translating from Giannotti, Lewkenor takes the opportunity of 'updating' the original to recall with visible pleasure

> 'one *Iohn Baptista de Monte* a Florentine borne, a notable soldier, and a very honourable Gentleman, one under whome I have served in the warres, and am in all thankefulnesse to acknowledge many favors that I received both from him and his brother *Camillo de Monte*', p. 166

[218] The map shows the northern rebel Protestant provinces [orange] which had English support during their struggle, see *The Common Heritage* of the Transmanche Multimedia Project, *Invicta Media*, Europa House, website, on-line.

[219] Map in *The Common Heritage* of the Transmanche Multimedia Project, cit., on-line.

As del Monte, under whom Lewkenor says he served, is known to have flanked the Duke of Parma on the occasion of the siege of Antwerp in command of 400 horse and 2,000 foot soldiers, it is very likely that Lewkenor also took part in it.

The Queen's contingent in the Low Countries (1585-1587)

The Duke of Parma then turned his attention to the northern provinces, the Dutch States General, whose leadership looked more and more to England for support after the murder of William of Orange in 1584. Still, though eager to thwart Philip's plans, Elizabeth hesitated to make expensive commitments to the Dutch. Moreover, she was reluctant to side with rebels in arms against their sovereign, and had little sympathy for Calvinism, thus effectively refusing the role of 'Protestant Deborah' [220].

However, after the fall of Antwerp in August 1585, the Queen finally agreed to supply the Dutch States with 1,000 horse and 5,000 foot soldiers, to subsidise about a quarter of the annual cost of the revolt, and to allow for an English Governor-General to be at the head of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. As security, the Treaty of Nonsuch settled on England two Dutch ports, Brielle and Flushing, to be provided with English governors and a garrison of 1,400 'auxiliary' troops [221]. The General appointed to command the Queen's forces was Sir John Norreys, who immediately secured also the coastal towns of Ostende and Sluys. The Governor-General in command of the allied forces was Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester, who since 1576 had pressed for an English military expedition, led by himself, to help the rebels.

This 'dual command structure' of the army was, of course, a situation spelling trouble for all concerned. In addition, the English 'volunteer' companies that already were in the pay of the Dutch States were transferred into English service, thus contributing to the military and financial confusion of England's intervention in the Low Countries.

---

[220] See John S. Nolan, *Sir John Norreys and the Elizabethan Military World*, Presses Université Laval, 1997, p. 86, on-line. The following section draws heavily on its ch. VI, 'The Netherlands, 1585-1587'. On Queen Elizabeth as 'Protestant Deborah' see McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I...*, cit., chap. I, ''To be Deborah'': the political implications of providentialism under a female ruler', pp. 12-43.

[221] For its strategic position between the North Sea and the river Scheldt, Flushing (Vlissingen in Dutch) had long attracted the interest of foreign powers who often maintained a garrison within the city's boundaries. Vlissingen was instrumental in the Dutch 'Golden Age' in the 17th c. It is now the third most important harbour in the Netherlands.

Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester (1532-1588)

Leicester arrived in Flanders in December 1585 and as soon started a difficult balancing act as both Governor-General of the United Provinces and Elizabeth's Lieutenant-General. While the Dutch, and himself, as well as Norreys, were all for action, the Queen still preferred to avoid direct confrontations with the Duke of Parma, possibly because this meant pitching few and underfunded forces against the most formidable army in Europe. Moreover, the relationship between Leicester and Norreys was increasingly strained as each tried to undercut the other. Norreys 'suggested' his father for the governorship of Flushing, but Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, was appointed at the same time as Leicester's friend, Sir William Stanley, was requested to raise a regiment in Ireland and join him in the Low Countries. Thus eventually Norreys found himself in command of field officers while Leicester counted on the loyalty of the general staff.

Where would Lewkenor have been when the Duke of Parma resumed the offensive in the spring of 1586? Possibly with the 3,000 Spanish troops that assaulted the city of Grave, a strategical Dutch outpost. If so, he may have received his wound in the course of the two-hour engagement with Norreys's troops which cost the Spanish 700 casualties. Norreys himself was (slightly) wounded. Unsurprisingly, the engagement was reported to the Queen as an important victory, and Norreys was knighted for valorous service.

Or maybe Lewkenor was with the 16,000 Spanish troops which one month later, led by the Duke of Parma in person, marched again on Grave so convincingly that the city's Governor, the Dutch Baron Hemart, surrendered it after one day of bombardment - to be immediately tried and publicly executed by Leicester against Norreys' advice. Thus, as the gulf between the two English commanders widened, another one opened between them and the Dutch States, and mass desertions followed.

With only the English army to defend them, the Duke of Parma pressed his advantage north to the conquest of Utrecht and Gelderland. Leicester, however, simply put his army in garrison, much to Norreys's disgust but as per the Queen's wishes. The English forces, however, verged on financial collapse, which meant disease and starvation, and consequently desertions of English soldiers as well: some pillaged the country, some joined Dutch garrisons, and others the army of Flanders. Then Leicester reorganized the English contingent so as to reinforce his 'party', and with the arrival of Stanley and his 1,000-strong force in July 1586 the reorganization was complete. Leicester prepared to take the field, and Norreys was commissioned to the advance guard.

Zutphen

The Duke of Parma's army was stationed in Brabant. Leicester's plan was to attack the links it maintained with the Spanish enclaves in Groningen and Overijessel along the Ijessel river and force the Spanish army to return east, where battle could be given on a more level playing field. Thus he moved against the towns of Doesburg, Deventer, and Zutphen. His strategy seemed to work. The Doesburg garrison surrendered to Norreys, and Sir William Stanley occupied and pillaged the city. Then Leicester moved east to Zutphen, and the Duke of Parma's army had to march east. Before it reached him, however, Leicester had occupied Deventer and besieged Zutphen with the idea of drawing the Spanish into battle when they tried to resupply the city.

Parma 'took the bait', but surprisingly Leicester was not ready for it: when a Spanish deserter tipped him off about a supply convoy, he sent Norreys to intercept it with a ludicrous force of 300 horse and 200 foot. Then, 'expecting a lark', Leicester himself joined Norreys in the ambush with a company of fifty noble courtiers outfitted as lancers. The area was covered by a dense fog. When it suddenly lifted, it revealed an approaching supply train of over 500 carts escorted by 3,000 Spanish troops. Before Norreys could call for a withdrawal, 'the cream of England's nobility promptly couched their lances and charged' [222]. Norreys's cavalry could not but join to help disentangle them, but before he could finally order a withdrawal, thus 'saving a whole generation of English nobility', many had had a chance to prove their chivalry on the field, notably Sir Philip Sidney, who died of wounds a few weeks later. Then Leicester settled for a long siege to Zutphen that he entrusted to Norreys while he went back to England.

Leicester, however, took care not to leave his friends under Norreys's authority. Thus Stanley, for instance, was given the governorship of Deventer with control of operations against Zutphen. But by now the English troops and governors were beginning to be hateful to the Dutch, Stanley's government in particular, as he was said to show a marked preference for Papists. In Deventer, Stanley was in charge of a garrison of 1,200 men. However, on 29 January 1587 he surrendered the town to the Spanish Governor of Zutphen, joined the Spanish army, and was given the command of the seven 'bands' of English fugitives, of one of which Lewkenor was the captain.

Sir William Stanley (1548-1630)

Yet Sir William Stanley was a good example of a Catholic who nevertheless had never questioned his service to the Crown. He had begun his military career in 1567 in the Spanish Netherlands as a

[222] Nolan, *Sir John Norreys* …, cit., p. 99.

volunteer under the Spanish General Alva, but in 1570 he had joined Elizabeth's forces in Ireland where he had served with distinction for over fifteen years. In fact, by 1585 he was reputed one of the finest soldiers in England. However, he was becoming more and more disillusioned. He had served with honour and fidelity but he was viewed suspiciously, and no handsome reward awaited him at the end of his brilliant Irish career apart from several painful wounds.

In late 1585, on his way to the Low Countries after recruiting his soldiers in Ireland, Stanley was seen in the company of Jesuit priests, and was said to have known much of the Babington Plot, although he was not himself involved. Apparently, he delayed his departure for the Spanish Netherlands in case the Queen was killed or the Spanish fleet arrived from Cadiz. Ironically, Stanley's treachery came at the time when Elizabeth was preparing to appoint him Viceroy of Ireland. Neither the Jesuit faction or the Spanish court commended his action, and it must have been a very embittered man who continued his military service in the Spanish ranks, especially after the failure of the Spanish Armada. In fact, he continued to urge the invasion of England, and in 1590 was in Madrid as the representative of a thousand strong legion of Irishmen and expatriate Englishmen known as the English Legion, of which Guy Fawkes was part. Equally opposed to King James I on his accession as he had been to Queen Elizabeth, Stanley eventually sued for a pardon but was never granted permission to return to England.

The Spanish Armada (1588)

As it was, the Duke of Parma's reconquest of the United Provinces was effectively halted. Instead, he received from the King instructions to invade England. In preparing for the attempt, the role of the Spanish fleet was primarily to control the sea between England and Flanders so that the Duke of Parma's army could safely cross over. The problem, in fact 'the one problem they never resolved', was:

> 'how to arrange a meeting between the Armada and Parma's Army? Both the soldiers and their barges were dispersed across Flanders to maintain some element of secrecy. They kept the Dutch rebels and the English guessing about their intentions - were they going to attack Holland or England? Parma reckoned it would take about 6 days to gather Army and barges together and set out to sea. Yet without radio or any speedy communications, it was impossible for the Armada to give advance warning of when it would actually be approaching the Flanders coast. If Parma's men had just waited in their boats off Dunkerque, they would have been 'sitting ducks' for attack by Dutch fighting ships which were very effective in these shallow coastal waters' [223].

Richard Hakluyt describes how the Duke of Parma organized his army:

[223] *The Common Heritage* of the Transmanche Multimedia Project, cit.

> 'Neere vnto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, over the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount vnto 56. bands, every band containing a hundreth persons. Neare vnto Dixmund there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, sixtie of Spaniards, sixe of high Germans, and seven bands of English fugitives, vnder the conduct of sir William Stanley an English knight. In the suburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques Del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen' [224]

Thus Lewkenor, who was taking part in these historic events, would have served under Sir William Stanley at the head of about one hundred men in one of the seven English 'bands'. An echo of his personal experience is again present in the translation, where Lewkenor unobtrusively corrects 'Bardi''s '*Il Marchese del Vasto*' (p. 80), into 'the marquesse of Guasto' (p. 180).

Back in England (1590)

A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitiues by the Spaniards (1595)

Unlike Sir William Stanley, Lewkenor returned to England and eventually described his experience in *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitiues by the Spaniards* (1595), which was published anonymously and ran into four editions in little more than a year. In fact, the second was a pirate edition, but the third appeared with the additions indicated in the title, *The Estate of English Fugitiues under the King of Spaine and his ministers. Containing, besides, a Discourse of the sayd Kings manner of government, and the iniustice of many late dishonorable practices by him contrived* [225]. The fourth and last edition, published at the beginning of 1596, was 'newly corrected and amended' [226].

The narrative takes the form of a letter recounting the writer's experience to a young relative who wants to enlist in the service of the King of Spain. If he had to endure so much, the writer explains, it was not on account of his being an Englishman, but because the Spanish are 'the most base,

---

[224] Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616), *The Principall Navigations* (1589), later expanded as *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, in 3 volumes (1598-1600), on-line. He used eyewitness accounts as far as possible.

[225] For the context of Lewkenor's experience in Flanders see David A. L. Morgan, 'The Resolved Gentleman: Lewis [*sic*] Lewkenor, Olivier de La Marche and the Consciousness of Burgundy', *Le héros bourguignon. Historie et épogée*, Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes, vol 41, Brepols Publishers NV, Neuchâtel, 2001, pp. 89-103.

[226] See Santoyo, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor…', cit., pp. 289-90.

wicked, proude and cruellest nation that liveth' [227]. They treat their own soldiers badly; are pagans and heathens; commit sodomy, blasphemy, and murder; in fact, the very nature of Spanish society is violent and oppressive of its own people, who live in fear of spies and the Inquisition while the Jesuits cause despair throughout the country, etc. [228]. The narrative includes many examples of misadventures incurred by the English mercenaries, and ends with a Dutch proverb: 'When a Spaniard sleepes, the divel rockes the Cradle' [229].

Such a tale, told in the first person, must indeed have proven effective, and together with other stories of Spanish brutality contributed to the 'Black Legend' of Spain of the post-Armada years [230]. However, we can only speculate on Lewkenor's personal reasons for writing it. Either it was part of the deal, if any, that permitted him to return to England, though five years already had elapsed since, or he may have wished to prove his loyalty to the government at a later date. In fact, it seems that Lewkenor, after obtaining a safe conduct home through his relative, Sir Robert Sidney, had 'reported in detail to Burghley on Englishmen in the Spanish service' [231]. Another possibility, of course, is that Lewkenor wrote it because he really wanted to advise young Englishmen tempted, as he had been, to leave their native country, however oppressive: even the treatment to which the Catholics were subjected in England was bearable when compared with Spain's treatment of the English 'fugitives'. In this light, can *The Estate of English Fugitiues* be still seen as a loyal and patriotic text? Some believe that it could, were it not for Lewkenor's subsequent translation of Contarini, where the contrast with Venice 'reflects badly on the current state of England' [232].

Religious identities

Lewkenor's fortunes took a turn for the better only after Elizabeth's death in 1603, when James I knighted him and made him Master of the Ceremonies, an office newly created to look after diplomats and other important foreigners and manage questions of precedence and protocol, to

---

[227] *Ibid*., p. 290.

[228] See Andrew Hadfield**,** *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545-1625***,** Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, pp. 48-9.

[229] See Santoyo, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor…', cit., p. 290.

[230] Similar stories were recounted also by another Sussex Catholic, Anthony Copley, claiming that the Spaniards despised the English exiles enlisted in the army of Flanders, see Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism* …, cit., p. 260.

[231] See Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes..', cit.

[232] Hadfield**,** *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing*..., cit., p. 49.

which Lewkenor was appointed for life in 1605 [233]. However, if his name appears often in this capacity in the State Papers Domestic – and, after 1612, in the notes of his assistant, Sir John Finet [234]- Lewkenor is also mentioned under another aspect in more than one dispatch of the Venetian ambassadors. Writing in 1621 to the *Inquisitori di Stato*, Girolamo Lando remarked:

> The interpreter, Edward Watson, an Englishman […] has been accused to me more than once as a spy upon all the ambassadors of the Archbishop of Canterbury […] For my part I believe him to be a double spy, having some intelligence with the Earl of Arundel and with the Spaniards by means of Sir Lucnor [Lewkenor], master of the Ceremonies, with whom he is very intimate […]
>
> London, the 6th August, 1621 [235]

The Ambassador was right. Apparently, Lewkenor had been in Spanish pay since at least July 1603 [236], and so partial to the Spanish diplomats as to offend the Venetian ambassadors since 1606 [237]. However, in 1625 ambassador Pesaro informed the Doge and Senate that Lewkenor – described as 'an utter Spaniard, and a pensioner' - had slighted him by favouring the Spanish [238], and the Privy Council suspended the Master of the Ceremonies from office and put him under house arrest for three months.

As for Lewkenor's re-conversion to Catholicism in the later years of his life, it may not be conclusive to see his name coupled with that of the Earl of Arundel, given their mutual Sussex connection, but it seems confirmed. For instance, an informer's report lists Catholic residents in Drury Lane, and mentions the second Viscount Montague and Sir Lewes Lewkenor among others [239]. Allegedly, all their houses were linked by a gallery 'to conveye […] suspect persons away thorow stables into the felldes'. At Lewkenor's house itself, the report continued, 'lyeth Father Foster the Jeseuit' [240]. In 1625 another Jesuit, his first son, Thomas (1588-1645), arrived and

---

[233] See Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes ..', cit.

[234] Finet's notes were published posthumously in 1656 as *Finetti philoxenis: Som Choice Observations of Sir John Finet*, See Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes..', cit.

[235] *CSP Venice*, *1621-3*, 'August 1621', 1-14, Volume 17: 1621-1623 (1911), pp. 96-110.

[236] Lewkenor was seen as among those 'that have Englishe tongues and Spanishe harts'. His younger son, sent to Antwerp in 1615 to supervise the litigation over the estate of Lewkenor's first wife, Beatrice (d. 1605), remained in service with the Spanish garrison there, see Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes ..', cit.

[237] Possibly because the Venetians were 'less pecunious', as suggested *ibid*.

[238] Pesaro to Doge and Senate, 25 May 1625, *CSP Venice, 1625-6*, quoted *ibid*.

[239] Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism* …, cit., p. 396.

[240] *Ibid*.

ministered in England for the next twenty years. Lewkenor died on 11 March 1627, survived by his third wife, Mary, the daughter of Richard Blount of Dedisham, Sussex.

However, it would be idle to speculate further on Lewkenor's changes of heart. They were not uncommon. Ben Jonson, for instance, also changed his mind about religion more than once in his lifetime. In fact, one's religious identity may have been difficult to define in a situation where, as it has been pointed out, Catholics and Protestants still looked at the same illustrations of biblical scenes, heard about the same events of the Old and New Testament, and attended sermons preached against the same sins. There were still continuities, shared beliefs and practices, in short a cultural terrain in common where Catholics and Protestants variously mixed [241], which confirms that the point at issue was not so much religious as political.

The court

The Elizabethan court itself was not a religious monolith. For instance, not all the Catholics were absent from court, and in 1585 they petitioned the Queen - Sir John Arundell among others - with a declaration of allegiance and a request for the exercise of some religious freedom in their households [242]. It was not granted, yet many remained loyal.

Thus, if at the time of his translation Lewkenor was still a Catholic at heart, this does not mean that he was any the less a loyal subject. In the preface he says that he has worked on it '*at idle times when I had nothing els to doe, being at much more leisure then willingly I woulde bee*'; later on, he is more explicit and declares himself ready '*both in mind and body, when eyther the commandement of my prince, or the occasion of my countrie shal inioine me to other courses*'; finally, he begs acceptance of this book on Venice, if for no other reason than because:

> the rest of the whole world honoreth her [Venice] with the name of a Virgin, a name though in all places most sacred & venerable, yet in no place more dearly and religiously to bee reverenced, then with us, who have thence derived our blessednesse, which I beseech God may long continue among us [243].

[241] *Ibid*., p. 28.

[242] *Ibid*., p. 26.

[243] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', sig. A4*r*.

In this context, what is remarkable is not so much Lewkenor's protestation of loyalty as its soberness, whereas it is usually felt that, for many Catholics outside the court, 'overt and passionate' protestations were more necessary than they would have been towards a sovereign of their own faith [244]. That the effect was intentional seems confirmed by Lewkenor's choice of the term *blessednesse* to finally refer to the Queen. *The Blessedness of Brytaine*, *or A Celebration of the Queenes Holyday* (1587), was the title of a book of verses, still praised nowadays for its clear and unaffected style, composed by Lewkenor's friend Maurice Kyffins (below) to mark Elizabeth's thirty years of reign.

However, the Catholics were not the only exception at Elizabeth's Protestant court. Equally loyal, and equally admitted to the presence, were some nobles of Puritan persuasion - notable Puritans were Leicester, the Queen's favourite, and the Countess of Warwick, the dedicatee of Lewkenor's translation - though 'their influence depended on the Queen's attitude at the time' [245]. In fact, Elizabethan politics may be better understood in terms of personal relations between the Queen and her advisers. As has been remarked, 'when we read John Aylmer's apology for Elizabeth's fitness to rule, composed in 1599, along the lines that the government of a woman was tolerable because in England it would not be so much her government as government in her name and on her behalf, we feel sorry for the poor man … One might as well justify the government of Mrs. Thatcher on the grounds that her cabinet can be trusted to keep her in order' [246].

Personal relationship with the Queen and, above all, household office were of the essence. It was 'court politics' in the real sense of the word [247]. These, however, were not formulated exclusively by Elizabeth and her inner ring of councillors and counsellors, nor was the political debate restricted to them. Men and women corresponded with each other and discussed political events and issues inside and outside the Privy Chamber and the court. Nor did the debate take only one form.

---

[244] Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, cit., p. 107.

[245] See Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court. Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain, Manchester University Press, 2002, on-line, p. 37.

[246] Patrick Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I', *Bullettin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, vol. 69, pp. 394-424, reprinted in Collinson's *Elizabethan Essays*, London, 1994, pp. 31-57, on-line, at p. 35.

[247] Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 70, on-line.

Literature was a primary means [248]. Also interludes, masks, and plays referred to the issues of home and foreign policy that most concerned the sovereign and her subjects [249], while translations of foreign works, especially of political treatises, further enlarged the debate. To this, it is felt, Contarini's *De magistratibus* largely contributed both before, but particularly after, its English translation by Lewes Lewkenor [250].

Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick (1548-1604)

The dedicatee of the translation, *'The right Honourable and most Vertuous Lady, the Lady Anne, Countesse of Warwicke'*, one of the daughters of the Earl of Bedford, was by then the widow of Ambrose Dudley (1528-1590), third Earl of Warwick. The marriage had been successfully arranged by Ambrose's brother Robert, first Earl of Leicester, and the wedding was a great social event, a mark of the Queen's approval. In fact, for the next forty years the Countess of Warwick was one of the Queen's favourite ladies-in-waiting, and was with her when she died. Her influence at court, it was said, could work miracles in lay matters [251].

To gain her interest in the translation was no small political asset for Lewkenor. In fact, he was related to her through the Sidneys [252], and had already dedicated to her his first translation, *The Resolved Gentleman* (1594). In addition, the patronage of the Countess of Warwick conferred upon Lewkenor's work a mark of the highest intellectual standards. The court reflected Elizabeth's tastes not only for music, dance and the theatre, but also for serious scholarship. Thus, the Queen translated Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (1593) [253], while the Countess of Pembroke, Mary Sidney Herbert, (1561-1621), a niece of Leicester and consequently of the Countess of Warwick by marriage, achieved an enduring literary reputation not only for her translations but also

[248] For an overview of the relations between poetry and politics for the period before the Civil War see David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, 2 rev. ed., Oxford University Press, 2002, on-line.

[249] See Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse* ..., cit., pp. 69 ss.

[250] For the ideological message that Lewkenor's translation may have carried see Markku Peltonen quoting Norbrook, 1984, p. 130, in *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570-1640*, Volume 36 of Ideas in Context, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 106, on-line.

[251] Wallace Notestein, *English Folks*, Essay Index Reprint Series, Ayer Publishing, 1970, on-line, p. 308.

[252] Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes ..', cit.

[253] Adams, *Leicester and the Court*..., cit., p. 37.

for her poems in praise of the Queen and on the untimely death of her brother Philip in Flanders [254]. As for the Countess of Warwick, she was closely connected with the Cooke sisters: Mildred, who married William Cecil; Anne, who married Sir Nicholas Bacon and was the mother of Francis Bacon; and Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Toby, and after his death John Russell. All three Cooke sisters, belonging to a Protestant household which went into exile under Mary Tudor, read Latin and Greek, and all wrote and translated. Recently discovered is an elaborate manuscript of poems by the sisters presented to the Queen [255]. The Countess of Warwick, also one of the dedicatees of Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes* (1596) and Anne Vaughan Lock's translation of a theological work by John Taffin, *Of the Markes of the Children of God* (1590) [256], also extended her patronage to many others, and generally exercised the power derived from her constant attendance on Her Majesty.

The Countess, however, was to be reckoned with also for her personal capability in other, less high-minded fields. For instance, she proved a formidable adversary in the matter of the Berkely heritage, winning the estate under dispute after interminable lawsuits in a battle of injunctions, orders, and affidavits, countered with indictments and Star Chamber actions. The Countess proved smarter than her adversary also in selecting the juries and in distinguishing among the faithful and unfaithful tenants, in coping with the local gentry, and embroiling of the whole neighbourhood before and after trials [257]. In short, what she would, she could.

There is also some fragmentary evidence of her political activity. The Countess of Warwick was involved in Irish affairs in the 1580s and 1590's, and supplied troops for Leicester's expedition in the Low Countries [258]. The accomplished ladies that formed part of the Queen's inner circle of

---

[254] Mary Sidney first published two translations: *A Discourse of Life and Death. Written in French by Ph[ilippe de] Mornay. Antonius. A Tragœdie written also in French by Ro[bert] Garnier. Both done in English by the Countesse of Pembroke* (1592), this last credited with having helped to introduce to England the custom of using Roman history to comment on contemporary politics. She is also famous for her metrical paraphrase of the Psalms. Her translation of Petrarch's 'The Triumph of Death', however, is still in manuscript form in a transcription made by John Harington (below).

[255] See Violet A. Wilson, *Society Women of Shakespeare's Time*, John Lane, The Bodley Head Limited, 1924, reprint READ BOOKS, 2007, on-line, p. 9, and Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse …*, cit., p. 13.

[256] On Anne Vaughan Lock see Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse …*, cit., pp. 12-3.

[257] Notestein, *English Folks*, cit., p. 308.

[258] Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse …*, cit., p. 69.

intimates would also often hold Privy Chamber posts. Thus it was the Countess's messenger who delivered on behalf of the Signer Office a letter appointing Sir Edward York to a command of infantry in Ireland [259]. In fact, the power of the Privy Chamber members was such that in his *Instructions for a Principall Secreatrie … for Sir Richard Wotton* (1592) Sir Robert Beale wrote:

> Learne before your accesse her majesties disposicion by some in the Privie Chamber, with whom you must keepe credit: for that will stande yow in much steede [260]

No wonder that such ladies at Elizabeth's court as the Countess of Warwick are now seen as 'the patterns for Rosalind and Viola and Portia' [261]. Shakespeare – who enjoyed a particular connection with the Countess of Warwick, the Lady of the Manor of Rowington in his own shire [262] - often played at court, and could hardly have failed to notice them.

What relation exactly Lewkenor and the Countess entertained may not be easy to ascertain. It may turn out that he undertook the translation at the lady's request. In fact, fearing that his inadequacy may be held against him, he writes to her:

> I have no shield nor excuse to oppose against this iust imputation, but onely the defence of your Ladishippes favours, who though by former experience knowing my unfitnesse for such a worke, did neverthelesse impose this taske upon me [263]

Compliments apart, the expression is ambiguous. Is it the lady herself who 'imposed this task', or her 'favours', or both? That Lewkenor felt a moral obligation towards the Countess is indicated by what he writes later on:

> […] I will never forget, but still retaine engraved in the marble table of a thankefull memory (besides the dutie our family oweth unto that noble house wherein you matched [the Dudley family]) the many favours you have done me in particular, and the many wayes you have sought to doe me good,

---

[259] *Ibid*., p. 55.

[260] *Ibid*.

[261] Kate Pogue, *Shakespeare's Friends*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006, p. 72, quoting Wilson, *Society Women of Shakespeare's Time*, cit.

[262] The Earl of Warwick sponsored a company of actors who appeared also in Stratford in 1575-6, at the height of John Shakespeare's influence, when William was about ten, see Pogue, *Shakespeare's Friends*, cit., p. 72. In 1602 Shakespeare bought a property belonging to the Rowington estate, a business deal that required him to travel expressly to meet the Countess and obtain the copyhold of the property from her, see Pogue, *Shakespeare's Friends*, cit., p. 72, quoting Wilson, *Society Women of Shakespeare's Time*, cit.

[263] Lewkenor, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', sig. A2*r*.

> wherein though the violence of my own fortune hath stil encountred your endevor, yet ther remaineth unto me no small comfort [264]

Thus, it would appear that not only Lewkenor had personal debts of gratitude towards the Countess but also his family towards the Dudleys - an interesting biographical detail of which, however, we may never know the details. Nonetheless, the possibility that the Countess herself 'imposed' this task on Lewkenor is hinted at also in the closing lines of one of the prefatory sonnets to the translation, where Harington (see below) invites both Venice and England to 'give the honor to that worthy Dame, / For whom this taske the writer vndertooke'. In fact, if by 'that worthy Dame' Harington referred to the Queen herself – apart from the unsuitability of asking Venice to honour her – certainly Lewkenor himself would have made sure to indicate as much.

So far, the circumstance that Lewkenor's translation may have been a task 'imposed' on him, if not by his sovereign, then by the most powerful and dedicated of her ladies-in-waiting, does not appear to have been taken into consideration. If true, however, it would enjoin a careful handling of the 'subversive intents' that have been read not only between the lines of the prefatory verses but of the dedicatory epistle to the Countess itself, for instance where Lewkenor's various references to Venice as a 'beatitull virgine' seem to contrast it implicitly with the aging 'Virgin Queen' [265]. Such a circumstance might also throw additional light on the ways in which, before and after its translation into English, Contarini's treatise may have contributed to the Elizabethan political debate.

The commendatory sonnets

Five writers, indicated as *(Edw.) Spencer*, *I. Ashley*, *Maur. Kiffen*, *Henry Elmes*, and *Iohn Harington*, contributed verses in the form of 'commendatory sonnets', a minor verse genre originating with the Renaissance and scarcely surviving it. Most poets of the age, except Shakespeare, wrote them as advertisements for their friends' books [266]. Their value is thus usually regarded as more of biographical than of literary interest as they reveal personal associations among various coteries of poets, publishers, the court, the universities, and the London Inns [267]. More in

[264] Lewkenor, 'The Epistle Dedicatory', sig. A2*v*.

[265] See Hadfield**,** *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing*..., cit., p. 50.

[266] Albert Charles Hamilton, *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, University of Toronto Press, (1990) 1997, on-line, at 'commendatory sonnets', p. 177.

[267] *Ibid*.

general, however, it has been suggested that the function of the prefatory verses is 'much more than an equivalent of the modern dust-jacket blurb, for it is deliberately designed to control the reader's interpretation of the text' [268]. In the case of Lewkenor's Venice translation, in fact, the 'commendatory sonnets' have been the object of a careful reading in search for allusions of 'subversive intents', the fascination with allusiveness in prose, poetry, and pageantry being widespread in Elizabethan England, possibly under the Queen's own encouragement [269]. As will be seen, these poems are particularly ambiguous in that all of them, save Kyffin's, tend at the same time to praise and condemn Venice. Thus, while mostly sharing the content of Lewkenor's appreciative preface and of Contarini's exposition, they also make plain that there was something about Venice either immoral, or too proud, or both. Spenser's sonnet, however laudatory, nonetheless hints at Venice's pride and inevitabile fall, as implied by the comparisons adopted. The ambiguities are more evident in the other introductory poems where, for instance, the metaphor of Venice as a Virgin maiden is used alongside that of Venice as the Courtesan of the Adriatic sea.

Edw. Spencer [270] *i.e.* Edmund Spenser (1552-1599)

Understandably, the lines of verses contributed by Spenser have attracted more attention than those of the others. Spenser often wrote 'commendatory sonnets' for his friends's books. These may well be the last lines printed in his lifetime:

The antique *Babel*, Empresse of the East,
Vpreard her buildinges to the threatned skie;
And second *Babell*, Tyrant of the West,
Her ayry towers vpraised much more high.
But, with the weight of their own surquedry,
They both are fallen, that all the earth did feare,
And buried now in their own ashes ly:
Yet shewing by their heapes how great they were.
But in their place doth now a third appeare,
Fayre *Venice*, flower of the last worlds delight,
And next to them in beauty draweth neare,
But farre exceedes in policie of right.
Yet not so fayre her buildinges to behold
As Lewkenors stile that hath her beautie told.
Edw. Spencer

[268] Peter R. Allen, '*Utopia* and European Humanism: the Function of the Prefatory Letters and Verses', *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol. 10, 1963, pp. 91-107, at p. 91.

[269] As suggested by Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, cit., p. 37.

[270] For this form of Spenser's name see a contemporary document reporting that King James 'conceaved great offence against Edward Spencer publishing in printe in the second p[art] of the Fairy Queene and ix chapter some dishonorable effects […] against himself and his mother deceassed', in Hamilton, *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, cit., at 'James I of England', p. 409.

Spenser describes Venice as the successor of both the eastern and the western empires, and the implication is that it will follow their fate: 'Fayre Venice' is next to Babylon and Rome in beauty and superior in justice, but Venice too, as a third and last Babel, will come to destruction because of her pride ('surquedry') [271]. Thus the theme of the 'ruin' in connection with Venice was explicitly introduced for the first time [272]. On the other hand, Venice 'actively competes against and transcends the tyrannies of the past', and the implication is an unfavourable comparison with 'tyrannous' Elizabethan England [273]. In England, the years from about 1585 through 1603 – usually referred to as Elizabeth's 'second reign' - were indeed a time of political instability and increasing uncertainty for the nation's future. Besides the Irish rebellion and the discontent with what many felt as a more and more autocratic monarchy, the succession to Queen Elizabeth was still an open issue that encouraged both anxiety for and interest in alternative forms of government. Thus, if Venice represented the most successful example of civic virtues as well as of an international city-based economy, it could also be adopted as an indirect, and safe, means of commenting on assumed English vices and increased monarchical authority. The elaboration of the 'myth of Venice' in Renaissance England was in fact an essential part of the development of a sense of nation which, as has been remarked, was 'littered with ruins, both real and symbolic' [274]. The ruins of Troy, of Rome, of the Tower of Babel, were 'the literary, historical and mythical material that English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century drew on', the better to define England [275].

I. Ashley

The same implicit, and unfavourable, comparison between Venice's *virgins state* and the Queen of England has been noticed in the second sonnet [276]. 'I. Ashley', in fact, compares Venice to Narcissus and predicts her 'ruinous case':

---

[271] 'Surquedry', from Old French *surcuidier*, to presume; *sur* 'over' + *cuidier* 'to think', from Latin *cogitare*, hence 'overweening pride'; 'arrogance'; 'presumption'; 'insolence'.

[272] It has, however, been remarked that the Renaissance literary ruin is very different from the Romantic literary ruin in that it 'does not engender a feeling of contact with the "sublime" in quite the same way', see Huw Griffith, 'The Sonnet in Ruins: Time and the Nation in 1599', *Early Modern Culture,* 2007, on-line, quoting Anne Janowitz's *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and the National Landscape*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1990.

[273] Griffiths, 'The Sonnet in Ruins …', cit.

[274] *Ibid*.

[275] *Ibid.*

[276] See Hadfield**,** *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing*..., cit., p. 50.

Fayer mayden towne that in rich *Thetis* armes,
Hast still been fostered since thy first foundation.
Whose glorious beauty cals vnnumbred swarmes
Of rarest spirits from each forrein nation,
And yet (sole wonder to all *Europes* eares,
Most lovely Nimph, that ever *Neptune* got)
In all this space of thirteene hundred yeares,
Thy virgins state ambition nere could blot.
Now I prognosticate thy ruinous case,
When thou shalt from thy Adriatique seas,
View in this Ocean Isle thy painted face,
In these pure colours coyest eyes to please,
Then gazing in thy shadowes peerles eye,
Enamour'd like *Narcissus* thou shalt die.
I. Ashley

The writer has been identified as John Astley, Master of the Revels in 1622 [277]. His father was Sir John Astley (c.1507-1595), a friend of Roger Ascham, who went into exile under Queen Mary, travelled to Padua (1544), was appointed Master of the Jewel House under Queen Elizabeth (1588), and wrote a book on horsemanship relaying the doctrine of the Italian riding schools [278].

Much less is known about his son, whose only claim to fame lay, apparently, in having been 'the only Master of the Revels we know of who participated in court revels as a performer: he danced as a costumed masquer in both Hymenaei in January 1606 and Lord Hay's Masque in January 1607' [279]. One may wonder at his age at the time, as 'masquers were sometimes given their roles on the strength of their legs or good looks, but Astley can hardly have been in his first youth by 1606-7 -- probably he was about fifty' [280]. In fact, he was knighted in 1603, the same year that Lewkenor was, and appointed to the Privy Chamber; but the real important step, to Master of the Revels, came about almost twenty years later. This is, so far, the only published example of his literary work.

---

[277] The name 'I. Ashley' is 'a common variant of Astley's surname that appears in both the masque texts in which he is mentioned', see John H. Astington, 'Sir John Astley and Court Culture', *Shakespeare Studies*, 1, 2002, pp. 106-112.

[278] *The Art of Riding, set foorth in a breefe treatise, with a due interpretation of certeine places alledged out of Xenophon, and Gryson, verie expert and excellent Horssemen: Wherein also the true use of the hand by the said Grysons rules and precepts is speciallie touched: and how the Author of this present worke hath put the same in practise, also what profit men maie reape thereby: without the knowledge whereof, all the residu of the order of Riding is but vaine. Lastlie is added a short discourse of the Chaine of Cauezzan, the Trench and the Martingale: written by a Gentleman of great skill and long experience in the said Art*, London, 1584, see Thompson Cooper, 'Astley, John (d. 1595)', *Dictionary of National Biography 1885 -1900* (*DNB*), Sir Leslie Stephen (ed.), on-line.

[279] Astington, 'Sir John Astley …', cit.

[280] *Ibid*.

Maur[ice] Kiffen (c. 1555-1598)

'Maurice Kyffin is not a household name - not even among Elizabethan literary historians. He was, however, one of Renaissance England's exemplary scholar-soldiers. He was not only an accomplished poet and translator, capable of producing fluent verse and prose in English, Latin, and Welsh, but he became a high-ranking military official, serving as a soldier and paymaster in Elizabeth's major foreign campaigns. Kyffin's origins and early career are obscure. William Prichard Williams, in his 1908 edition of Kyffin's *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (1595), states that Kyffin was an increasingly common surname at that time and that the author has been confused with at least three other Maurice Kyffins. His exact birthdate remains unknown, but it was most likely in the early 1560s. His father, Thomas, though illegitimate, was of noble extraction, as was his mother, Catrin Iengaf. Both sides of the family had coats of arms, and the arms that Maurice later adopted combined elements from each'. Thus an entry for 'Kyffin, Maurice (c.1555–1598), author and soldier' begins…[281].

This person may be the same as the one that appears as 'Maur. Kiffen' among the contributors of prefatory verses to the translation. In fact, the Cambridge University Library Catalogue of *Early English Printed Books, 1475 to 1640* enters 'Kyffin, Maurice, see Kiffen', as the author of 'Verses in La Marche (O. de). Resolved Gentleman. 1594. 4° (7920)', and 'Verses in Contarini (G.). Commonwealth. 1599 (2153)', both translations by Lewkenor [282]. Furthermore, the *Bibliotheca Britannica* indicates a Maurice Kyffin as the author of *A Defense of the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* (s.d.), *Andria, the first Commedie of Terence, in English* (1588), and *The Blessedness of Brytaine*, *or A Celebration of the Queenes Holyday* [Queen Elizabeth's thirty years of reign] (1587) [283]. Finally, to the same is attributed a Welsh translation of Bishop Jewel's *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana* (1562), the *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (1594).

The 'Maur[ice] Kiffen' of Lewkenor's prefatory verses may thus be identified with 'Morris' [284], or 'Maurice' Kyffin [285], a Welsh writer and soldier who studied poetry under William Llŷn, one of the

[281] See 'Kyffin, Maurice', *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, on-line.

[282] See 'Kiffen, Maurice', in *Early English Printed Books in the University Library of Cambridge (1475 to 1640),* CUP Archive, vol. IV, Indexes, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1907, on-line.

[283] See 'Kyffin, Maurice', *Bibliotheca Britannica, Or, A General Index to British and Foreign Literature*, Robert Watt (ed.,) Vol. 2, Printed for A. Constable and Company, 1824, p. 579.

[284] See 'Kyffin, Morris (c.1555–1598)', Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Biography Online*, The National Library of Wales, on-line.

four poets who graduated as chief bards at the Caerwys eisteddfod [286]. Afterwards he was in London (1578-80), where he studied with John Dee, was the tutor of Lord Buckhurst's sons (1580-2), and published *The Blessedness of Brytaine* (1587) and his translation of Terence's *Andria* (1588). The same year he was also appointed surveyor of the muster rolls to the English army in the Netherlands, and in 1591 deputy-treasurer of the forces in Normandy. Back in London he eventually published his literary masterpiece, the *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr*, which has become 'one of the classics of Welsh prose and is remarkable for its smooth and vigorous phraseology' [287].

A difficult period then ensued, from 1596 until his death two years later, when Kyffin was appointed comptroller of the musters to the army in Ireland with the duty to ensure that officers would not cheat the Government or oppress the inhabitants. 'As far as can be gathered, Kyffin was honest and conscientious and so earned the hatred of those less incorruptible than himself, more particularly that of his colleague Sir Ralph Lane' [288]. When he died, in January 1598, he was buried in Christ Church, Dublin. Though Kyffin's honesty and conscientiousness had been praised to him by Burghley and other notable figures [289], his bitter experience is so strongly present in the sonnet he offered to Lewkenor for the translation that it makes it the least eulogistic of all the contributions:

Venice invincible, the Adriatique wonder,
Admirde of all the world for power and glorie,
Whom no ambitious force could yet bring under,
Is here presented in her States rare storye,
Where all corrupt means to aspire are curbd,
And Officers for vertues worth elected.
The contrarie whereof hath much disturbd
All states, where the like cause is unrespected,
A document that Iustice fortifies
Each government (although in some thinges faultie)
And makes it dreadfull to the envying eyes
Of ill affecting foes, and tyrants haulty.
Lewkenor, whose armes and letters have made knowen,
In this worke hath the fruits of either shewen.
Maur. Kiffen

---

[285] See 'Kyffin, Maurice (c.1555–1598)', Glanmor Williams, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*), cit.

[286] See 'Llyn, William (1534 or 1535-1580)', Brinley Rees, *Welsh Biography Online*, cit.

[287] See 'Kyffin, Morris …', Williams, *Welsh Biography Online*, cit.

[288] *Ibid*.

[289] See 'Kyffin, Maurice', Williams, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*), cit.

In fact, Kyffin's real eulogy had been composed ten years earlier, to Elizabeth: 'In two loyalist effusions in 1587, *The Worthiness of Wales* and *The Blessedness of Brytaine*, *or A Celebration of the Queenes Holyday*', Thomas Churchyard and Morys Kyffin respectively hastened to assure the queen of the steadfast devotion of Wales in the wake of the Babington Plot, in which two Welsh gentlemen were implicated' [290]. Politically it had to be so, and it is interesting to notice that a second edition was brought out just over a year later, the year of the Spanish Armada. Poetically, *The Blessednes of Brytaine* employs all the classical and semi-classical similes applied to Queen Elizabeth - beginning with 'A Monarch Maiden Queene' – and particularly 'the most national' simile of them, that of the rose, which here recurs 'in a simpler, but more attractive, form': "Our kingly rooted rose fresh flow'ring stands" [291].

In the preface to his translation of Terence, Kyffin writes that his 'cheefest care hath bin, to lay open the meaning of the Author […] in such apt, plaine, and familiar words, as are most meete, for this low stile and Argument' [292]. So much so that his translation shows possibly the first use of ellipses to indicate a spoken or syntactic omission, *e.g.* when a character is interrupted by another or interrupts himself, thus acting as 'an iconic representation of the divisions and broken relationships that characterise the play'[293].

---

[290] See Peter Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, National Identity and the British Inheritance', *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds.), Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 8-42, at p. 34, on-line. Apparently, only two copies are extant, see 'Forgotten Heritage on Display', *Wyvern*, issue n. 6, University of Essex, 2006, p. 7, on-line, mentioning the volume from the Colchester's library now deposited with the University of Essex (Albert Sloman Library, Harsnett Collection) and exhibited in 2006. Another copy is mentioned in the *Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide: Queen Elizabeth I*, p. 11, on-line.

[291] Alan W. Ward, 'Some Political and Social Aspects of the Later Elizabethan and Earlier Stewart Period', in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature* in 18 Volumes (1907–21), Volume V. The Drama to 1642, Part One, § 6. Question of the Queen's Marriage, on-line.

[292] Kyffin, *Andria: The First comoedie of Terence, in English. A furtherance for the attainment vnto the right knowledge, & true proprietie, of the Latin tong. And also a commodious meane of help, to such as haue forgotten Latin, for their speedy recouering of habilitie, to vnderstand, write, and speake the same. Carefully translated out of Latin, by Maurice Kyffin*, Printed at London: By T[homas] E[ast] for Thomas VVoodcocke, at the signe of the black Beare in Paules Church-yard, 1588, sig. Aiiii*r*, on-line.

[293] This is interesting because 'divisions and broken relationships' also characterised many aspects of Elizabethan reality, see Anne C. Henry, 'Iconic Punctuation. Ellipsis Marks in a Historical Perspective', *The Motivated Sign. Iconicity in Language and Literature*, Olga Fischer, Max Nänny (eds.), vol. 2 of Iconicity in Language and Literature Series, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001, pp. 135-228, at pp. 141-3.

The most telling line of Kyffin's sonnet, 'all corrupt means to aspire are curbd', is often quoted: 'English readers were quick to pick up on this idea that advancement should be tied to considerations of order and degree. […] To the Protestant courtiers, whose personal ambitions were often thwarted by the Queen's mercurial fancies, Venice must have seemed, in this respect at least, a veritable paradise', so much so that 'to Shakespeare's contemporary audience, familiar with the myth of Venice as promulgated by Contarini and Donato Giannotti, Iago's initially stated motive – his rage at the favour shown Cassio, that 'great arithmetician' – may have seemed both good and sufficient' [294].

Henry Elmes (untraced)

Ti's not affected grace, or mock disguise
Assures a true returne from forren partes.
Travell confounds the vaine, confirmes the wise,
Leukenor live thou esteemde for thy deserts,
While thy last travels do thy first commend,
To straungers proud'd in them a gratefull frende,
And for thy absence to thy native clyme,
A welcome Venturer of rich priz'd time.
Henry Elmes

Sir John Harington of Kelston (1560-1614)

An almost exact contemporary of Lewkenor's, Sir John Harington (also spelt Harrington) [295], one of the Queen's 102 god-children, was also a contributor of dedicatory verses to Lewkenor's translation. Considering the author's reputation - it appears that the Queen called him her 'saucy godson' – Harington's sonnet for *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice* looks harmless enough:

Lo here describ'd though but in little roome
Faire *Venice*, like a spouse in *Neptunes* armes,
For freedome *Emulus* to ancient *Rome*,
Famous for councell much, & much for armes,
Whose story earst written with Tuscan quill,
Lay to the English wits as halfe concealed,

[294] Drennan, "Corrupt means to aspire …', cit., p. 475. On the question whether Shakespeare read or consulted Lewkenor's translation of Contarini see Kenneth Muir, 'Shakespeare and Lewkenor', in *Review of English Studies*, Apr. 7 (26): 182-83, 1956, and the textual connections with *Othello* quoted to conclude: 'Taken in conjunction with the parallels offered by Malone and Hart, this new evidence seems to provide good grounds for believing that Shakespeare knew the book', *ibid*., p. 183.

[295] See Gerard Kilroy, 'Sir John Harington: 'A Protesting Catholique Purytan', Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution (BRLSI), Belief Lecture Series, King Edward School, Bath, Dec. 2003, in *Proceedings of the BRLSI*, vol. 8, 2004, on-line. Also Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion Memory and Transcription*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2005, esp. Chap. 4, 'Sir John Harington: 'Wise Pretender of Follery', pp. 89-120, on-line.

Till Lewkners learned travell, and his skill
In well grac'd stile, and phrase hath it revealed:
Venice be proud that thus augments thy fame,
England be kind enricht with such a booke,
Both give the honor to that worthy Dame,
For whom this taske the writer vndertooke.
Iohn Harington

The impression that Harington was not the 'foolish wit' he appeared, however, seems now confirmed by the paradoxical fact that his political and theological epigrams remained long unpublished. A 1602 manuscript (York Minster Library MS XVI. L. 6), given to his friend Bishop Tobie Matthew of Durham, later Archbishop of York, became known in 1880 as *A Tract on the Succession to the Crown* [296]. Therefore it is argued that Harington must have wanted to disguise a 'consistent theological and political purpose', a passionate commitment to religious faith and religious freedom, which it has taken 400 years to uncover [297].

Harington was sent to Eton and then King's, Cambridge, where his friendship with Lewkenor may have begun, and came down in 1581, but his father's death in July 1582 prevented him from finishing his time at Lincoln's Inn. Together with his father's estates, however, he inherited a very important manuscript collection of Tudor poetry that he continued with transcriptions of Wyatt, Surrey, Sir Philip and Mary Sidney, Thomas Phaer, Chaloner, and Edmund Campion. Afterwards and until 1589, that is, for most of the time that Lewkenor spent in Flanders, Harington was occupied with a major literary work, the English translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, which is the one still in use [298].

To Harington's circle, meeting at Wardour Castle - the seat of the Arundels - belonged the Earl of Southampton and his sister Lady Mary Arundell, a devout Catholic, Sir Matthew Arundell, Count Thomas Arundell, and Sir Henry Danvers. Harington's satire, *A New Discourse of a Stale Subject called The Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596) [299], was apparently concocted among them, and caused

[296] Sir John Harington, *A Tract on the Succession to the Crown* (1602), ed. Clemens R. Markham, Roxburghe Club, London, 1880, on-line.

[297] Kilroy, 'Sir John Harington: 'A Protesting Catholique Purytan', cit.

[298] It was a publishing as well as a literary event. The translation of Book V was Shakespeare's source for the window trick on the Claudio-Hero story in *Much Ado About Nothing*, and much of the plot of *Othello*.

[299] Incidentally, Harington is credited with having invented the water-closet (which would explain the American slang term, 'john', for it).

some offence at court. Despite Harington's fame, however, no 'conceit' or 'foolish wit' appears hidden in the dedicatory verses composed for the translation, and no 'subversive intent' is apparent, unless something more than a graceful compliment to the translator is to be read in the line '*England* be kind enricht with such a booke'.

Lewkenor as translator

By contrast, Lewkenor's attitude to Venice appears consistently admiring in his introduction, and no such paradoxes are perceptible in his translation, though some ambiguity may be perceived in the Appendix [300]. In particular, it has been remarked that he wanted 'to dispel suspicions about the use of instances which at first glance seemed to be foreign and irrelevant to the English context, but which on second thoughts turned out to be highly apposite' [301].

Two Venetian features Lewkenor highly commended: that corruption was fought and that magistrates were elected on the basis of virtues. Venice, as Kyffin had written, was the place

> Where all corrupt means to aspire are curbd,
> And Officers for vertues worth elected

As for the Venetian form of government itself, 'perhaps the most astonishing characteristic of his preface is the forthrightness with which he suggested that Venice was a touchstone for the governments of other commonwealths', thus indicating that the English might have something to learn from the Venetian experience [302].

The English, in fact, seemed eager to learn. At the same time as Lewkenor finished his translation, dated at 'Selsey, this thirteenth of August, 1598', there appeared works as varied as Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598) [303] and John Florio's Italian and English dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598) [304], all means by

---

[300] These are discussed below, see Chap. VII, 'Lewkenor's additional sources'.

[301] Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism* …, cit., p. 116.

[302] *Ibid*., pp. 117-8.

[303] The final, reconstructed and greatly-enlarged edition of Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation* appeared between 1598 and 1600 in three volumes. 'Shakespeare undoubtedly studied his pages', see Charles N. Robinson and John Leyland, 'The Literature of the Sea: From the Origins to Hakluyt', in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature* …, cit., Volume IV: Prose and Poetry: Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton, on-line.

[304] John Florio (1553-1625) published two manuals, *First Fruits, which yield Familiar Speech, Merry Proverbs, Witty Sentences, and Golden Sayings*, accompanied by *A Perfect Induction to the Italian and*

which Elizabethan England manifested the curiosity and love of adventure that fired up its travels, enterprises, and conquests, and that it extended to the translations of foreign and ancient works.

If Lewkenor had acquired his knowledge of Spanish while with the Spanish mercenary troops in Flanders, he allows it to be inferred that he was acquainted with other foreign languages as well:

> '[I]t hath been my happinesse to be beholding to many of sundry nations for their friendly conuersation […] whether they whom I conferred were Englishmen, French men, Spaniards, Germans, Polonians, yea or Italians borne in the bordering prouinces' [305]

Still, no matter how conversant with foreign languages he may have been, two of Lewkenor's three translations, namely of Contarini's book and Acuña's *El caballero determinado*, are based on an intermediary text – a common feature of Elizabethan translations. In fact, the original of *El caballero determinado* was a French text by Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Délibéré* (1483), but Lewkenor worked on a Spanish version of it because, as he candidly states in his preface, he could not find any French originals [306]. As for Contarini's *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*, Lewkenor worked on the book's first Italian translation, *La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia* (1554), a circumstance which he explains as follows:

> Contareno did first write this treatise in Latine, the same being since his time translated into Italian by a Gentleman of Italie, which translation I have chiefly followed, though still comparing the same with the Latine originall, in regarde of my desire to expresse the proper names of their Magistrates,

---

English Tongues (1578); and *Second Fruits, to be gathered of Twelve Trees, of divers but delightsome Tastes to the Tongues of Italian and English men* (1591), to which was annexed the *Garden of Recreation, yielding six thousand Italian Proverbs*. His Italian and English dictionary, entitled *A World of Words* (1598), was expanded as *Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues, Collected, and newly much augmented by Iohn Florio, Reader of the Italian vnto the Soueraigne Maiestie of Anna, Crowned Queene of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. And one of the Gentlemen of hir Royall Priuie Chamber. Whereunto are added certaine necessarie rules and short obseruations for the Italian tongue* (1611). His translation of Montaigne, *Essayes on Morall, Politike, and Millitarie Discourses of Lo. Michaell de Montaigne*, was first published in 1603, see links to texts in Wikipedia at 'John Florio', on-line.

[305] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', sig. A1*v*.

[306] See Santoyo, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor…', cit., pp. 284-6, for the story of how Emperor Charles V first made a prose translation from French into Castilian and then asked the soldier-poet Hernando de Acuña to versify it. This version was published in Antwerp in 1553 and again in 1555, and this is probably the edition that Lewkenor translated into English.

> lawes, and ceremonies according to their common appellations, which is much altered in the Latine stile [307]

Many other characteristic features of Elizabethan translations are present in Lewkenor's rendition of Contarini's book. For instance, he typically affirms *'hauing written it at idle times when I had nothing els to doe',* though he directly qualifies his statement: '*being at much more leysure then willingly I woulde bee'* [308]. He also makes clear that his wish is to please and instruct and be useful to his country and its rulers, as was customary in translators' dedications and prefaces of the time.

But he also evokes the example of the tireless travellers, who

> expose themselues to many daungers, content themselues with all vnease, runne through all difficulties, subiect to reprehension, and vncertaine of reward, neither caring to please their bodyes, nor to fill their purses, so they may enrich their mindes with a perpetuall directed entent to their countries good [309]

Though having travelled extensively himself, Lewkenor never visited Venice - '*I was not so fortunate as to bee a beholder of the glorie thereof*', as he puts it in his introduction, only to continue:

> 'yet I haue not omitted from time to time to gather such obseruations as well by reading the best and choicest authors entreating thereof, as also by conference with sundry wel experienced gentlemen, as might not onely satisfie the curiositie of my own desire, but also deliuer vnto other a cleare and exact knowledge of euery particularitie worthy of note' [310]

Needless to say, Lewkenor's proviso of having '*chiefly followed*' the Italian text '*though still comparing the same with the Latine originall*', implies that a critical analysis of the language of the translation must take both Italian and Latin sources into account.

---

[307] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', sig. A3*v*. As mentioned in the Introduction, the 'Gentleman of Italie' has not been identified yet.

[308] *Ibid*.

[309] *Ibid*., sig. A1*r*.

[310] *Ibid*., sig. A2*r*.

III. Lewkenor's sources:

La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia (1544) and *De magistratibus* … (1578 edition)

Lewkenor's sources: 16th century editions of *De magistratibus* and *La Republica e i magistrati di Vinegia*. 1. The Italian translation that Lewkenor 'chiefly followed', divergences from the first Latin edition (1543): '*Vitus and Modestus*'; '*the twelve Kalendes of Iuly*'; '*the seate of Marino Phalerio*'. 2. Lewkenor's 'Latine originall': The 1571 revision; A working hypothesis; Divergences between the first (1543) and a revised Latin edition (1578) of *De magistratibus.* Categories: 1. a) Stylistic changes not affecting the meaning: '*civitate / urbe*', *et al*; 1. b) Stylistic changes affecting the meaning: *'diversa quadam ratione', et al*; 2) Changes meant to alter the meaning: '*bent to virtue*'; the Doge's '*certaine private office*'.

V. 16th century editions of *De magistratibus* and *La Republica e i magistrati di Vinegia*

Before proceeding any further, however, it is necessary to try to establish which Italian and which Latin edition of Contarini's treatise Lewkenor actually adopted. As already mentioned, during the 16th century there were several editions of *De magistratibus* [311]. By the time of Lewkenor's translation at least nine of them were in Latin, the first 1543 edition (hereafter referred to as the 'original') having been followed by new editions in 1544, 1547, 1551, 1571 (as part of Contarini's *Opera*), and 1578 (again as part of the *Opera*), while *De magistratibus* was published twice in 1589 (as part of the *Opera* and separately), and once in 1592, that is, very near the time of the English translation.

As for the Italian translation, by 1599 there had been a total of eight editions of *La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia*, first published in 1544 and reissued in 1545, 1548, 1551, 1554, 1563, 1564, and 1591, this last again very near the time of Lewkenor's translation. In this connection it may be added that after 1589 Contarini's treatise started being published together with other works on the same subject [312]. Thus, the 1591 Italian edition of *La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia* appeared with, among others, Donato Giannotti's *Libro de la Republica de' Vinitiani* (1540) [313], a fact that may have given Lewkenor the idea of complementing the translation with an Appendix, the '*Sundry other Collections, annexed by the Translator for the more cleere and exact satisfaction of the*

[311] A tentative list of all the book's editions and translations is enclosed in Appendix II.

[312] '*On a imprimé jusque là* [1589] *ce livret de Contarenus separément. Dans la suite on l'a accompagné de divers autres Traitez, qui y ont du rapport…*', David Clement, *Bibliothèque curieuse historique et critique: ou, Catalogue raisonné de livres difficiles à trouver*, Tome Setième [sic]. A Leipsic, dans la librairie de Jean Fred. Gleditsch, J. G. Schmid, 1757, pp. 287 ss, at p. 288, on-line.

[313] *Gasparo Contarini della Republica, & Magistrati di Venetia*; con un discorso intorno alla medesima di Donato Giannotti, & i discorsi di Sebastiano Erizzo, & di Bartolomeo Cavalcanti dell'excellenza delle republiche, Venetia, 1591.

Reader', which he actually begins with extracts from Giannotti's work. However, though it would be tempting to conclude that Lewkenor used a copy of the 1591 Italian translation, the evidence for this is very slim [314] and ultimately unnecessary, because in fact, no indication that the text may have varied from one edition to the other has so far emerged, as a recent facsimile publication of the first edition indirectly confirms.

By contrast, there is ample evidence that variations in the Latin text had indeed occurred between the time *De magistratibus* was first published and the time Lewkenor translated *La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia*, some of which are identical to divergences present in the Italian translation. A cursory collation of the 1543 text (accessible in the Marciana Library) and the text of the 1578 edition of the *Opera* (available in facsimile on-line) is sufficient to notice a great number of changes, possibly dating back to the 1571 edition of the *Opera* when, as we know, Alvise Contarini and his assistants proceeded to revise the Cardinal's works in view of their forthcoming publication [315]. Therefore, it is not unlikely that the adjustments were made on that occasion, although *De magistratibus* may well have come in for some editing at an earlier date. Only a collation of all the editions and of the manuscripts would establish the fact with any certainty.

However, what is relevant here is that if, as he writes, Lewkenor made use of a Latin text of *De magistratibus* in order to compare the Italian translation with 'the Latine originall', the text he availed himself of was not 'the Latine originall' of the first edition but a later and revised text, nor was the Italian translation as close to the 'Latine originall' of *De magistratibus* as one would expect.

1. *The Italian translation that Lewkenor 'chiefly followed': divergences from the Latin text*

Four examples of the way in which the Italian translation diverges from the Latin text may suffice here. The first is a long interpolation (that Lewkenor very properly ignores) extolling the beauties of the country of Eboli in the Kingdom of Naples:

---

[314] Works of different authors used to be physically bound together for the owner's convenience, and at least one copy of Contarini's 1545 edition is known to have been bound with an earlier copy of Giannotti's *La republica, e i magistrati di Vinegia di m. Gasparo Contarino, nuovamente fatti volgari.* Stampata in Vinegia, 1545, LXX, 2, c.; 8°. Esemplare legato all'opera di Giannotti 'Libro de la republica de vinitiani', Roma, 1542. Biblioteca Marucelliana, Coll. SALA 1.LL.IX.104, Inv. MF000003409 1 v., see Clement, *Bibliothèque curieuse ...,* cit., p. 289.

[315] See Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato veneziano* ..., cit., esp. chap. V, 'L'edizione parigina delle opere: una impresa al servizio della Controriforma', pp. 307–368, and 'Aspetti della censura ecclesiastica nell'Europa della Controriforma: l'edizione parigina delle opere di Gasparo Contarini', cit.

[ed. 1543]	[ed. 1544]	[ed. 1599]
… *XII*. Calendas Iulias die dicata Vito ac Modesto martyribus, solenni pompa accedunt cum principe ad eorum *Martyrum* templum, II, 39	à quindici di Giugno, nel giorno consacrato à Vito, & Modesto, **& Crescentia** martiri, **i cui corpi sono presso il fiume Sele, si come nella sua leggenda si truova nel territorio d'Eboli, terra nel Regno di Napoli assai dilettevole, & fertile di tutte le cose, che da i quattro elementi possono essere produtte; onde terra, acqua, aere, & fuoco fa per arme;** con solenne pompa insieme co'l Prencipe se ne vanno al tempio di quegli, II, 81	the twelve Kalendes of Iuly, on the day dedicated to the two Martyres Vitus and Modestus, doe with solemne pompe waythe vpon the Prince to the Temple of those Martirs, II, 47
[ed. 1578] … *duodecimo* Calendas Iulias die dicata Vito *&* Modesto martyribus, solenni pompa accedunt cum *P*rincipe *ad eorum templum*, II, 282		

Hence the hypothesis that Contarini's anonymous Italian translator was not, as it has been suggested, Ludovico Domenichi [316], who was a native of Piacenza and is not known to have ever visited the Eboli area, but rather someone from Eboli, as he himself declares in the dedicatory preface explaining that he wishes to bring lustre to his country by the translation of a very recent and very useful work on Venetian institutions [317]. This circumstance might explain also the translator's addition of *Crescentia*, a martyr usually associated with the cult of the two young soldier saints as St Vito's former nurse, though not in the case of the church erected in Venice in 1310 and dedicated primarily to St Vito, on whose feast day, the 15th of June, Baiamonte Tiepolo's conspiracy had been overcome. Hence yearly, on that date, the Doge with the highest pomp went in state to visit the church, built with marble and stone from the demolished palazzo Tiepolo in the campo still called *S. Vio*, the Venetian familiar form for *San Vito* [318]. This was also one of the four yearly occasions on which, after the ceremony, the Doge had to entertain a section of the patriciate, so that by tradition the procession to *S. Vio* saw the significant addition of the youngest members. It may be added that the saints's relics are not preserved only near the Sele river: the devotion to St

[316] See Piscini , 'Domenichi, Lodovico', *DBI*, cit.

[317] See Conti, 'Introduzione', *La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia*, cit., p. 26. The translator's preface, however, has been omitted from the reprint.

[318] The church was later demolished by Napoleon and the existing chapel-like building by the bridge is, in fact, a 19th c. construction. Across the *campo*, however, is the Anglican Church dedicated to St George.

Vito was strongly felt elsewhere and thus also in the Veneto, as the names *S. Vito di Cadore*, *S. Vito al Tagliamento*, and other localities confirm [319].

Another divergence in the same paragraph concerns the date mentioned in the Latin text: *XII Kalendas Iulias*, in fact, indicates the 20th of June in the Roman calendar, which is *ante diem duodecimum Kalendas Iulias* (XII) in that system. The 15th of June should have been indicated as *ante diem septimum Kalendas Iulias* (XVII), so it may be that the abbreviation 'XII' of the Latin text is a misprint for 'XVII' (though it is odd to find it spelled out as '*duodecimo* Calendas Iulias' in the 1578 edition). On the other hand, the Catholic Church's calendar fixes the memory day of St Vitus on the 15th of June. Thus the Italian translator, though not a Venetian, corrected the date indicated in the original either from his own knowledge of the *Eboli* patron saint's day, and / or from knowledge of the actual Venetian practice [320]. Lewkenor, however, chose to translate the date as 'the twelve Kalendes of Iuly' from the Latin text.

A third example of the divergences of the Italian translation from the Latin text is a mistranslation that has carried over to Lewkenor's text:

[ed. 1543]	[ed. 1544]	[ed. 1599]
Eo enim in loco Curiae in quo imagines principum omnium depictae sunt cum elogijs rerum quas	Conciosia che in quel luogo, nelquale sono dipinte le imagini di tutti i Prencipi con gli Epitaphij	For in those places where the pictures of our princes are curiously set forth and painted,

[319] Titian painted a *Madonna con Bambino e santi Ermagora, Vito, Giovanni Battista e Gottardo* (1524) for the church dedicated to the Saints Vito, Modesto and Crescenzia in San Vito di Cadore.

[320] Marin Sanudo often describes the Doge's state exits (*andate*). Although in cod. Correr, Cicogna 970 of *De origine* the date of the Doge's *andata* to *San Vio* is indicated as the 16th of June ('*Zorni si vardano:* [...] *Adì 16 Zugno, San Vido, per la vittoria contra Baiamonte Thieppolo, e si va con la procession a San Vido*', see Marin Sanudo il Giovane, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae, ovvero, La città di Venetia (1493-1530)*, edizione critica di Angela Caracciolo Aricò, Cisalpino, La Goliardica, Milano, 1980, p. 180), in Cod. Correr, Cicogna 969 it is indicated as the 15th ('*Questi sono i zorni deputati che il Prencipe è obligato andar fuora de Palazzo con le cerimonie ducal, et dove* […] *Da San Vido, adì 15 Zugno, la mattina si fa processione da San Marco a San Vido; et il Dose va per terra fino a San Vido dove si fa uno ponte che passa il Canal Grando sopra galie vechie. E questo è ubligato di andar per una vitoria, se havè la vezilia de san Vido, in tempo de messier Piero Gradenigo dose del 14…, et lì udito messa, ritorna indrio con li piati* [i.e. '*peote*', flat-bottom boats with four, six or eight rowers]', *ibid*., pp. 59-60). Sanudo records yearly the date of the 15th in his diaries, for instance: '*A dì 15 ditto* [June, 1505] … *Et in questa matina fo fato la precession di San Vido, e il pasto di zoveni. Portò la spada sier Marin Zorzi, dotor …*', *Diarii*, 6: 185; '*A dì 14* [June, 1521] … *E' sa saper, il Serenissimo Prencipe* [Doge Leonardo Loredan] *à di la febre, è in leto, la qual ieri sera a hore 8 comenzoe; sichè non sta bene* […]. *A dì, Sabado fo San Vido. La Signoria, vicedoxe sier Luca Trun vestito di veludo cremexin, fo a la procession prima fata di … per il zorno di San Vido, poi andoe a messa a san Vido justa il solito, con li oratori* [ambassadors] *Franza, Hongaria, Ferara, e Mantoa, et li altri deputati al pasto, zoè tutti XL criminal et zivil et li Savii ai ordeni*', *Diarii*, 30: 367-8. On the political character of the celebration which, 'by ritualizing the defeat of the Tiepolo conspirators […] hallowed the republican polity', see Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton, 1981, p. 218 (trans. Eleonora Zambelli, *Il rituale civico a Venezia nel Rinascimento*, Il Veltro Editrice, Roma, 1984, p. 249).

optime pro rep gesserint, Marini Phaletri **sedes** imagine vacua, versiculis quibusdam inscripta est, quibus significatur legentibus, eum ducem pro criminibus (ut nihil immutem) securi percussum fuisse, III, 64	delle cose, lequali ottimamente hanno fatte per la Republica, la **sedia** di Marino Phalerio è priva d'imagine, scrittivi solamente certi versi, per iquali à leggenti si dimostra, che quel Doge per delitti (per non mutare la cosa, come ella stà) fu percosso di scure, ò accoppato, come si dice, III, 112	with Epitaphes and remembraunces of those vertuous deedes, which they have done in the behalfe and service of their countrey, the **seate** of *Marino Phalerio* is left bare without any picture at all, save onely a few verse, signifying vnto the reader, that this Duke was for his offences (because I will not vary the wordes as they stand written) stricken with the axe, III, 82

A final example is an addition by the Italian translator that Lewkenor amplifies:

[ed 1543] Nonnulli mirabantur magnitudinem imperij, latamque & terra & mari ditionem. *At* plerique omnes politioris & acrioris ingenij homines, hanc novam situs urbis rationem, *atq*. ad omnia opportunam, deorum immortalium potius quam hominum opus atque inventum fuisse *putare soliti sunt*, *ac* & ob hanc potissimum causam Venetam urbem omnibus alijs præstare, quæ *nunc usquam* gentium *sunt*, aut unquam *fuerunt*. I, 1 * [ed 1578] Nonnulli mirabantur magnitudinem imperij, latamque & terra & mari ditionem: *at* plerique omnes politioris & acrioris ingenij homines, hanc novam situs urbis rationem, *adeo* ad omnia opportunam, *ut* deorum immortalium potius, quam hominum opus atque inventum fuisse *arbitrarentur*, & ob hanc potissimum causam Venetam urbem omnibus alijs præstare, quæ aut hoc tempore usquam gentium sint, aut unquam fuerint. I, 261	Alcuni si maravigliavano della grandezza dell'Imperio, & dello stato amplis. & per terra, & per mare. Ma quasi tutti gli uomini di piu polito, et acuto ingegno **si stupivano** di questa nuova ragione del sito della città: talmente opportuna ad ogni cosa, che sono usati pensare, ch'ella sia piu tosto fabbrica de gli Dei, che opera, & trovato de gli uomini; & specialmente per questo rispetto la città di Vinegia avanzare tutte l'altre, le quali siano, o fossero giamai in alcun loco, I, 37	Others were astonished at the greatnesse of the empire thereunto belonging, and the mightinesse of their state both by land and sea: but the greater part of the most wise and iudiciall sort **were rather in themselves confounded with amazement** at the new and strange manner of the situation of this Citie, so fitte and convenient for all thinges, that it seemed vnto them a thing rather framed by the hands of the immortal Gods, then any way by the arte, industry, or invention of men. And for this onely cause deemed the Citie of *Venice* to excel all those, that in this age are to be found, or at any time ever were, I, 2

The addition '*si stupivano*' affects the meaning not only of the sentence but of the entire philosophical argument that Contarini is illustrating and that is founded mainly on Aristotle's *Politics*, where Aristotle discusses the best qualities for a city's territory (see points 1 (a) and 1 (b) below). This is why Contarini writes that it is 'the most wise and iudiciall' (*plerique omnes politioris & acrioris ingenij homines*) - that is, men who have studied Aristotle and reflected on politics – who are used to considering (*putare soliti sunt*) - or 'judging' (*arbitrarentur*), as later edited - the unusual rationale of the city's location (*hanc novam situs urbis rationem*), so 'fitte and

convenient for all thinges' (*ad omnia opportunam*), more as the work and conception of the immortal Gods than of men (*deorum immortalium potius quam hominum opus atque inventum fuisse*). In fact, it would be odd if these learned men 'were rather in themselves confounded with amazement at the new and strange manner of the situation of this Citie'. Both translators, therefore, have missed the gist of Contarini's reasoning but added to the 'wonder' *topos* of the 'myth' of Venice [321].

2. *Lewkenor's 'Latine originall': The 1571 revision*

As for the Latin text adopted by Lewkenor, internal evidence seems to indicate that it was a revised edition of *De magistratibus*. At what time, and what particular issues may have brought about the revision is, at present, a matter of speculation. If the changes do indeed go back to the 1571 edition of the *Opera* they nevertheless do not appear of a nature to suggest that they were prompted by the family's primary concern to establish Gasparo's Catholic orthodoxy or to anticipate Counter-Reformation censures. In fact, unlike his other works, *De magistratibus* is less of a theological than of a political character.

However, some of the alterations brought to Contarini's religious works have indeed been identified as changes of a political character. For instance, Fragnito points out a significant interpolation in the text of *De officio episcopi* about the dangers of heresy which, tearing away at the basis of faith, also completely and suddenly overturns the order of the state [322]. This sentence, Fragnito remarks, is not present in any manuscript. Yet it has been employed erroneously as evidence that a close association between religious belief and political organization was one of the mainstays of Contarini's political thought. Therefore it can be assumed that, although *De magistratibus* is not of a theological character, the family may have been interested in a revision of a political nature, under which heading some of the alterations may in fact be tentatively grouped.

Obviously, whether the result of political adjustments or not, and whether prompted or simply occasioned by the publication of the *Opera* or by other circumstances, once it is accepted that Lewkenor used a later and revised Latin text of *De magistratibus* the divergences between a later

[321] On the sense of 'wonder' and 'amazement' that Venice inspired, see in particular Peter G. Platt, '"The Meruailouse Site": Shakespeare, Venice, and Paradoxical Stages', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 54, No. 1 (Spring, 2001), pp. 121-154, and Michael G. Brennan, review of Jonathan P. A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560-1613*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 252, n. 4, December 2007, pp. 511-2.

[322] '*quae fundamenta fidei cum tollat, etiam omnem Reipublicae statum subito evertit*', *De officio episcopi*, in *Opera* (1578), cit., at p. 425, see Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato veneziano* ..., cit., pp. 361-2.

Latin edition and the 1543 'original' are in themselves irrelevant for any analysis of his translation. However, these changes acquire relevance insofar as Lewkenor reacts to them *after* comparison with the Italian text and either shares the alternatives offered by the later Latin edition or altogether rejects them in favour of the Italian translation. Thus, Lewkenor's choices are better explained, and possibly also provide useful indications about the sensibility and perception of particular issues in England at the time of his translation.

A working hypothesis

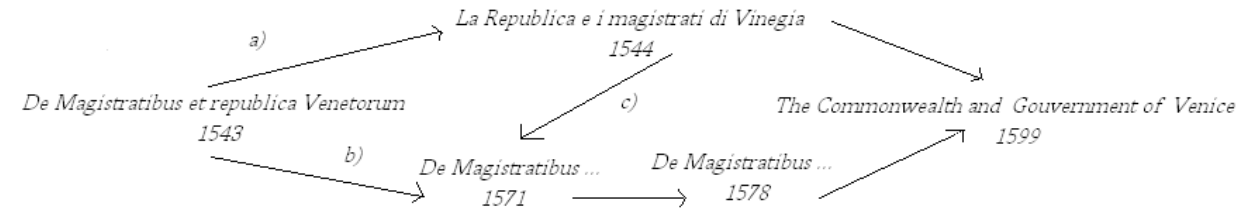
There is, however, another element to consider. A comparison of the divergences between the first (1543) and a later Latin edition of *De magistratibus* (in this case the 1578 edition) shows that some of them seem to have their source in variations or mistranslations previously introduced by the Italian translation. The only explanation is that the revision of the Latin text was effected so that it would fall into line with the Italian translation. Therefore this circumstance too must be taken into account when comparing Lewkenor's translation with his primary source, the Italian translation. In fact, he might depart from it after examining the 'Latin originall' he employed but, where the two texts coincided because the 1578 edition had adopted the previous alteration or mistranslation, Lewkenor simply had no way of being aware of it.

Some examples where the divergences of the revised Latin edition of 1578 from the first (assumed 'original') edition are identical to those of the previous Italian translation, thus usually commanding the results of Lewkenor's translation, are the following:

Ex.	[ed. 1543]	[ed. 1544]	[ed. 1578]	[ed. 1599]
(1)	a **veritate** deduci *queunt*, I, 9	ponno essere rimossi dalla **vertù**, I, 46	a **virtute** deduci *possunt*, I, 265	directly bent to **virtue**, I, 11
(2)	eorum præsertim qui *fuerint* ***præditi*** *publica authoritate*; II, 34	primieramente di quegli che di publica autorità sono **ornati**, II, 74-75	eorum præsertim qui *publica auctoritate* ***ornati*** *fuerint*; II, 279-80	especially those that are in authority, II, 41
(3)	ut opes **adipiscantur**, I, 14	per **accumular** ricchezze, I, 51-2	ut opes **accumulent**, I, 268	who **scrape together** great wealth, I, 17
(4)	tunc scriba primus, **qui honos est plebeius quidem, non patriciorum**, maxime tamen dignitatis, I, 19	Allhora il primo Cancelliero, **il quale honore non è di Gentili uomini**, benche sia di grandissima dignità, I, 56-7	tunc *S*criba primus, **qui honos est non patriciorum**, maxime tamen dignitatis, I, 271	Then the chiefe Chauncellor (which though it be **not an honor of the nobilitie**, yet it is of very great dignity), I, 22

The only instance where the coincidence of the two texts did not determine Lewkenor's translation is (2) the case of the Latin *præditi*, 'granted' or 'invested' with an honour, somewhat pompously translated into the Italian *ornati*, and also changed by the revision into the Latin *ornati*, which is grander that *præditi*. In this case, however, though confronted with two '*ornati*' in both the two texts, Lewkenor must have reasoned that the 'honour' consisted in the holding of public office, and therefore translated it matter-of-factly as 'those that are in authority'.

In conclusion, the process that finally gave the texts adopted by Lewkenor may be tentatively reconstructed as follows:



Legenda:
a) divergences of the Italian translation from the 1543 Latin edition
b) divergences of the 1578 Latin edition form the 1543 Latin edition
c) divergence of the 1578 Latin edition similar to those of the Italian translation

Therefore, although the divergences between the first (1543) and the 1578 Latin edition of *De magistratibus* are not immediately relevant to an analysis of the English translation, at least a brief survey of them is necessary. In fact, interventions altering the text some fifty years after its composition constitute a not insignificant primary source for the appraisal of the changes then taking place in the Venetian context, or at least in the part that was behind the alterations to Contarini's text, and may ultimately allow a better appreciation of the distance between Contarini's (presumably original) thought and its English expression, of the nature of the intervening factors, and the reasons for them.

Divergences between the first (1543) and a revised Latin edition (1578) of De magistratibus. *Categories*

Whether derived from the Italian translation or not, a survey of the divergences between the first (1543) and the 1578 Latin edition of *De magistratibus* shows that they fall into two main categories: the majority are (1) changes 'touching up' Contarini's style that (a) generally do not affect the meaning of the sentence, though (b) sometimes they *do* alter it; a few, however, are (2) changes intentionally meant to alter the meaning of the sentence. Some examples of each group

may suffice here, while other divergences between the first and the later edition will be pointed out in the course of the discussion where necessary. It may also be added here that divergences between the two texts are constant. Hardly any paragraph of the 1578 edition is untouched. One of the earliest paragraphs can profitably illustrate some of the most frequent types of divergences [323].

ed. 1543
Plerique in condenda (1) *civitate* satis se fecisse arbitrati sunt, si locum delegissent, ad quem difficilis & incommodus hostibus accessus esset (2) *ad invadendam obsidendamque urbem*. Inde evenit, ut complures civitates conditæ sint, (3) *aut in montium salebris, aspero difficiliq. accessu, aut locis palustribus* diversa quadam ratione.

(4) Nonnulli nihil præferendum censuere commodo, opportunoque situi ad importanda (5) *exportandaque* omnia, sine quibus sufficere (6) *sibi civitas nequeat* tum ad necessitatem,
(7) *tum etiam ad molliorem quendam vitæ luxum,*
I, 2

ed. 1578
Plerique in condenda (1) *urbe* satis se fecisse arbitrati sunt, si locum delegissent, ad quem difficilis & incommodus // hostibus accessus esset (2) *ad eam invadendam atque obsidendam*, inde evenit, ut complures civitates conditæ sint, (3) *aut in editioribus & præruptis, aspero difficilique accessu, aut palustribus demisfisque locis*; diversa quadam ratione
(4) nonnulli, nihil præferendum censuere commodo, *oportunoque* situi ad importanda (5) *explorandaque* omnia, sine quibus sufficere (6) *civitas sibi nequeat,* tum ad necessitatem,
(7) *tum ad molliorem atq. elegantiorem quendam vitæ cultum,*
I, 261-262

[ed. 1544] Molti in edificare una (1) città s'hanno pensato d'haver fatto assai, se hanno eletto loco, alquale gli inimici difficilmente, & con incomodo potessero passare ad (2) assaltare, & assediar la città. Di qui venne, che parecchie città sono state edificate (3) o nella cima de' monti con aspro, & difficile passo, o ne luoghi palustri. (4) Per un certo altro rispetto alcuni hanno giudicato, che niente s'habbia da mettere inanzi a un sito comodo, & opportuno a portar dentro, (5) & fuori tutte le cose, senza le quali a se medesima (6) la città non possa bastare, cosi per il bisogno, (7) come per una certa delicatezza piu molle di vita, I, 38

[ed. 1599] Some in building of (1) Cities, imagined thay had well and sufficiently done, if they had chosen a place hard of accesse, or difficult for their enemies (2) to besiege or assault the same: Whereby it commeth, that sundry Citties are seated (3) on the toppes of high hilles, with sharpe and vneasie passages, or else in moorish or fennish places: (4) Some again for other divers respects have imagined nothing to be preferred before an apt and commodious seate, fitte to convoy in and (5) out all such thinges (6) as appertaine to the making of a Citie plentifull and magnificent, aswell in matters of necessitie, (7) as delicacie, I, 2.

[323] The divergences between the two Latin texts are marked by the use of *italics* throughout. In the example above, red colouring has also been used.

(1.a) Stylistic changes not affecting the meaning

(1) '*Civitate*' has been changed into '*urbe*': although the terms *civitas* and *urbs* imply different notions, the overall meaning of Contarini's sentence is not affected. Thus the alteration can be grouped among the stylistic changes not affecting the meaning as it is very likely due to stylistic reasons only, the classic expression being indeed *urbem condere*. The change, however, is somewhat clumsily made: left unvaried are *complures civitates conditæ sint*, coming next, and *sibi civitas nequeat*. In fact, it may be argued that Contarini, who had a clear understanding of the difference between *civitas* and *urbs* and used the terms consistently, adopted *civitas* throughout the paragraph because he was translating *polis* from a corresponding paragraph in Aristotle's *Politics*, where Aristotle discusses the best qualities for a city's territory and, in homage to the advice of military experts, puts the difficulty of access for the city's enemies first [324].

(2) *'ad invadendam obsidendamque urbem'* becomes *'ad eam invadendam atque obsidendam'* [325]: of all the stylistic changes not affecting the meaning of the text, the inversion of the terms in the construction of the sentence is the most recurrent feature and is pursued throughout, see (6) below.

(3) *'aut in montium salebris, aspero difficiliq. accessu, aut locis palustribus'* of the first edition becomes *'aut in editioribus & præruptis, aspero difficilique accessu, aut palustribus demisfisque locis'*: an example of the more ornate Latin style that was thought necessary in the 1570's.

(1.b) Stylistic changes affecting the meaning

(4) *'diversa quadam ratione. Nonnulli ... censuere'* becomes 'diversa quadam ratione nonnulli,… censuere': an example of how a modification of the original ponctuation may alter the meaning of a sentence. In the present instance, the reading of '*diversa quadam ratione'* given in the Italian translation (*Per un certo altro rispetto alcuni hanno giudicato, che…*), was followed by the 1578 Latin edition and consequently by Lewkenor, who had no other option he was aware of: 'Some again for other divers respects have…'

[324] Aristotle, *Politics*, VII, 5, 1236b, 40.

[325] [ed. 1544] … *loco, alquale gli inimici difficilmente, & con incomodo potessero passare ad assaltare, & assediar la città*, I, 38; [ed. 1599] … a place hard of accesse, or difficult for their enemies to besiege or assault the same', I, 2.

It is, however, arguable whether this was Contarini's original meaning, as the ponctuation of the first edition implies. There, *'diversa quadam ratione'* does not refer to *'Nonnulli'* but to 'moorish or fennish places'. As Aristotle writes, cities are best built in a place 'hard of accesse, or difficult for their enemies to besiege or assault', and therefore, as Contarini elaborates, either 'on the toppes of high hilles…' or else, on other accounts – *'diversa quadam ratione'* – 'in moorish or fennish places'. The reference is obviously to Venice and the implication is that Venice is as safe as can be.

The paragraph then proceeds with *'Nonnulli …. censuere',* and in fact Contarini is again quoting Aristotle who states that one of the vital needs of a city is to be well placed for the export and import of goods [326]. In conclusion, what Contarini says is: most are satisfied to build a city in a safe place. Others believe - **'***Nonnulli ... censuere'* - that nothing is to be preferred to a place suitable to the export and import of goods. Thus, as Venice was the most famous emporium of the world, by recasting Aristotle's two points together in a seeming opposition Contarini discreetly says that not only is the site of Venice most secure, it is also most advantageous to make the city self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency, defined as 'to have everything and to be in need of nothing', is in fact the quality that Aristotle appears to prize most [327], and is also referred to by Bernardo Giustiniani in his celebrated *Historia* (1493) [328].

(5) *'ad importanda exportandaque omnia'*, as opposed to *'ad importanda explorandaque omnia'*: this may well be a typo of the later version, unless the change suggests that by this time it was preferred (or preferable) to 'explore' new things imported into Venice rather than continuing to export them. It seems, however, odd. In the second half of the 16th century, Venice was still the

[326] Aristotle, *Politics*, VII, 6, 1237a, 25.

[327] Aristotle, *Politics*, VII, 5, 1236b, 25.

[328] '*... se noi chiamiamo quella città perfetta, & assoluta, laquale da se stessa à ministrare tutte le cose necessarie all'uso della vita humana sia sufficiente, si come à tutti i savi piace,* Giustiniani, *Historia*…, I, 3-4. Bernardo Giustiniani (1408-1489), one of the most distinguished members of the Venetian patriciate of the *quattrocento*, was the man who 'presented Venice with her first well-ordered history', see Patricia H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani, a Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969, at pp. 254-255. He wrote it during the last five years of his life, thus bringing to his subject the practical knowledge of a whole career spent in the public service of Venice. Beside its relevance for Venetian matters, however, Giustiniani's *De origine urbis Venetiarum rebusque ab ipsa gestis historia* - published posthumously in 1493 and translated into Italian in 1545 as *Historia di Bernardo Giustiniano* - is now considered the founding text of modern historiography for the criticism to which he subjected source-material relating to even the earliest events of Venetian history.

centre of the book trade, its silk industry was flourishing [329], the celebrated crystal glass mirrors (as opposed to the traditional steel glass mirrors) were being successfully exported [330], and so were artworks as never before: Titian, for instance, painted mostly for the international market, in particular for the Pope and the Emperor [331].

(6) *'sibi civitas nequeat'* becomes *'civitas sibi nequeat'*: a frequent occurrence, see (2) above.

(2) *Changes meant to alter the meaning of the sentence*

(7) *'tum etiam ad molliorem quendam vitæ luxum'* is modified into *'tum ad molliorem atq. elegantiorem quendam vitæ cultum'*: the addition of '*elegantiorem*' and the replacement of '*luxum*' by '*cultum*' are possible signs of a changed life-style.

Editorial changes of the original meaning of the text are clearly the most interesting kind of alteration and require careful, possibly specialized, interpretation. At the moment, however, it is sufficient to at least identify them, possibly also identifying their textual source to establish whether they were already present as early as 1544.

'bent to virtue'

This is the case, for instance, of the substitution of *veritate* by *virtute* in both the Italian and the later Latin edition. The whole paragraph reads:

> [1543] … neque odio tunc, aut amicitia, alia ve animi perturbatione a **veritate** deduci *queunt*, *cum* nullius privati causa agatur in legibus constituendis, *quemadmodum* in forensibus iudicijs semper *accidit*, I, 9

[329] Luca Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

[330] The process for producing clear glass (*cristallo*) was discovered by Angelo Barovier in the 15th c. and this, Murano's glassmakers boast, allowed them to become the only producers of mirrors in Europe. In fact, Venetian glass-making reached the peak of its popularity in the 15th and 16th c. Significantly, Venetian crystal was exempt from import restrictions into Florence, then the leading producer of optical glass and lenses, see Vincent Ilardi, *Renaissance Vision from Spectacles to Telescopes*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 2007, p. 183. Murano's glass started to decline in the 17th c. For a recent and comprehensive view of the issue, see James S. Grubb, review of Paola Lanaro (ed.), *At the Centre of the Old World: Trade and Manufacturing in Venice and on the Venetian Mainland, 1400-1800* (Essays and Studies 9. Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Toronto, 2006), in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Volume 60, Number 2, Summer, 2007, pp. 519-521.

[331] See more recently Patricia Fortini Brown, 'The Role of the Client: Patronage in Renaissance Venice', in *Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese: Rivals in Renaissance Venice*, Frederick Ilchman, Linda Boreai, Patricia Fortini Brown (eds.), Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd., 2009.

which the Italian translator renders as

> [ed. 1544] … allhora per odio, per amicitia, ò per alcuna altra passion d'annimo ponno essere rimossi dalla **vertù**, non andandoci l'interesse di alcun privato in far le leggi, I, 46

a reading followed by the later revision:

> [ed. 1578] … neque odio tunc, aut amicitia, alia ve animi perturbatione a **virtute** deduci *possunt*, *quum* nullius privati causa agatur in legibus constituendis, *quod* in forensibus iudicijs semper *accidere solet*, I, 265

and consequently by Lewkenor:

> [ed. 1599] … their minds being then directly bent to **virtue**, free from hatred, friendship, or other perturbation: the cause of no private man being interested in the establishing of laws, I, 11

The paragraph refers to the making of just laws: wise men can discuss them dispassionately (*neque odio tunc, aut amicitia, alia ve animi perturbatione*), since it is not an individual's case that is debated in lawmaking (*cum nullius privati causa agatur in legibus constituendis*), as is always the case in courts (*quemadmodum in forensibus iudicijs semper accidit*); therefore lawmakers cannot be made to depart from truth (*a **veritate** deduci queunt*).

In other words, lawmakers are concerned with the definition of general and abstract rules, and judges with their application to an actual, specific case. Thus, if the laws are just to begin with, their application makes it possible to achieve justice in the individual case, which it is always difficult to consider dispassionately. Given the relevance of the subject and the significance of the Renaissance notion of virtue, the change initiated by the Italian translation is not insignificant. At the roots of a 'just' law, in fact, there is already that intimate relationship between justice and truth that makes itself evident in a 'just' decision. So much so that in some languages the words 'true', 'truth', and 'justice', 'just', are also joined together etymologically as it is apparent in English. Middle English *trewthe*, 'loyalty', from Old English *trēowth*, ultimately goes back to an Indo-European root **deru-* or **dreu-,* 'tree' and so to the notion of 'steadfast as an oak'. Hence 'truth' as something firm (therefore 'trust'), while 'just' expresses 'a binding relation of correspondence, conformity, or agreement' (*adæquatio* in St Thomas), and is therefore 'true' because 'consistent with fact' [332].

[332] The sense of 'consistent with fact' is first recorded *c*.1205; that of 'real, genuine, not counterfeit' is from 1398; that of 'agreeing with a certain standard' (as *true north*) is from c.1550. Of artifacts 'accurately fitted or shaped' it is recorded from 1474; the verb in this sense is from 1841, see 'true', *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2009, on-line.

Similarly, the Hebrew word *emèth*, 'truth', also means 'constancy', 'perseverance', 'stability', 'permanence', 'eternalness', which are truth's natural attributes, while the word *nakhòn*, meaning 'firm', 'stable', 'upright', also means 'true' and ultimately 'just' [333]. In fact, the Scriptures celebrate the association of 'justice' and 'truth', not that of 'justice' and 'virtue', for instance in the psalmist's line 'Truth shall flourish out of the earth: and righteousness [justice] hath looked down from heaven' [334].

Iconography in fact confirms the association of Justice and Truth: when not represented singly, they always appear with each other, and so do Mercy and Peace, who complement them. Numberless works of art portray this pairing of the four Virtues, also indicated as the 'Four daughters of God' in the allegories of Medieval morality plays where 'Justice' and 'Truth' appeared for the prosecution (as they represented the old Law), Mercy for the defence, and Peace presided [335]. In fact, the intimate connection between Justice and Truth is such that, as the psalmist says, when the four Virtues meet it is Mercy and Truth who embrace, and Justice and Peace who kiss each other [336].

As for the reasons for the change, it may be that it was unintentional, the original *veritate* being misread in the first place and thus translated as *vertù*. Though this kind of divergences, as well as possible printing errors, must not be dismissed, it is odd that the 1578 Latin revision should not have kept close to the original's *virtute*.

The Doge's *certaine private office*

In some cases the (1571) 1578 alterations could muddle the sense of the original meaning, as in the following sentence about the role of the Doge.

The original's

> [ed. 1543] Huius *nulla privata* est functio, *nulla* etiam est in universa republica cuius expers esse debeat, II, 33

[333] Carlo Alberto Viterbo, *Una via verso l'ebraico*, Carucci editore, Roma, 1981, p. 107, n. 285, and p. 63, n. 156.

[334] Ps. 85, 11, *The Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford University Press.

[335] David Lyle Jeffrey (ed.), 'Four daughters of God', *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*, William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1992, pp. 290-1, remarking: 'The allegory persisted through the Renaissance […] There are possible echoes in the court scene in the *Merchant of Venice* (4. 1) and in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (3. 132-34).

[336] 'Mercy and truth are met together / righteousness and peace have kissed each other', Ps. 85, 10, cit.

for which the Italian translator had offered

> [ed. 1544] Questo Doge in niun *privato* ufficio si hà punto da travagliare; ne è cosa veruna in tutta la Republica, dellaquale egli non debba haver certezza, II, 74.

in the later Latin edition appears as:

> [ed. 1578] Huius nulla *certa* functio tamen est in universa Republica, cuius expers esse debeat, II, 279

to be finally rendered in English as:

> [ed. 1599] This Duke of ours hath not any *certaine private* // office alotted him, yet nevertheles ther is not in the whole commonwealth any thing done, but he must be made acquainted therewith, and have knowledge of the same, II, 40-1.

This is by no means clear. In fact, in the original text, *privata* may mean 'personal', 'specific', 'individual', 'particular', thus *'nulla privata… functio'* may be read as meaning that the Doge's office is instituted for no specific function, nor is there any function - *nulla etiam* - in the whole government / state - *in universa republica* – in which he is not to take part - *cuius expers esse debeat* [337]. In fact, the Doge (together with the *Signoria*) had the right to vote in the most important councils, which he presided, but could not act alone. As Giannotti summed up, '*Niuna faccenda si tratta sanza la presenza sua; ed egli ancora non può solo alcuna cosa espedire*' [338].

However, *nulla privata … functio* may also be read in the sense of 'private' as opposed to 'public', and thus in connection with *nulla* [functio]*… in universa republica*. The sentence *Huius nulla privata est functio, nulla etiam est in universa republica cuius expers esse debeat* could then be construed as: 'for the Doge there is no private or public function' - or rather 'duty', which is Lewkenor's happy choice for *functio* in this context – 'to which he must remain extraneous'.

---

[337] See *expers*, 'not participant', 'not taking part in', from *ex* and *pars*, in Calonghi, *Dizionario latino-italiano*, cit.

[338] 'No affair is discussed without him; and (furthermore) (yet) he cannot decide anything himself'. Giannotti's sentence shows the ambiguity of the Italian 'ancora' which, however, must be taken in continuity with what precedes ('No affair is discussed'), and so means 'and neither can the Doge'. This in fact corresponds to Contarini's Latin construction, which pursues the negation: 'nulla privata est functio, nulla etiam est …', see *ne ... etiam* : für *ne ... quidem*, 'nicht einmal', in Johann Ramminger, *Neulateinische Wortliste, Ein Wörterbuch des Lateinischen von Petrarca bis 1700*, on-line, and *ne ... quidem* in Calonghi, *Dizionario latino-italiano*, cit.

In fact, the sense of 'private' as correlated with 'public' is made apparent as the text continues. If the Doge was responsible for seeing that 'all officials were duly elected and performed their duties' [339], this responsibility extended to 'any private citizen whatsoever', *unumquemquem privatum civem* as Contarini clearly writes, so that everyone could be brought to contribute harmoniously to the common good and unity:

> [eds. 1543 and 1578] Hic cum unumquemquem privatum civem, tum etiam quoscunque magistratus ita debet in officio continere, atque // ea ratione moderari, ut veluti quadam harmonia omnia consonent communi bono, atque ad unionem civilem referantur, II, 33-34.

It is probably because the 'original' sentence remained for once completely unrevised that some garbling in the Italian translation went unnoticed,

> [ed. 1544] Questo dovrà parte si nell'ufficio ritenere qual si voglia privato, parte qual si sia Magistrato, & con tal ragione moderargli, che quasi com'una certa harmonia tutte le cose consonino al ben commune; & alla unione civile si riferiscano, II, 74.

and Lewkenor could turn out an intelligible and altogether correct English version:

> [ed. 1599] … he is to containe and keep vnder in their duetie, as well every private man as every particular magistrate, and with such moderation to direct them, that every thing may with an excellent harmony seeme to tune to the common good & civil vnion, II, 41.

The exact meaning of 'every private man', however, may need an explanation.

The reason why the Doge had to extend his supervision to the citizens' private sphere is made clear by Maranini. Every patrician, once of age, became a member of the Great Council and therefore participated in the full exercise of the state's sovereignty. Patricians sat in the Great Council on an equal basis, with the same right of speech and vote, so that, reportedly, in the Papal Roman Curia it was once lamented that in Venice there was no hierarchy (*nullum ordinem tenent*), so that it was necessary to deal not with one but with two thousand kings [340].

Consequently, every patrician was subject to severe rules. Thus, in 1403 it was confirmed that no Venetian nobleman could accept feudal revenues, lands, houses, sums of money, and other benefits

[339] See Lane, *Venice* ..., cit., pp. 96-8.

[340] 'anzichè esserci un solo re con cui trattare, a Venezia duemila nobili vogliono essere altrettanti re', see Marcello Brusegan, *Storia insolita di Venezia*, New Compton Editori, Roma, (2003) 2007, p. 260. On the equality of rights and duties at the basis of the system see Gaetano Cozzi, 'Venezia, una repubblica di principi?', in *La società veneta e il suo diritto*, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Saggi Marsilio, Collana Presente Storico, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, 2000, pp. 249- 265.

from another *comune* or *signore* or state, with the exception of the ambassadors who could accept a present for courtesy's sake but had to transfer it immediately to the state. In fact, any benefit legally belonged to the state if it was granted to its representative, whereas it was illegal if granted to a man who must have ties only with his own government. For the same reasons, the same restrictions applied to non-patricians.

Moreover, as ties with foreign powers could also follow the custom, dating back to the 13th century, of accepting public offices in other Italian states where the political skills of the Venetian gentlemen were highly appreciated, this also was prohibited, but the custom, however dangerous, continued on sufferance - as it contributed to enlarging Venice's political influence - until the Italian *comuni* turned into *signorie* and foreign affairs into complicated alliances and plots. In 1403, therefore, the prohibition was restated.

Another instance is the duty of *credenza*, the binding of patricians to secrecy, which was restated and reinforced in 1446: no patrician could, under severe penalties, in any way whatsoever communicate with a foreign sovereign or his (her) ministers, unless it could be proved that he had not been disloyal to the state (a real *probatio diabolica*). Patricians also took an oath pledging themselves to observe the *capitolare* of the Great Council, *i.e.* the rules disciplining its activity, which was periodically re-organized, notably in 1577. Finally, patricians were not allowed to show themselves in public without the traditional black robe [341].

Interestingly, no further changes occur in the rest of the text to modify the notion that the Doge's duty of supervision extended to anyone's 'private' sphere insofar as the public interest was concerned, as the wording '*qui officio suo desit*' implies:

> [ed. 1543] Hoc igitur *principis est* munus, ut tanquam in quadam *reip.* specula positus conspicetur quid unusquisque rerum agat, eorum præsertim *qui fuerint præditi publica authoritate*; ac si quem perspiciat qui officio suo desit, accersitum coram universo collegio verbis primum castiget, ac si res ita tulerit, adhibitis advocatoribus, seu *decemvirum* præfectis, mandet culpam eius dignosci, ac de consilij sententia puniri, II, 34;

[341] Giuseppe Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia,* I. *Dalle origini alla serrata del Maggior Consiglio,* II: *Dopo la serrata del Maggior Consiglio*, La Nuova Italia editrice, voll. 2, Firenze 1927, II, 124-7. Patricians wore 'vesti negre e lunghe fino a terra' except when holding office, as Marin Sanudo writes at the beginning of the century in *De origine*…, cit., pp. 22-23. This was yet another means to make at least formally apparent the fundamental equality among patricians. A decree of 1668 repeated the principle, although by then differences in wealth were marking a real dividing line, see Cozzi, 'Venezia, una repubblica di principi?', cit, pp. 250 ff.

> [ed. 1544] Questo dunque è l'ufficio del Prencipe, che egli / posto quasi in certi specchi della Republica, si scorga qual debba essere l'ufficio di ciascuno, & primieramente di quegli che di publica autorità sono *ornati*: & se per aventura s'accorgera, che alcuno manchi del debito ufficio suo, fattolosi chiamare, in presenza di tutto'l Collegio prima con parole il riprenda, et se la cosa cosi paterà [sic], sendo di maggior importanza, chiamati due de gli Avocatori, overo de i capi de' Dieci, comandi che di quella causa eglino habbino à riconoscere, & punirlo secondo la sentenza del [sic] consiglio richederà, II, 74-75
>
> [ed. 1578] Hoc igitur *est Principis* munus, ut tanquam in quadam *reipublica* specula positus conspicetur, quid unusquisque rerum agat, eorum præsertim qui *publica auctoritate ornati fuerint*; ac si quem perspiciat qui officio suo desit, accersitum / coram universo collegio verbis primum castiget, ac si res ita tulerit, adhibitis *A*dvocatoribus, seu *Xvirum* præfectis, mandet culpam eius dignosci, ac de consilij sententia puniri, II, 279-80
>
> [ed. 1599] This therefore is the office of the prince, that being (as it were) placed in a glasse, hee might behold what every one doth, especially those that are in authority, of whom if he find any faulty in his office, if the matter bee light, hee calleth him before the whole colledge, and there sharpely rebuketh him with words: if his offence be of greater qualitie, he causeth the same to be enquired of and examined before the advocators and the presidents of the tenne, and to be punished according to the sentence of the councell, II, 41

It may be noticed that Contarini's use of the image of the mirror to illustrate the Doge's duty of supervision is particularly effective [342]. Very likely he refers to the fifteenth-century discovery of the laws of perspective and the artists's use of a mirror to reflect, as Filarete suggested, what they wanted to paint: 'Look into it, and you will see the outlines of the thing more easily, and whatever is closer or further will appear foreshortened to you' [343]. Mirrors, however, were also metaphors as powerful in the Renaissance as they had been in the Middle Ages.

Thus, the alteration of '*nulla privata* est functio, *nulla* etiam …' into 'nulla *certa* functio tamen est', and in particular the loss of the original *privata … functio*, has certainly changed the original meaning. In fact, the later version, *certa functio*, reads: 'The Doge, however, has no certain function in the whole republic from which he is to be excluded'. It is no wonder that Lewkenor's translation at this point should become confused, as his choice to translate from both the Italian and the Latin text, 'This Duke of ours hath not any *certaine private* // office alotted him', indicates.

[342] Whether or not in imitation of Contarini, also Lewkenor adopts the metaphor of the mirror in introducing the Appendix to the reader: 'I doubt not but the state of the whole shall be so cleerly and exactly delivered unto him, as though (if it were possible) he should see the same in a glasse', Lewkenor, 'Divers Observations on the Venetian Commonwealth', p. 150.

[343] Antonio di Pietro Averlino (or Averulino), known as *Filarete*, *i.e.* 'lover of virtues' (Florence, 1400 – Rome, 1469).

From what precedes, it is apparent that Lewkenor was not working on 'clean' material. Thus, although the primary purpose of this research is not so much to attempt to establish what exactly Contarini said in the first place but to assess what use Lewkenor made of the material at his disposal, it is nonetheless necessary to become familiar with his sources. Lewkenor, however, if he could not be aware of the divergences from the first (assumed original) edition of 1543 in both the Italian translation and the revised Latin edition (1571/1578), was more than alert to the divergences between the Italian text he translated and the Latin text he adopted for comparison with it. How he reacts to them, particularly when the divergences touched on what, at the moment, appear as crucial alterations of Contarini's thought, may therefore significantly contribute to a fresh appraisal of the English translation.

IV. Analysis of the translated text: some examples

Intentional divergences from the Italian text: the example of *reipublicae libertas*. Omissions, additions, and general changes still intending to reproduce the message of the Italian text: Omissions: *'Ryalta'*; *'con un qual perpetuo, et fermo modo'*. Additions: *Emphasis; Explanations;* side-notes: *'becchi di nave'*. Cultural gaps: *'illustre', 'chiaro'*; litotes; '*contrada*'. Happy choices: '*animali*' / 'creatures', *et al*. Translation processes: Literal translation *v*. 'copiousness' (*copia verborum*): '*omne punctum tulisse videri*'. Equivalence and word-for-word translations: '*le sue radici*', 'savoreth'. Colloquialisms: 'besides the cushion', '*piu chiaro che la luce di mezzo giorno*'. The English translation becomes freer and more colloquial. A mistranslation: *Tribù* / *tribus* / 'tribe'. Lewkenor's translation of '*respublica*', '*republica*': the example of '*la Republica in stato suol mantener*si'. Early Modern English.

Lewkenor's deviations from the Italian text fall into two categories. On the one hand, and for the most part, his omissions, additions, and general changes are intended to reproduce the message of the Italian text that he has chosen as the basis for his translation. On the other hand, there are some cases where the aim *not* to reproduce the Italian text is clearly intended, either where the Italian translation has deviated from the Latin text, which Lewkenor restores, or for some other reason even though the two texts concur.

Intentional divergences from the Italian text

One instance where the translator deliberately deviates from the Italian text occurs in a passage involving the Doge and the notion of *reipublicae libertas*. A comparison table may be useful to understand the relation between them and consequently the gist of Contarini's statement.

LIBRO II

Però dalla nostra Città savissimamente fu ordinato, che in questa Republica si costituisse una certa spetie di governo Regio, talmente con leggi raffrenata, che tolto via il sospetto di qual si voglia incommodo, & periglio, che alla Republica potesse soprastare, & conduttovi l'utilità, e'l commodo, che'l Regio governo suol seco menare, nulla par che sia restato à desiderare, che noi & insieme con la **Republica liberissima**, havessimo	74	This Monarchall government was therefore established in this commonwealth of ours with singular wisedome and iudgement, and withall the same so curbed & restained with lawes, that all dangerous inconveniences, whereby the commonwealth might sustain harme, are thereby removed, and those commodities ioyntly embrased that proceed from a kingly and royal government: so that there seemeth nothing to remaine which we could wish for, having **a commonwealth vnenthralled,** **enioying a true libertie and freedome**, and yet neuerthelesse	40

il Re, & presidente […]		as it were a king for our governor […]	
Da queste cose dunque penso che ciascuno di leggieri potrà comprendere, che al Prencipe de i Vinitiani è tolta ogni facultà di poter male usare il Prencipato, & di portarsi come à tiranno,	76	whereby I thinke any man may easily vnderstand that the Duke of *Venice* is depriued of all meanes, whereby he might abuse his authoritie, or become a tyrant:	42
Qual cosa per lunga, anzi p[er] vecchia usanza overo dalle primi origini della Città per infino à questi tempi produtta talmente è invecchiata, & corroborata, che nulla di piu si debba temere dalla Republica Vinitiana, che che [sic] il Prencipe non possa giamai **operar cosa** **contra la libertà della Republica**.	76	which ancient & long continued custome from the first beginnings of the citie, even to these times, hath now taken such foundation and roote, that there is nothing whereof the citie of *Venice* need stand lesse in feare, then that their prince should at any time **be able** **to invade their liberty,** **or trouble their common quiet**.	42
nihil minus urbi Venetae timendum sit, quam principem reipublicae libertati ullum unquam negocium facessere posse [ed. 1543, I, 35]		*nihil minus urbi Venetae timendum sit, quam reipub. principem libertati ullum unquam posse negocium facessere* [ed. 1578, I, 280]	

The sentence '*non può operar cosa contra la libertà della Republica*' means that the Doge cannot make himself sole ruler of the republic, not that he cannot 'invade [the citizens's] liberty, or trouble their common quiet', as Lewkenor translates. This is a mistranslation. The Italian text is unambiguous, and so is the Latin version with which Lewkenor may have compared it. In fact, it is in order to prevent the Doge from becoming a tyrant that his powers were increasingly restricted, as explicitly said - and correctly translated - in the sentence immediatly preceding this: 'the Duke of *Venice* is deprived of all meanes, whereby he might abuse his authoritie, or become a tyrant'. The previous reference to the Doge Marin Faliero confirms, if need be, that this is Contarini's meaning.

One possibility is that Lewkenor's mistranslation was unintentional. In this case, the mistake may have originated from the translation of *negocium* (*negotium*), whose first meaning is 'an activity implying some difficulty', and thus 'employment', 'occupation', as in the expression *negotium alii*

facessere (Cicero, Quintilian), 'to cause worries, problems, cares'. Only secondarily the figurative meaning of *negotium* is 'business', 'affair' [344].

It is more likely, however, that Lewkenor's mistranslation was intentional. This calls for both a correction, as Contarini's thought has been substantially altered, and a reflection on Lewkenor's reading of 'liberty' in the republic of Venice.

Lewkenor sees 'liberty' as an issue of individual freedom vis-à-vis the Doge. In fact, the English constitution, beginning with the *Magna Carta* (1215) and continuing with statutes, declarations, *common law* principles, and precedents, has always had the one aim to defend the English people, represented by Parliament, *against* the power of the monarchy. But when Lewkenor was translating Contarini, the *Magna Carta* had only recently been 'rediscovered', and was rapidly becoming the symbol of a supposed 'golden age' of the civil liberties enjoyed on the island before the Norman invasion. As long as she lived, Queen Elizabeth managed to prevent Parliament from declaring the validity of the document, and the issue eventually passed on to the Stuarts (1603). Thus, it is possible that Lewkenor took advantage of the translation – and of the celebratory feeling he was contributing to create around the republic of Venice – to interpolate an argument in favour of English civil liberties.

By contrast, in Renaissance Venice it was absolutely obvious that the common interest prevailed over that of the individual – in fact, the straightforward, however terse, notion was that 'the individual is the natural enemy of society and the state' [345] - though the judicial system, as mentioned above, ensured a high degree of individual protection quite unusual for the time. In this respect, non patricians, who were deprieved of 'political' equality with patricians, were granted full 'legal' equality in front of the law. Patricians, in fact, had to account very seriously for offences to 'the common people':

> First therefore among the Venetians this alwaies hath beene most constantly observed, that iustice should be equally administred to all, and that it be not lawfull for any how great soever, to doe wrong or iniurie to the least of the lower or meanest people, in so much // that it hath alwaies been held as a haynous abhomination, & detestable sacriledge, for any gentleman to misuse a Plebeian; which if at any time any hath rashly, or unadvisedly presumed to do, he never escaped scotfree; and so much more grievous was his punishment as hee himselfe was greater in degree and stimation V, 40.

[344] See *negotium* in Calonghi, *Dizionario latino-italiano*, cit.

[345] '… rude sincerità della concezione politica veneziana, che … vede nell'individuo il nemico naturale della società e dello stato', Maranini, II, 227.

Omissions, additions, and general changes still intending to reproduce the message of the Italian text

In general, and despite Lewkenor's numerous changes [346], the intention of reproducing the message of the intermediary text and of the Latin 'original' can still be perceived even though, in some instances, either the sense or the spirit of the message has been weakened, if not lost. The examples that follow are taken mostly from Book I.

Omissions

'Ryalta'

An example of an omission that can unwittingly change the sense of the original is:

> *.. per comun consiglio si ridussero tutti in Rialto, ... & cosi ragunandosi* (3) *in quel loco tutti quei, c'haueuano potuto scampare da quella ruina d'Italia ... crebbe Vinegia in quella grandezza, c'hora ueggiamo.* p. 40
>
> ...(1) *all such as scatteringly inhabited these places, by common consent retyred themselues vnto the Ryalta,*[*sic*] *... so that* (2) *in the end by the concourse* (3 omitted) *of such as could auoide the ruines of Italy ... Venice* (4) *by degrees augmented it selfe into that greatnesse, in which we now do see it.* p. 4
>
> communi consilio omnes in Rivolatum convenere, […] ita eo convenientibus omnibus, quicunque vexationem & devastationem eam Italiæ, […] effugere potuerunt, in eam magnitudinem, quam nunc cernimus, excreverunt Venetiæ. I, 263 [347]

As can be seen, the Italian translation is faithful to Contarini's text, whereas Lewkenor's adds (1) 'all such as scatteringly inhabited these places', (2) 'in the end', (4) 'by degrees', and omits (3) 'in quel loco', that is, Rialto. Thus, Lewkenor's lack of awareness of the symbolic meaning of Rialto - variously spelt '*Rialto*', '*Ryalta*', and '*Rialta*' in the English text – implies that his translation misses some of the emphasis placed by the original on the circumstance, still treasured by Venetians, that Rialto was the beginning of the city of Venice.

'con un qual perpetuo, et fermo modo'

Omissions can also often account for discrepancies of tonality that affect the translation, as in the following paragraph:

> *Nondimeno la maraviglia d'una medesima cosa non prendeva tutti. Perche ad alcuni pareva una certa cosa mirabile, & in tutto da non credere, cosi gran copia di tutte le mercatantie*

[346] In the first ten pages alone I have counted 19 omissions, 64 additions to, and 52 outright changes of the Italian text, all of which, however, more or less carry the original sense through.

[347] Ed. 1543 (I, 4), unaltered.

da tutti i paesi, & contrade esser portata in questa città (3) *con un qual perpetuo, et fermo modo; & di qua esser condotta poi per terra, & per mare a diversissime genti* (I, 37)

Yet was not euery one of them possessed with the like wonder of one same particular thing: for to some it seemed a matter of (1) *infinit maruaile, and scarcely credible* (2) *to behold so vnmeasurable a quantity of all sorts of merchandise to be brought out of all realms and countries into this Citie* (3 omitted)*, and hence againe to be conueyed into so many straunge and far distant nations* (4), *both by land and sea* (I, 1)

Lewkenor's additions (1) 'infinit', (2) 'to behold', and (4) 'far distant nations' do not compensate for the omission of the entire phrase (3) 'con un qual perpetuo, et fermo modo', which retains Contarini's image - only just echoed in English by '*hence againe*' - of an almost tidal movement of goods to and from the city conjured up by the original [348].

Similarly, in '*alla abbondanza di ciascuna cosa da essere ministrata a Cittadini, o per mare, o per terra ferma*' (I, 39), the translation omits '*o per mare, o per terra ferma*' (I, 3) (cf. '*sive ex mari, sive ex continente*' (I, 262 [349]) , with analogous results .

Additions

However, additions to the text greatly outnumber other types of deviations both from the intermediary text and from the Latin text. By modern standards, most of them appear arbitrary and unnecessary, in stark contrast to Contarini's restrained, almost classical, exposition but, as a rule, they are neutral as to the sense, if not the spirit, of the original, only tending to emphasize Venice's achievements by inflating Contarini's narration and thus erring on the side of tonality.

Emphasis

A discrepancy of tone may be gathered, for instance, in '*non haver mai veduto cosa piu degna di maraviglia*' (I, 37), in the original '*nihil mirandum magis, aut illustrius se unquam vidisse*' (I, 261 [350]), which in Lewkenor's translation becomes '*never anything which beforetime they had seene, to be thereunto comparable, either in glory or goodlinesse*' (I, 1). The same may be said for

[348] *Non tamen omnes eiusdem rei capiebat admiratio. nam quibusdam mira quædam res, ac prorsus incredibilis esse videbatur, tam magnam mercium omnium copiam ex omnibus terrarum oris ac regionibus, perpetuo quodam ac constanti tenore, in hanc unam civitatem invehi, indeque in longe diversissimas gentes terra marique deduci*, I, 261 [ed. 1543 (I, 1), unaltered].

[349] Ed. 1543 (I, 2), unaltered.

[350] Ed. 1543 (I, 2), unaltered.

'*diversissime genti*' (*ibid*.), in the original '*longe diversissimas gentes*' (I, 261 [351]), which is rendered as '*so many straunge and far distant nations*' (*ibid*.).

Similarly, for '*leggi accomodate a bene, & felicemente uiuere*' (I, 41), in the Latin text '*legibus ad bene beateque vivendum idoneis*' (I, 263 [352]), which becomes '*lawes prudently decreed, to establish vnto the inhabitants a happie and prosperous felicitie'* (I, 6); and for such sentences as: '*Riteneva alcuni altri la frequentia della città, & la congregatione quasi di tutte le genti*' (I, 37), in the Latin text '*At alios detinebat urbis frequentia, & omnium propemodum gentium conventus*' (I, 261 [353]), turned into: '*Others exceedingly admired the wonderful concorse of strange and forraine people, yea of the farthest and the remotest nations*' (I, 1), or '*avere havuto cura della utilità della patria*' (I, 42), in the Latin text '*sed patriæ commodo tantum studuisse*' (I, 263 [354]), which becomes '*they were alwayes infinitely zealous of the honour, commodity and advancement of their country*' (I, 6).

In fact, Lewkenor's constant embellishments may be regarded as a typical trait of the period, though they occasionally lead to an over-translation, and consequently mistranslation, of the original message as in the following:

> *& datagli una grandissima rotta fracassò gli inimici gia vincitori et tutti fino ad uno ammazzò, ò fece prigioni* (I, 42)
>
> *but did so vtterly ouerthrow our enemies* (1) *(they triumphing even then as it were in an assured victory) that they* (2) *in a manner were all eyther slaine or taken prisoners* (I, 7).

The addition of (1) '(they triumphing even then as it were in an assured victory)' exaggerates the sense of the original message, an unemotional '*hostesque iam victores*' (I, 264 [355]), while another addition, (2) 'in a manner', weakens it. Worth noticing, however, is also the exaggeration of the Italian translation in '*& datagli una grandissima rotta fracassò gli inimici*' for '*maxima clade illata profligavit*', both translations finally in strong contrast to the tone of Contarini's passage:

> [ed. 1578] *rem patriam servavit, hostesque iam victores maxima clade illata profligavit, omnesque ad unum, aut trucidavit, aut captivos fecit* (I, 264).

[351] Ed. 1543 (I, 1), unaltered.

[352] Ed. 1543 (I, 5), unaltered.

[353] Ed. 1543 (I, 1), unaltered.

[354] Ed. 1543 (I, 5), unaltered.

[355] Ed. 1543 (I, 5), unaltered.

Explanations

However, some of Lewkenor's additions are actually explanations, and though this is possibly the least satisfactory solution to the cultural gaps threatening a translation, it is significant that Contarini should often volunteer them himself, so aware is he of the peculiarities of the Venetian context. One example is '*peritisque gubernatoribus, seu potius vadorum exploratoribus*' (I, 262 [356]), translated into Italian as '*governatori pratichi, o piu tosto esploratori de canali*' (I, 39), and rendered by Lewkenor, with a little flourish, as '*skilfull pilots, or rather* [..] *certaine particular men experimented in those shallowes and channels*' (I, 3).

Yet some of Lewkenor's additions by way of explanation appear redundant, as for example in '*nescio an nullo inferius existimari debeat*' (I, 265 [357]), rendered into Italian as '*non so se si debba stimare inferiore d'alcuno altro*' (I, 45), which nonetheless becomes '*is not to be accounted in the lowest, but rather the highest ranke*' (I, 11).

side-notes: *'becchi di nave'*

Understandably, if Lewkenor provides explanations by adding to the text, this is because he cannot resort to footnotes - a non-existent feature at the time [358]- nor does he make use for this purpose of the numerous side-notes, which act more as 'signposts' to the text than as a commentary on it, with one (so far) notable exception, the indication in the margin of '*becchi di nave*', in the Italian, which accompanies Lewkenor's translation of it in the text by 'stemmes of ships'.

This occurs at a particularly tricky passage together with other instances of Lewkenor's solutions to culturally related issues. Contarini is explaining that patricians, no matter how distinguished, used to have so little personal vanity that '*nessune, o molto poche memorie d'antichi sono à Vinegia*' (I, 42):

> *non sepuchra, non equestres aut pedestres statuæ, non rostra navium, aut vexilla ab hostibus direpta, ingentibus prœlijs superatis*, I, 263 [359]

The translations are the following:

[356] Ed. 1543 (I, 3), unaltered.

[357] Ed. 1543 reads '*an ullo*' (I, 9).

[358] In printing, the footnote was devised only in the 17th c..

[359] Ed. 1543 (I, 5), unaltered.

> *... non sepolchri, non statue a cavallo, non becchi di naui, o insegne tolte a gli inimici uinti in battaglie grandi*, I, 42
>
> *There are no* (1) *stately tombes erected, no* (2) *military statues remaining, no* (3) *stemmes of ships, no* (4) *ensigns, no* (5) *standards taken from their enemies, after the victory of* (6) *many and mighty battailes*, I, 6

(1) 'stately tombes' for 'sepolchri' is perhaps the least disappointing of the solutions adopted in this passage as it still carries the original concept through, whereas (2) 'military statues' for 'statue a cavallo' does not. Interestingly, both translators omit '*pedestres* [*statuæ*]', so it may be that Lewkenor meant to subsume both types of monument under the one phrase – 'military statues'. We know that 'equestrian', that is, 'pertaining to horse-riding', entered the language much later [360]. We also know that, after the Romans, no equestrian bronze was cast in Europe for about one thousand years until Donatello's bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata (1450) and Andrea del Verrocchio's of Colleoni (1496). Both men were celebrated Venetian *condottieri*, sufficiently famous for the Senate of Venice to honour the desire expressed by Colleoni in his will for a statue of him to be erected at '*platea Sancti Marci*'. They commissioned it, but had it erected in Campo SS Giovanni e Paolo, arguing that *that* square was also St Mark's square, as it was faced by the Scuola Grande di San Marco.

It is very likely that Contarini had this episode in mind - still much quoted even today - when he was writing on the subject, since it is a perfect example of what he says, namely, that there were in Venice almost no monuments in honour of individual citizens, and since, too, he mentions '*equestres statuæ*' in his list. In fact, later on he mentions Colleoni and his statue, which Lewkenor translates as 'statue on horseback' (V, 131-2). One wonders, therefore, why Lewkenor, who later had not failed a way to express 'statues of mounted riders', should choose to ignore it at this point, thus missing, or leaving unnoticed, the wealth of associations that 'statue a cavallo' carry with Venetian military history and civic customs.

What required a marginal note, however, was another cross-cultural difficulty. This seems to have arisen about (3) 'stemmes of ships', Lewkenor's translation for 'becchi di nave', that is, the beaklike prows of the war galleys both of the ancient Romans and of their enemies (Latin '*rōstrum*', 'beak'), which when captured would decorate the speaker's platform (Latin '*rōstra*', in the plural) in

[360] 'Equestrian', A.1, of or pertaining to horse-riding. Also of persons: Skilled in horse-riding: '*Equestrian*, pertaining to a Horse-man, Knight, or Gentleman, or to an Horse', Blount, *Glossographia or a Dictionary*, 1656-81. A. 2, Mounted on a horse. Also of a portrait or statue: Representing a person on horseback: The Antique Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius, Addison, *Spect*. N. 59, 1711(*OED*).

the Roman forum. Sir Thomas Elyot in his *Dictionary* (1538), which may have been instrumental in Lewkenor's translation here, explains 'rostrum' as 'a beake of a byrde […] also the stemme of a ship or boote'. Lewkenor, however, must have been uncomfortable with 'stemmes of ships'. I can see no other explanation for his having a side-note in the outer margin of page 6 just saying '*Becchi di navi*' in Italian. Interestingly, Addison, visiting Italy early in 1700, wrote:

> 'A Man would expect in so very ancient a Town of *Italy* to find some considerable Antiquities, but all they have to show of this Nature is an old *Rostrum* of a *Roman* Ship, that stands over the Door of their Arsenal. It is not above a Foot long, and perhaps would never have been thought the Beak of a Ship, had not it be found in so probable a Place of the Haven. It is all of Iron, fashion'd at the End like a Boar's Head, as I have seen it represented on Medals, and on the *Columna Rostrata* in *Rome*' [361]

This description gives us a good idea of what a 'beak of a ship' looks like. Addison, however, is talking about Genoa, not Venice, and in fact I am not aware that the Roman custom of capturing the '*becchi di navi*' of their enemies' ships was ever practised by Venice – whose traditional enemy on the sea was 'the Turk', besides the occasional Uskok pirates, neither of whom armed their ships with *rostra* anyway – so that possibly Contarini is simply evoking the well-known Roman practice as yet another example to contrast with the Venetians' civic deeds, never individually exalted.

As for (4) 'ensigns' and (5) 'standards', here both in their 16th century forms, one is added by Lewkenor and the other one translates the original '*vexilla*', Italian 'insegne', though which is which is debatable. The Italian 'inségna', like French 'enseigne', both from Latin 'īnsignia' (*in* + *signum*), originally meaning 'sign', had come to indicate the symbol of a dignity or office, as for instance a 'bandiera' ('flag'), and in this sense Contarini's *'vexilla ab hostibus direpta*', Italian '*insegne tolte a gli inimici vinti*' is, I believe, to be understood. At the same time, the English 'ensign', which had entered the language via French 'enseigne' in the sense of 'rallying or battle-cry' [362], had acquired the meaning, variously, of 'a badge, or symbol of dignity or office', and also that of 'heraldic arms or bearings' and that of 'a military or naval standard; a banner flag' [363]. Therefore, I would surmise that, since Lewkenor employs 'standards' as distinct from 'ensigns' and

[361] Joseph Addison, *Remarks on several parts of Italy & c. in the years 1701, 1702, 1703*, Jacob Tonson, London, 1705, p. 14, on-line.

[362] *OED*.

[363] The English 'flag' also came into use in the 16th c., possibly as an application of †'flag' adj., 'hanging loose', for the piece of material used as a standard or signal (*OED*).

in the context of 'taken from their enemies', 'ensigns' is an addition by which, echoing the Italian translation's 'insegne', he actually indicates 'heraldic arms or bearings' - which would in fact properly ornament a monument - while finally translating '*uexilla*' by 'standards' [364].

Finally, (6) 'many and mighty battailes' wisely translates from the Latin '*ingentibus prælijs superatis*' rather than from the much weaker Italian 'battaglie grandi'. By contrast, 'taken from' matches the Italian '*tolte*' in not doing justice to Contarini's '*direpta*' [365].

'illustre', 'chiaro'

Interestingly, it is at times the single, familiar, and therefore recurrent, Italian word which can pose cultural difficulties. This is the case, for example, of such as 'illustre' and 'illustrissimo', which have strong Venetian connotations. No synonym or periphrastic translation seems to resolve them to satisfaction, as these examples show:

> *illustri Città di Venetia* (I, 40) > all faire and goodly cities of Venetia (I, 4) < *illustrium Venetiæ urbium* (I, 262 [366])

> *illustrissimo Principe* (I, 42) > excellent […] prince (I, 7) < *magni ducis* (I, 264 [367])

> *Philosophi Illustri* (I, 42) > great Philosophers (I, 7) < *insignum philosophorum* (I, 264 [368])

> *tanto illustre* (I, 43) > so noble (I, 8) < *tamen est adeo illustris* (I, 264 [369])

The same may be said for 'chiaro':

> *huomini chiari per bontà di vita* (I, 41) > vertuous men of excellent desert (I, 6) < *cives vitæ probitate insignes* (I, 263 [370])

---

[364] 'Standard', from OF 'estandard', from med. L. 'standardum' (Latin *extend-ĕre*, to stretch out), has as its first meaning that of 'a military or naval ensign' (*OED*), but it still indicates the rallying-point of an army or fleet as well as 'the distinctive ensign of a king, great noble or commander'. Its first mention is with reference to the 'Battle of the Standard', fought at Northallerton, Yorkshire, in 1138, between David of Scotland and Stephen of England. The standard consisted of four consecrated banners mounted on a carriage wheeled into the middle of the battle (Grant Uden, *Dictionary of Chivalry*, Longmans, London, 1968, p. 20).

[365] '*direpta*': 'plundered, pillaged, ripped or snatched away', p.pple of L. *dī-rĭpĭo, ripŭi, reptum, ĕre* (*dis* + *rapio*).

[366] Ed. 1543 (I, 3), unaltered.

[367] Ed. 1543 (I, 6), unaltered.

[368] Ed. 1543 (I, 6), unaltered.

[369] Ed. 1543 (I, 6), unaltered.

cosi chiara repubblica (I, 41) > so flourishing a commonwealth (I, 6) < *tam præclaram Rempub.* (I, 263 [371])

d'huomini per altro chiarissimi e in casa, & fuori (I, 42) > both at home and abroad many things were by them gloriously atchieved (I, 6) < *cum tamen domi forisque præclare se gesserint* (I, 263 [372])

cosi chiara repubblica (I, 43) > so renowned a commonwealth (I, 7) < *tam præclaræ Reip.*(I, 264 [373])

Cultural gaps

Litotes

Also Contarini's not infrequent litotes, as represented in the following examples, appear to pose a translation problem which, I believe, may be due to a possible cultural gap:

'*non ignoranti delle buone arti*' (I, 37) > 'learned' (I, 1) < *nec bonarum artium ignaros* (I, I, 261 [374])

'*Non sara dunque ben provisto alla Republica*' (I, 45) > 'therfore evil shal that commonwealth be provided for' (I, 10) < *Non ergo satis Reip. consultum erit* (I, 265 [375])

Other cultural gaps, however, for instance those concerning the geography and general description of the place in the first pages of the book, are tided over by a cultural shift such as '*moorish or fennish places*' (I, 2) for '*luoghi palustri*' (I, 38); '*lakes'* for '*lagune'* (I, 3/39 and *passim*); '*continent'* for '*terra ferma'* (*ibid.*), though not consistently so, since '*terra ferma'* is also rendered as '*firme ground*' elsewhere (I, 4/39), and '*paludi*' as '*lakes*' (I, 40/4).

'*contrada*'

Still, Lewkenor seems more successful when not having recourse to cultural shifts, as for instance in the translation of the word '*contrada*' according to its different contexts:

da tutti i paesi, & contrade (I, 37) > out of all realms and countries (I, 1) < ex omnibus terrarum oris ac regionibus (I, 261 [376])

---

[370] Ed. 1543 (I, 5), unaltered.

[371] Ed. 1543 (I, 5), unaltered.

[372] Ed. 1543: *alioquin domi forisque præclarissimorum hominum* (I, 5).

[373] Ed. 1543 (I, 6), unaltered.

[374] Ed. 1543 (I, 1), unaltered.

[375] Ed. 1543 (I, 8), unaltered.

[376] Ed. 1543 (I, 1), unaltered.

in quella contrada […] *chiamata Rialto* (I, 39) > in that place […] called Rialta (I, 4) < *ea regione quæ Riuoaltus dicta* (I, 262 [377])

tutta la contrada di Venetia (I, 40) > the territory of Venetia (I, 4) < *totam Venetam insignem Italiæ prouinciam* (I, 262 [378])

gli habitatori della Contrada (I, 40) > the inhabitants of that coast (I, 4) < *eiusdem oræ incolis* (I, 262 [379])

fin dall'ultime Contrade del Mondo (I, 40/41) > yea even from the farthest parts of the world (I, 5) < *ab extremis etiam orbis regionibus* (I, 263 [380])

Happy choices

Obviously, the translation presents many more good points than these. Felicitous choices are for instance:

'*Nellaqual calamità*' (I, 40) > 'in which calamitous time' (I, 4) < *In qua calamitate* (I, 262 [381])

'*fuggirono quella torbidissima fortuna d'Attila*' (I, 40) > 'avoyded the ragefull tempest of the Hunnes' (I, 4) < *turbulentissimam illam Attilæ tempestatem effugerent* (I, 262 [382])

'*Andrea Contarino Doge mio parente*' (I, 42) > 'Andreas Contareno an ancestor of mine' (I, 7) < *Vnum ex innumeris gentilis mei Andreæ Contareni ducis* (I, 263 [383])

'*salvò la Repubblica*'[*ibid.*] > 'did … preserve our countrey' [*ibid.*] < *rem patriam servavit* (I, 264 [384])

'*de Philosophi Illustri, iquali secondo il desiderio dell'animo finsero forme di Republica'* (I, 42) > 'those great Philosophers, which fashioned & forged commonwealths according to the desires of the mind' (I, 7) < *insignium philosophorum, qui pro animi voto Reip. formas effinxere* (I, 264 [385])

---

[377] Ed. 1543 (I, 3), unaltered.

[378] Ed. 1543 (I, 3), unaltered.

[379] Ed. 1543 (I, 4), unaltered.

[380] Ed. 1543 (I, 4), unaltered.

[381] Ed. 1543 (I, 3), unaltered.

[382] Ed. 1543 (I, 3), unaltered.

[383] Ed. 1543 (I, 5), unaltered.

[384] Ed. 1543 (I, 5), unaltered.

[385] Ed. 1543 (I, 6), unaltered.

‘*argomenti evidentissimi*’ (I, 43) > ‘vndenyable arguments’ (I, 8) < *argumentis evidentissimis* (I, 264 [386])

‘*molte sorti d’animali*’ (I, 44) > ‘many sorts of creatures’ (I, 10) < *plerisque generibus animantium* (I, 265 [387])

‘*animali*’ / ‘creatures’

This last example, the opening lines of Contarini’s exposition on the differences between man and beast, is worth examining at some length as Lewkenor’s choice of ‘*creatures*’ for ‘*animali*’ in this context is particularly ingenious. Man, Contarini argues, is *‘un certo animal vario’* (I, 45), ‘*homo varium quoddam sit animal*’ (I, 265) [388], compounded of both animal, *i.e.* inferior, instincts, and superior, reasoning powers. He is therefore ‘*un’animale* [*sic*] *molto piu eccellente*’, a much better ‘animal’, than the others: ‘*animal quoddam longe magis eximium*’ (I, 265) [389] Lewkenor adopts ‘creature’ for ‘*animale*’ when Contarinin refers to man, and ‘brute (or brutish) creatures’ when Contarini refers to ‘*bestie*’, ‘*animali bruti*’, or ‘*bruti*’ (also ‘*brutti*’). This solution, maintained throughout the passage with commendable consistency, allows in fact for a particularly clear rendering of such sentences as: ‘*se si commettera il governo a uno huomo, il quale spesse volte quelle forze de brutti* [*sic*] *conturbano*’ (I, 45), which in English becomes: ‘that shal be committed to the government of a man, whom many times those inferior and brutish powers doe perturbe’ (I, 10), in Latin ‘*si gubernatio homini committatur, quem brutæ illæ vires sæpe perturbant*’ (I, 265) [390].

Translation processes

Literal translation *v.* ‘copiousness’ (*copia verborum*)

From all the above it may be gathered that, even when literal translation is possible, Lewkenor prefers to avoid it, though occasionally he does turn out perfectly neat literal translations from the intermediary text as in the following:

> **1.** *Percioche ella è messa in loco rimoto, & segreto del golfo Adriatico, dove da quella parte, che’l mare guarda a terra ferma lagune grandi si veggono fortificate con mirabile*

[386] Ed. 1543 (I, 7), unaltered.

[387] Ed. 1543 (I, 8), unaltered.

[388] Ed. 1543 (I, 8), unaltered.

[389] Ed. 1543: ‘*animal longe magis eximium*’ (I, 8).

[390] Ed. 1543 (I, 8), unaltered.

artificio di natura. Peroche il mare comincia esser basso da dodici miglia da terra ferma (I, 39)

For it is seated in a remote and secrete place of the Adriatike sea, where on that side (where the sea beholdeth the continent) there are mightie lakes, fortified with an admirable artifice of nature. For twelve miles off from the continent, the sea beginneth to be shallow (I, 3)

2. *Quel lito, che s'inalza dopo i canali, si stende quasi sessanta miglia; & serra le lagune di dentro* (I, 39)

The banke which ariseth behind these shallowes, reacheth almost threescore miles, and incloseth the lakes within (I, 3)

3. *Furono anchora nel medesimo tempo in quel lito, delquale abbiamo fatto menzione, alcuni castelli ragunandosi in quel loco gli habitatori della Contrada, iquali havevano abbandonato le prime habitationi saccheggiate, & ruinate dagli Hunni, & havevano cercato loco securo alle mogli, à i figlioli, &, per dir cosi, à i Dei penati* (I, 39)

There were likewise in that troublesome season certain castles built vpon the banke, of which I made mention, to which the inhabitants of that coast repaired, leaving their ancient homes spoyled and ruined by the Hunnes, seeking there a safe abode for their wives and children, and as I may say for their household Gods (I, 3)

There are several reasons for Lewkenor's choice of translation processes different from the literal. For instance, we know that the *copiousness*, or *copia verborum*, of Latin prose, was greatly admired, and scholars recognize that 'such structures had not only a didactic but a stylistic function' [391]. Hence the use of doublets, periphrasis, conjunctions, *et al*., as typified in the following example:

Da questo ciascuno puo far congiettura Vinitiani non essere stati pur un poco huomini ambitiosi, ma solamente avere havuto cura della utilità della patria che nessune, o molto poche memorie d'antichi sono à Vinegia, d'huomini per altro chiarissimi e in casa, & fuori (I, 41-42)

And this any man may easily coniecture, that the nobilitie of Venice was never so ambitious of any private matter pertayning to themselves, as they were alwayes infinitely zealous of the honour, commodity and advancement of their country in regarde that there are in Venice to bee found none, or very few monuments of our auncestors, though both at home and abroad many things were by them gloriously atchieved (I, 6).

[391] Ishtla Singh, *The History of English*, Hodder Arnold, London, 2005, p. 162. Following Erasmus, whose popular handbook, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* (1512), promoted the Renaissance notion of *copia verborum*, some scholars group them under the titles of 'figures of varying' and 'figures of amplifying', thereby analysing the varying of the word – from the point of view of morphology, polisemy, homonymy, lexical fields, sense relations, and metaphor – and the varying of the phrase. See Sylvia Adamson, 'Literary language', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language, 1476-1776*, vol. III, Roger Lass (ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 539-653.

> Huiusce rei coniecturam facere quivis facile poterit, minime inquam ambitiosos fuisse Venetos homines, sed patriæ commodo tantum studuisse : quod nulla, aut admodum pauca, antiquorum monumenta Venetijs *extant, cum tamen domi forisque præclare se gesserint, optimeque de Republica meriti fuerint* (I, 263) [392]

On the other hand, Lewkenor may have felt that Contarini's text was too old, and in need of a more lively and dynamic rendition [393]. In fact, Lewkenor's style is for the most part very natural, and equivalence in situations and set phrases is the most frequent of the translation processes he adopts. In the following passage, for instance, the choices made are natural as well as elegant:

> *specialmente poi ch'io non veggio alcuno à questi tempi fra tanti huomini dotti, che vagliono molto d'ingegno, d'erudition di tutte le cose et d'eloquenza, ch'abbia con lettere illustrato questa cosa* (I, 43)
>
> especially because in this time among the number of so many men learned, and (1) of pregnant wits, (2) ripe in the knowledge of all things, and (3) excelling in eloquence I see not any that hath vndertaken this honourable taske (I, 7-8)

(1) 'of pregnant wits' for Italian '*d'ingegno*', (2) 'ripe in the knowledge of all things' for '*d'erudition di tutte le cose*', and (3) 'excelling in eloquence' for '*d'eloquenza*', are all brilliant - though by modern taste slightly pompous - translations, while (4) 'I see not any that hath vndertaken this honourable taske' is a fair equivalence – in fact, a much clearer rendering – of the Italian '*alcuno* […] *ch'abbia con lettere illustrato questa cosa*' which, in turn, is a rather dull, literal translation of the Latin text:

> (ed. 1543) 'Quamobrem putavi ego exteris hominibus rem minime *ingratam* me facturum, si tam præclaræ *Reip*. institutionem literis mandarem, *cum* præsertim nullum *hisce* temporibus videam ex *quamplurimis* doctissimis viris, qui multum *valent* ingenio, eruditione rerum omnium, ac eloquentia valent, hanc rem literis illustravisse' (I, 6) [394]

Equally natural, and clearer than the Italian version, is Lewkenor's translation of

> *Cioè l'huomo da natura essere stato fatto animal civile, & solo non pur drittamente non poter vivere* (I, 43)
>
> That man is by nature a civile creature, but alone by himselfe, neither able to live well, nor to live at all (I, 8)

---

[392] Ed. 1543: 'pauca antiquorum monumenta Venetijs *extent: alioquin domi forisq; præclarissimorum hominum*' (I, 5).

[393] As already mentioned, Professor Gilbert has established that Gaspare Contarini wrote most of *De magistratibus* in 1523 and 1524 and added the final part about ten years later.

[394] Later revised as: 'Quamobrem putavi ego exteris hominibus rem minime *ingratam, atque inutilem* me facturum, si tam præclaræ *Reipublicæ* institutionem literis mandarem, *quum* præsertim nullum *his* expressioneloquentia *valent*, hanc rem literis illustravisse', ed. 1578 (I, 264).

whereby the English keeps close to the Latin text:

> *Hominem scilicet à natura civile animal effectum esse, solum vero nedum recte vivere, sed nec vivere posse* (I, 264 [395])

‘*omne punctum tulisse videri*’

But Lewkenor’s text is at its most effective when equivalence is joined to a word-for-word translation, as for instance in ‘*come si suol dire, huom compito*’ (I, 44), which becomes ‘*(as the saying is) a man perfectly accomplished*’ (I, 9), where the English successfully translates from the Italian a fundamental Renaissance concept. It must be mentioned, however, that the expression used by Contarini is ‘*ut dici solet, omne punctum tulisse videri*’ (I, 265 [396]), which means to have the general consensus. This saying originated from the fact that in ancient Rome a point, ‘*punctum*’, was the sign put under the name of a candidate to count the votes given to him, so that by metonymy it came to indicate the vote itself (as in ‘*omne tulit punctum*’, ‘he gets all the votes’), and figuratively a wide consensus or unanimity. Horace’s verse ‘*omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*’ [397], that is, ‘he has gained every point who has mixed the useful and the agreeable’, still quoted in Italian as ‘unire l’utile al dilettevole’, gave the Latin expression wide popularity especially during the Renaissance. In fact, it was included in Erasmus’s *Adagia* (1500), which is considered the most monumental and most influential collection of proverbs in Europe, and a basic work for an understanding of the culture of the sixteenth century, to which it gave a ‘window’ on the ancient Greek and Roman world [398]. One wonders, therefore, why both translators should have opted for a different saying which, no matter how cleverly devised in one language and rendered into the other, still makes Contarini’s remarks more fitting for a courtier than, as is the case here, an ideal legislator instituting a republic.

‘one iot’

Another instance of a successful word-for-word translation, again involving the notion of ‘punto’, is ‘*senza punto differire dal primiero* (I, 61), rendered as ‘without differing one iot from the former’ (I, 35, *rectius* 27), where ‘one iot’ very effectively translates ‘*punto*’. ‘Jod’ or ‘Yod’, Greek ‘Iota’,

---

[395] Ed. 1543 (I, 6), unaltered.

[396] Ed. 1543 (I, 7), unaltered.

[397] Horace, *Ars poetica*, l. 343.

[398] Erasmus’s first *Collectanea adagiorum*, published in Paris in 1500, was followed by continuously enlarged editions: a second one appeared in 1508 (Venice, Aldus Manutius), a third one in 1515 (Basel, Frobenius), etc, until the definitive edition of 1536. I have consulted the facsimile of a 1603 edition by Paolo Manuzio, on-line at page 219.

is the smallest letter of the Jewish alphabet and also the only indivisible letter in that, unlike the others, it is composed of only one sign:

י

Thus Lewkenor puts to good use a common expression largely derived from commentaries to the New Testament: '*amen quippe dico vobis donec transeat caelum et terra iota unum aut unus apex non praeteribit a lege donec omnia fiant*' (Matthew, 5:18, *Latin Vulgate Bible*), later in fact translated into English as '*For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled*' (*King James Bible*). In the Latin text, however, this point is simply expressed by '*in nulla re* dispari à priori (I, 273 [399]), that is, 'in nothing dissimilar from the former' [400].

Equivalence and word-for-word translations

'*le sue radici*'

Even more interesting are some instances when the comparison of the two texts makes it apparent how effectively, yet literally, the translator has operated:

> *Et veramente che quella Repubblica è impossibile, che in pie possi resistere, et ferme haver le sue radici, le quali da molti si cercano di svellere, & abbattere* (I, 67)
>
> And without doubt it is almost impossible for that commonwealth (1) to maintaine it selfe afoot, and to stand (2) firme, whose gouernment many of the citizens do seek (3) to alter or vndermine (I, 33 [*sic*])

Lewkenor takes the metaphor (1) 'to maintaine it selfe afoot' *au pied de la lettre*, as it were, though he necessarily has to pursue it by modulation of (2) 'firme' for 'radici' and (3) 'to alter or vndermine' for 'suellere, & abbattere'. This passage is also an example of Lewkenor's freedom in choosing from which of the two texts to translate, and therefore of his literary tastes, as in this case he has favoured the intermediary text *avec* metaphor to the Latin *sans* metaphor [401].

'savoreth'

---

[399] Ed. 1543: '*in nullo* dispari a priori' (I, 23).

[400] '*nullo*': 'nothing', abl., L. *nullus, -ius*.

[401] Ed. 1543: *Eamvero Rempub diutius consistere fere impossibile est, quam multi civium nolunt* (I, 28). The revised edition (1578 text) has reworded the whole passage considerably. This is a particularly sensitive passage as it deals with the patricians's equality in the Great Council. The point under discussion here, however, is unvaried (I, 276).

As a last instance of Lewkenor's successful joining of equivalence and word-for-word translation, the following is worth mentioning:

> *Quella primiera institutione ha non so che di popolare: ma l'altra ha alquanto di gusto del governo de i nobili solamente* (I, 68)
>
> That first institution hath (1) I know not what of popular, but the other (2) savoreth only of the government of the Nobilitie (I, 33 [*sic*])

The translation of '*non so che*' (1) into 'I know not what' is literal yet both natural in English and in tone with the Italian text, while (2) 'savoreth' exactly catches the nuance expressed by '*ha alquanto di gusto del*'. Thus, in this case, both translations have met the challenge of the Latin text's *quiddam sapit* in the sentence *Prior illa institutio populare quiddam sapit altera vero optimatium gubernatione* [402].

Colloquialisms

'besides the cushion'

Still, not many of Contarini's images and concepts lend themselves to a satisfying equivalent, let alone literal, translation. In fact, as Book I progresses, the English translation becomes freer and more colloquial, to the point of making use of idiomatic expressions where both the Latin and the Italian texts have none. This is the case, for instance, of the Italian '*questi, et quegli sono in manifestissimo errore*'(I, 69), translating '*nimirum utrique egregie falluntur*' of the 1543 edition (I, 29), where *egregie* means 'highly', 'in the highest degree', but is 'etymologically' translated into English as 'they are without doubt both of them besides the cushion' (I, 34 *bis*). This is a curious expression, possibly suggested by the revised edition, *procul dubio perperam iudicant* (I, 277), *i.e.* 'without doubt they judge wrongly', or 'mistakenly', where the adverb *perperam* does, in fact, literally mean 'not straightly' (as opposed to *recte*) [403].

---

[402] Ed. 1543 (I, 28). Ed. 1578 (I, 276).

[403] '*Cushion*': from OF 'coissin' (1302), 'seat cushion', possibly a variation of * late L. *coxinum* < L. *coxa*, 'hip, tigh', or from L. *culcita*, 'mattress'. Apparently, more than 400 spellings have been counted in ME wills and inventories of the plural of the word. '*To miss the cushion*': 'to miss the mark; to make a mistake, err' (*OED* 10. † a.). '*Beside* (or *wide of*) *the cushion*': 'away from the main purpose or argument, beside the mark; erroneously or mistakenly' (*OED* 10. † b.). As to the origin of the expression(s), *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable* (ed. 1992) mentions 'to miss the cushion' under the heading Cushion Dance, 'a lively dance, popular in early Stuart times, in which kissing while kneeling on a cushion was a major feature' and quotes Selden's *Table Talk*: 'In King Charles's time there has been nothing but Trench-more and the cushion dance, omnium gatherum, tolly polly, hoyte cum toyte'. This, of course, is too late to explain either *to miss the cushion* in Skelton (1525) or *beside* (or *wide of*) *the cushion* in Fleming (1576), which latter, however, I find explained - with the meaning of 'beside the mark' – as originating in the game of billiards, which was played in England from the 16th c. on (*A Dictionary of Historical Slang*, Eric Partridge (ed.), Penguin Books (1937) 1972).

'piu chiaro che la luce di mezzo giorno'

By contrast, earlier on Lewkenor had not attempted to render idiomatically one of Contarini's rare colloquialisms, '*veggio piu chiaro che la luce di mezzo giorno non essere stata alcuna altra* [Repubblica]' (I, 42), which faithfully translated '*meridiana luce clarius intuebitur*' (I, 6), opting for the safer revised Latin version, '*facile animadvertat*' (I, 264), and a dull '*shal scarcely find any such*' (I, 7).

This change may be due to the translator's increasing concern to make himself absolutely clear, together with the concern to write as naturally as possible to ensure Contarini's readability, especially in the passage where the very complicated procedure for the election of the Venetian magistrates is explained. This is, in fact, a crucial point for the translator. Not only is this procedure the core of Book I and the focus of the whole treatise, as its very title, *La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia*, indicates, but it also involves quite a lengthy and particularly dry description, occupying 10 of the 34 pages of Contarini's Book I (pp. 56-66), which correspond to 11 of the 36 pages of the English translation (pp. 22-32 bis). Contarini himself is so aware of how boring this threatens to become that he pauses in the middle of it in order to remark:

> '*Sò ben io quanto sia difficile far chiare in carta queste cose si minutamente, sendo elleno molto lontane dall'uso de i Romani; ma (com'io mi credo) più tosto di schiochezza riportarò biasimo, che di poca accuratezza: perciò di qual si voglia cosa quantunque minutissima, non lascerò di far mentione, talmente che nulla di più da qual si sia pur accurato huomo si possi desiderare*', I, 62
>
> 'I know how difficill a thing it is by writing to set downe these small particularities, being so farre different from the vse of the ancient Romaines: but I had rather bee blamed for folly, then for want of diligence, for I will not willingly passe over the smallest thing, without making mention of it: so that none how curious soever, may in reason desire any more at my hand', I, 28

Lewkenor does not translate 'Sò ben io' as 'I know only too well', as he well might, but though his thoughts must have been of the same order as Contarini's, he dedicates considerable attention to '*not willingly passe over the smallest thing*', and takes great care with the many details involved in the description, from the location where the council assembles to the movements of the participants in the procedure, ultimately lending to such tedious proceedings the grace, if not of an '*an assembly of Angels*', as he writes elsewhere [404], then at least that of a perfectly executed, highly choreographed ceremony, which in all likelihood is what it must have been.

---

[404] Lewkenor must have carefully pictured the scene in his mind's eye while translating, as can be inferred from what he writes in his Introduction: '*Lastly if they desire to see a most rare and matchlesse president of*

The English translation becomes freer and more colloquial

A combination of the two concerns mentioned above, to write naturally and to make himself absolutely clear, may explain Lewkenor's deviations from the Italian text at this point in the translation. In fact, a comparison of the four texts reveals that Lewkenor is relying more on the Latin than on the Italian text, as in the following instance:

> *Dopo questi quasi in mezzo de i banchi, iquali sono lungo il muro della sala in certe sedie ordinate, sedono gli Auogadori, & tre Capi di dieci,* I, 56
>
> After these the Advocatory magistrates, and the three heads of the tenne sit downe in their appointed places, in the midst of certaine benches, that are also somewhat higher then the rest, & are close adioyning to the wall of the hall, I, 22
>
> *Post hos in medijs fere subsellijs, quæ paulo elatiora sunt, ad parietes comitij posita, certis statutisque sedibus advocatores sedent, tresque decem virum præsides*, I, 271 [405]

An interesting example of Lewkenor's technique of translating from either one or the other of the two texts as well as independently of both emerges from the interlinear analysis of the following passage. Contarini is summing up the philosophical theories on how best to ensure a popular form of government, since very often this leads to disorders and mob riots [406]. Some, for instance, have suggested a popular form of government based on the criteria of census and wealth:

[certi] (1) hanno però pensato	yet (1) many were of contrarie opinion, deeming that
di poter drittamente conseguir questo, se	it would doe well, if
(2) questa ragione di governare la Republica	(2) this manner of governing the commonwealth
se diffiniva con (3) la facoltà,	should rather bee defined by (3) abilitie
& con l'abbondanza della robba. Ma (4)	and abundance of riches: but (4) here againe they
cascarono in grandissime (5) difficultà,	fell into great (5) absurdities
& in non mediocri incommodi.	and no small inconveniences:
Percioche spesso avviene, che	for it happeneth often that

---

a Democrasie or popular estate, let them beholde this great Councell, consisting at the least of 3000 Gentlemen, whereupon the highest strength and mightinesse of the estate absolutely relyeth, notwithstanding which number all thinges are ordered with so diuine a peaceblenes, and so without all tumult and confusion, that it rather seemeth to bee an assembly of Angels, then of men', 'To the Reader', sig. A3*v*.

[405] Ed. 1543 (I, 19), unvaried.

[406] [ed. 1578] *Summa enim turbatio, popularesque tumultus frequenter concitantur in illis civitatibus, in quibus summa rerum est apud populum*, I, 268.

(6) gli huomini della piu bassa plebe	(6) those of the basest sort,
(7 absent)	(7) yea of the very skum of the people
(8) si guadagnano gran facultà,	do (8) scrape together great wealth,
si come quegli, che	as those that
(9) le piu volte per conto di far robba,	(9 omitted)
accendono [sic] ad (10) arti vili,	apply themselues to (10) filthy artes,
& ad (11) ufficii mecanici,	and (11) illiberal occupations,
(12) ne giamai si risparmiano,	(12) neuer sparing the toilesome and careful wearing
ma piu tosto	out of their liues, but
(13 absent)	(13) with an intollerable sauing,
(14) ingannano il genio loro	(14) defrauding themselues of the comforts of life,
per accumular ricchezze.	thereby to increase their substance.
Al contrario (15) i Cittadini nobili,	Contrariwise (15) the honest citizens, and those that
(16) & nobilmente alleuati	are (16) liberally brought vppe,
(17) si fanno poveri, o per fortuna inimica, come spesso accade, o	(17) oftentimes fall to pouertie, either (as it often happeneth) by aduerse fortune, or els that
(18) perche inclinati a	(18) being wholly addicted to
(19) gli studi liberali	(19) noble and liberall studies,
(20) sprezzano tutta questa cura d'accrescere la robba. La onde avviene, che	they (20) neglect the increasing of their wealth: whereby it commeth that
(21) gli huomini vili, iquali niente altro fanno, che guadagno, & sono delle buone arti in tutto ignoranti, (22) a poco a poco entrino alla Republica: ma	(21) filthy and ill mannerd men favoring of nothing but gaine, vtterly ignorant of good artes, (22) by little and little come to governe the commonwealth: and those that are
(23) gli huomini nobili, &	(23) honest &
(24) liberalmente nodriti	(24) of liberal condition
(25) mancando le ricchezze	(25) by the decay of their substance,
caschino dalla ragione de' Cittadini (I, 51-52)	do loose the right of citizens (I, 17)

Thus, where the right to govern is defined by wealth, unavoidably 'there must arise great seditions and troubles to the commonwealth' (*nascano grandissime sedizioni, & che la Repubblica sia travagliata*) [407].

[407] [ed. 1578] … hoc tamen recte se posse assequi arbitrati sunt, si ius hoc administrandæ reipublicæ definiretur censu atque copia rei familiaris. Verum in maximas difficultates, nec mediocria incommoda incidere; *n*am frequenter evenit, ut infimæ plebis homines comparent sibi ingentes facultates; quippe qui plerunque sordidis artibus, *officijsque* minime liberalibus dant operam augendæ rei, neque unquam sibi parcunt, quin potius genium fraudant, ut opes *accumulent*. Contra ingenui cives ac liberaliter educati pauperes fiunt, seu adversa fortuna (ut frequenter accidit) seu quod liberalibus studijs addicti universam hanc

(1) ‘many’ points to more people than ‘certi’, that is, ‘some’, while ‘were of contrarie opinion’ creates a much stronger opposition than the Italian ‘però’ (‘*tamen*’ in the original).

(2) ‘this manner of governing the commonwealth’ translates the Italian ‘*questa ragione di governare la Republica*’, with both translations ignoring the original’s perfectly simple and unambiguous ‘*ius*’, ‘right’.

(3) ‘abilitie’ in the sense of ‘wealth’, as used in the text, is a typical Latinization of the period [408]. The original has ‘*censu*’. The Italian translation has ‘*facoltà*’, also spelt ‘*facultà*’ later on in this passage, and also translated by Lewkenor as ‘wealth’.

(4) ‘here againe’ is Lewkenor’s addition.

(5) ‘absurdities’ translates ‘difficultà’(‘*difficultates*’) and is another Latinization of the period [409].

(6) ‘those of the basest sort’ is in tone with both the Italian ‘gli huomini della piu bassa plebe’ and the original ‘*infimæ plebis homines*’.

(7) ‘yea of the very skum of the people’, however, is Lewkenor’s addition, with strong emphasis being put on the previous statement by ‘skum’ [410].

---

augendæ rei familiaris opera negligunt, *q*ua ratione sit ut sordidi homines, qui *nil* aliud sapiunt quam lucrum, bonarum vero artium expertes sunt, paulatim rempublicam capessant: ingenui vero ac liberaliter educati opibus sensim defi-//cientibus a iure civium decidant. *Inde* maximas seditiones oriri, ac rempublicam turbari necesse est. I, 268-269. Apart from the substitution of *accumulent* for *adipiscantur* (discussed in chap. 5, *‘adipiscor’* / *‘accumulo*’, above), the ed. 1543 is substantially unchanged (I, 14-15).

[408] ‘*abilitie*’: ‘† fitness, sufficient power’ (14th c.), ‘faculty of mind’ (16th c.); at the end of the 16th century it meant, variously, ‘pecuniary power, wealth, estate, means’, but also ‘authoritie’, ‘fitness’, ‘a farm in the country’ etc; from OF *(h)abilité* (also *ablete*, from OF *ablate*), from :- L. *habilitās*, f. *habilis* (*OED*).

[409] ‘*absurdities*’: pl. *absurdity*, ‘the state or the quality of being absurd; opposition to obvious reason or truth; folly’, also ‘a logical contradiction; a foolish error’, from F. *absurdité*, from L *absurditātem*, from L *absurd-us* (*ab* off + *surdus* deaf, ‘inaudible, insufferable to the ear’), hence *absurd*, ‘inharmonious, tasteless, foolish’, via a. F. *absurde* (*OED*).

[410] ‘skum’: ‘† foam, froth’ (13th century); ‘film of floating matter on liquid’, also used figuratively (15th century), from MLG, MDu ‘schum’ = OHG scūm (G, Schaum) :- Gmc *skūma, from I.E. *skū- cover (*Oxford Concise Dictionary of English Etymology*, T. F. Hoad (ed.), Oxford University Press (1986) 1996).

(8) 'scrape together great wealth' translates 'si guadagnano gran facultà', in the original '*comparent sibi ingentes facultates*'. The Italian 'guadagnano' ('earn') was at the time connected with the idea of labour, namely manual, and may have been used here in a selective sense [411]. Interestingly, Lewkenor's choice of 'scrape' [412] (nowadays you can only 'scrape a living', not a fortune, which is 'amassed') conveys a disparaging view not only of money earned but also of money accumulated by small economies, as the continuation of his translation confirms. The original's '*comparent sibi'* [413] displays no such over-tones.

(9) Lewkenor omits the translation of 'le piu volte per conto di far robba' ('*qui plerumque* […] *dant operam augendæ rei*'), whereas Contarini's '*plerumque*' softens his argument by allowing that, occasionally, there might be reasons for becoming employed other than a greed for riches.

In line with all the above is the rest of the passage, with (10) 'filthy artes' and (11) 'illiberal occupations' translating - more from the original than from the intermediary text - 'arti vili' ('*sordidis artibus*') and 'ufficii mecanici' ('*officijs minime liberalibus*').

(12) 'never sparing the toilesome and careful wearing out of their liues' stands, with additions, for 'ne giamai si risparmiano' ('*neq; unquam sibi parcunt*').

(13) 'with an intollerable sauing' is also an addition, confirming Lewkenor's meaning of 'scrape' as the making of small economies to amass a fortune, while (14) 'defrauding themselues of the comforts of life', however fanciful it may look for 'ingannano il genio loro', is in fact a translation adhering more than the almost literal Italian translation to the spirit of the original '*quin potius genium fraudant*'. The phrase *defraudare genium* (*suum*), meaning 'to stint one's appetite, to deny one's self', as opposed to *genio indulgere*, is from Terence's *Phormio* (1.I). Erasmus lists both *defraudare genium* and *indulgere genio* as proverbial phrases, at whose origin is the Roman notion that every one at birth was entrusted to the care of an invisibile being who would form his mind and

[411] On the incompatibility between manual labour and aristocracy, a classic notion which was strongly reaffirmed all over Europe during the 16th c., see Anna Bellavitis, "*Ars mechanica" e gerarchie sociali a Venezia tra XVI e XVII secol*o, in M. Arnoux, P. Monnet (dir.), *Le technicien dans la cité en Europe occidentale, 1250-1650*, Rome, Ecole Française de Rome 2004, pp. 161-179, on-line.

[412] '*scrape*': the meaning of 'to scrape', from ME *scrapen*, f. ON *skrapa*, akin to OE *scrapian*, 'scratch', went from 'to remove an outer layer from' (14th c.) to 'to rake together with effort' (16th c.), *Oxford Concise Dictionary of English Etymology*, cit.

[413] '*comparent*': 'prepare, get ready, provide', L. *comparo*, *-are*.

direct his life [414]. Hence '*genius*' to indicate one's innate talent, propensity, nature, '*genio indulgere*' for 'to give scope' to one's inclinations, and '*defraudare genium*' for 'to deny' Nature, which is what is imputed here to 'those of the basest sort' since, as Contarini writes, they appreciate nothing but money ('*nihil aliud sapiunt quam lucrum*'). By contrast, (15) 'the honest [415] citizens' translates 'i Cittadini nobili' ('*ingenui* [416] *ciues*'), as elsewhere in Lewkenor's translation, while (16) 'liberally brought vppe' for 'nobilmente alleuati' in fact translates '*liberaliter educati*'(see 24).

(17) 'oftentimes' is an addition by which Lewkenor implies that the poverty that might befall 'the honest citizens' and those 'liberally brought vppe' may be caused not only '(as it often happeneth) by adverse fortune', as Contarini says, but also by their inclination - they are 'inclinati', '*addicti*', or (18) 'wholly addicted', in Lewkenor's translation - 'a gli studi liberali', rendered as (19) 'noble and liberall studies' with Lewkenor's addition of 'noble'; consequently they 'sprezzano tutta questa cura d'accrescere la robba', translated as (20) 'they neglect the increasing of their wealth' ('*uniuersam hanc rei familiaris augendæ operam negligunt*'), whereby Lewkenor correctly chooses the original's '*negligunt*' over the Italian '*sprezzano*' . Still, this does not make it clear that Contarini may refer more to the petty and vulgar concerns, cares, and activities devoted exclusively to '*accrescere la robba*' than to its actually being increased, which never in itself worried any patrician at any time.

Finally, (21) 'filthy and ill mannerd men' translates 'huomini vili' (*sordidi homines*) with the addition of 'ill mannerd'.

(22) 'by little and little' translates '*a poco a poco*', an interesting calque of the Italian, the English expression now being 'little by little'.

(23) 'honest' is again for '*nobili*', see (15).

---

[414] It was also believed that there was present at birth a 'bad' genius with a corresponding 'bad' influence on one's inclinations. Spenser referred to both figures of genii in *The Faerie Queene*: '*They in that place him Genius did call … That is our Selfe*', Book II, Canto 12, ll. 424, 431, and '*But this same was to that quite contrari … That secretly doth us procure to fall*', *ibid*., ll. 435-437.

[415] '*honest*': 'honored, respectable', hence 'honorable', from a. OF *honeste* (12the century in Littré), from L. *honestus -a –um*, from L. *honos (honor) –oris*. Lewkenor's use of '*honest*' for '*nobile*' seems to be in its early sense: 'of good moral character, virtuous, upright' (*OED*).

[416] '*ingenui*': 'native, natural**',** hence 'free-born, of free birth', trasl. 'noble, honorable', L. *ingenuus -a –um* (*in* + *gēno*).

(24) 'of liberal condition' translates, but does not render the meaning of, '*nodriti*' ('*educati*').

(25) 'by the decay of their substance' is a slight deviation from the Italian '*mancando le ricchezze*' in that it implies a slow but steady loss of wealth previously possessed, in line in fact with the original '*opibus* [417] *sensim* [418] *deficientibus*'.

Tribù / *tribus* / 'tribe' [419]

Finally, it is worth mentioning a major instance of a mistranslation, whether intentional or not, which has altered the sense of Contarini's text to the present day. It occurs at several points in the translation of Books II and III, first appearing as follows:

> '*Sono al Prencipe aggiunti sei Consiglieri, da sei* tribù*, nelle quali è divisa tutta la città, elettone però uno per ciascuna*' (II, 77)

translated as

> '*There are to the prince adioyned sixe councellors of sixe* tribes*, into which the Citie is divided, every* tribe *chusing one*' (II, 44)

No one reading Contarini in the 1599 English translation – still the only one available – would fail to notice the peculiarity of the word *tribe* to refer to the six territorial districts into which Venice was divided. At first glance, Lewkenor's translation may appear justified by the original, '*sei* tribù*, nelle quali è divisa tutta la città*', which in turn is faithful to Contarini's text, '*ex senis* tribubus*, in quas divisa est universa civitas*' [420]. This explanation, however, is unsatisfactory. It is hardly conceivable that a major writer like Contarini would adopt a term so inconsistent with the Venetian context at the time of his writing. The same would, hopefully, apply to his Italian translator, his contemporary. In fact, Contarini uses the Latin *tribus* in its classical sense of 'town's quarter', and so does his translator by using the Italian word *tribù*. This, however, was not the sense of the English *tribe*.

It all seems to begin with Livy. In the first book of his *Ab Urbe condita libri* (*c* 27 a.C.), also known as *The History of Rome*, Livy relates how Servius Tullius' constitutional reform introduced

---

[417] '*opibus*': 'resources, means, wealth' is the meaning of L. *ops, opis* in the plural, *opes*.

[418] '*sensim*': adv., 'just perceptibly , gradually, by degrees'.

[419] A reasoned bibliography on the topic discussed here is enclosed in Appendix II.

[420] [ed. 1543] II, 36.

an administrative division of the Roman territory by which the City was divided into four districts (*tribus urbanæ*), and the surrounding territory, the *ager Romanus*, into sixteen (*tribus rusticæ*):

> *Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa regionibus collibusque qui abitabantur, partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitro, ab tributo* (Liv., *Ab Urbe condita…* I, xliii [421])

Thus, if at first the Latin word *tribus* referred to the original families of Roman citizens (the Ramnes, Tities, Luceres of the city's beginnings, possibly identified on the basis of their ethnic - Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan - elements), from Servius Tullius's reign (579-534 b.C.) on *tribus* indicated one of the topographical divisions of the Roman citizenship [422]. In fact, by dividing the Roman population according to the territory, Servius Tullius's reform had made Roman citizenship depend on the place of residence rather than on ethnic or birth criteria. And as the citizens' land assets also determined the amount of taxes due (*tributum*) and the extent of the corresponding political rights, Servius Tullius's reform effectively integrated into the original Roman people those masses of new arrivals that had come to live in Rome from the surrounding Italic regions.

It is, therefore, through Latin that this meaning of *tribus* made its way into early Italian. In an anonymous translation of the first half of the 14th century, Livy's passage, above, was turned into the Italian vernacular as follows:

> Divisa la città in quattro parti, e medesimamente le regioni e i colli, le parti ch'erano abitate [Servio Tullio] chiamò tribù, secondo che m'è avviso dal tributo (*Livio volgar.*, I-90 [423])

This use of *tribù* to refer to administrative divisions of the territory, particularly of a town, continued well into the 16th century, possibly because numerous medieval Italian towns were actually divided into districts, either three, called *terzieri* (from *terzo*, the third part, as in Trevi, Spello, and Città di Castello in Umbria, or Lucca and Siena in Tuscany), or six, called *sestieri* (from *sesto*, the sixth part, as in Florence, Genoa, Rapallo and, as we know Venice [424]). Most, however,

---

[421] 'For, after dividing the City with its districts and the hills which were inhabited into four parts, he called these divisions "tribes", I think from the tribute they paid', Livy, *The History of Rome, Vol. I* , ed. Ernest Rhys, tr. Rev. Canon Roberts, Everyman's Library, J.M. Dent and Sons, London, E.P. Dutton and Co, New York, 1912, I. 43, on-line.

[422] See *tribus* in Calonghi, *Dizionario latino-italiano*, cit.

[423] *Le Deche di Livio*, *volgarizzamento del buon secolo*, 6 voll., Savona, 1842-1849, quoted in Battaglia, 'tribù', *Grande Dizionario* ..., cit.

[424] '*Sestrièr*, s.m., *Sestiere*', 'Una delle sei parti o rioni in che è divisa la Città di Venezia, dette già latinamente *Sexterium*, come Roma è divisa in Rioni. Questi Sestieri si chiamano, di qua del canale, S.Marco, Castello e Canaregio; e di là S.Polo, S.Croce e Dorsoduro. Tale divisione fu fatta con decreto del

were, like ancient Rome, divided into four districts, usually corresponding to the four gates of the town, and called *quartieri* (from *quarto*, or fourth) [425].

The 16th century Italian word *tribù* thus indicated a town's quarter and, by extension, the citizens living there, as in *'Ciascuno Gonfaloniere di Popolo conduceva fuori la sua tribù',* attested with reference to Bologna in 1596 [426], and confirmed by other contemporaries of Contarini's, most notably Niccolò Machiavelli. *De principatibus*, or *Il principe*, 1532 (written 1513), is worth quoting here also because of its numerous English translations which, after a late start (Dacres, 1640, though there were some Elizabethan translations in manuscript), nowadays span more than three centuries, thus offering an interesting range of the ways in which Machiavelli's use of *tribù* has been understood and rendered into English. The original sentence is:

> '*E, perché ogni città è divisa in arte o in* tribù*, debbe [il principe] tenere conto di quelle università, raunarsi con loro qualche volta*' (*Il Principe*, Cap. XXI) [427]
>
> *'and because every City is devided* [sic] *into Companies, and arts, and* Tribes*, he [the prince] ought to take special notice of those bodies, and some times afford them a meeting'* (*The Prince*, tr. Edward Dacres, 1640) [428]
>
> *'And as cities are generally divided into guilds and* classes*, he [the prince] should keep account of these bodies, and occasionally be present at their assemblies*' (*The Prince*, tr. Christian E. Detmold, 1882) [429]

Maggior Consiglio 1 agosto 1174 per imporre un imprestito sul popolo possidente. Un tal mezzo di imposizione chiamavasi *conzàr la tera*; e chi dava a imprestito, dicevasi *fare le fazioni*; e quando si applicava l'imposta, *far una camera*. *Sestrièr* dicesi volgarmente ancora per l'*Ufficio della polizia del Sestiere*. Ogni Sestiere della Città ha un Commissario di polizia amministrativa; e quindi è introdotto l'uso fra la bassa gente di dire Sestiere per polizia', see Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, cit. Originally, Venice's districts consisted of the parishes, amounting to seventy in 1033.

[425] Florence was still divided into *quartieri* at the time of the 1078 circuit of walls (the *cerchia antica* mentioned by Dante in *Paradiso*, xv, 97). When a much larger circuit was constructed, beginning in 1172, the *comune* voted to divide the city into *sestieri* (or *sesti*). A new and much larger circuit of walls, decreed in 1284 and planned by Arnolfo di Cambio, was completed in 1333, see R. W. B. Lewis, *Dante. A Life*, Penguin Books, (2001) 2009, at pp. 8-9, 20.

[426] Cherubino Ghirardacci (Bologna 1519-1598), *Istoria di Bologna*, parte I, Bologna, 1596, quoted in Battaglia, 'tribù', *Grande Dizionario …*, cit.

[427] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, a cura di Silvio Bertelli, Milano, 1960, II, 21, 7, quoted in Battaglia, 'tribù', *Grande Dizionario …*, cit.

[428] *The Tudor Translations: Machiavelli, with an Introduction by Henry Cust, M.P.*. Volume I: *The Prince*, trans. Edward Dacres (1640), London, David Nutt, 1905, on-line.

[429] *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolo Machiavelli,* trans. Christian E. Detmold, Boston, J. R. Osgood and company, 1882, Vol. 2, *The Prince, Discourses on the First Ten Books of Tituts Livius, Thoughts of a Stateman,* 1882, on-line.

> '*And because all cities are divided into guilds and* companies*, he [the prince] should show attention to these societies, and sometimes take part in their meetings'* (*The Prince*, tr. Ninian Hill Thomson, 1909-14) [430]
>
> '*and as every city is divided into guilds or into* societies*, he [the prince] ought to hold such bodies in esteem, and associate with them sometimes*' (*The Prince*, tr. W. K. Marriott, 1908) [431]

Thus, '*in arti o in tribu*' has been first rendered as '*Companies, and arts, and* Tribes' (1640), then as '*guilds and* classes' (1880), and finally as '*guilds and* companies' and '*guilds* or societies' (1900s).

Of all the translations consulted so far, only Marriott's offers a comment on his choice of '*guilds* or societies' remarking that "'Arti' were craft or trade guilds', while "'Tribu' were possibly gentile groups, united by common descent, and included individuals connected by marriage', so that in conclusion '[p]erhaps our words "septs" or "clans" would be most appropriate' [432].

While Marriott's musings do nothing to explain his choice of *societies* over other options, they do confirm a modern translator's uneasiness about the use of *tribe* with reference to what was coming to be known as the Italian Renaissance, in contrast to the 1640 translation, '*Companies, and arts, and* Tribes', which has no such qualms [433]. At the same time, however, Marriott's remarks also show a significant uncertainty about the use of the 16th century Italian *tribù*, together with a *penchant* for such meanings as, ultimately, 'septs' [434] or 'clans' [435]. Obviously, this takes us as far

---

[430] Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, tr. Ninian Hill Thomson, P. F. Collier & Son Company, The Harvard Classics, New York, 1909–14, on-line.

[431] Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, tr. William K. Marriott, 1908, on-line.

[432] *Ibid*.

[433] The diffusion of the term 'Renaissance' to indicate the European 'revival of learning' beginning in Italy in the 14th c. is due to historians in the wake of Jacob Buckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860).

[434] S*ept*, sb.², probably a variation of *sect* < L *sēptum*. a. A division of a nation or tribe; a clan: 1517 in *10th Rep. Hist.MSS. Comm.* App. v. 399 No man … shall receve … enny of the Burkes, MacWilliams, the Kellies, nor no cepte elles; b. *transf.* A 'tribe' or class: 1610 B. Rich *Descr. Irel.* 37 There are other Septes or professions, namely of Bardes, which are in manner of Poets or Rhymers (*OED*).

[435] *Clan*, sb., a. Gaelic *clann* family, stock, race, OIrish *cland*, *clann*, apparently not originally a Celtic word, but a. L. *planta* sprout, shoot, scion, slip (cf. *stirps* stock, stem, race); 1. A number of persons claiming descent from a common ancestor, and associated together; a tribe. 1.a. *prop*. Applied to those of the Highlands of Scotland […] *c* 1425 Wyntoun *Cron. Xi. Xvii. 9 (Jam.)*: Tha thre score ware clannys twa,

away as possible from Livy's *tribus* in the sense of 'city's quarter', and back to Lewkenor's use of the English *tribe*.

The English *tribe* [436] had at first only meant 'a group of persons descending from a common ancestor', namely the twelve tribes of Israel, and the biblical use was the first use of the word in English, *c* 1250. In the 16th century, however, *tribe* began to be employed in its 'original Roman use' - as *The Oxford English Dictionary* terms it - that is, with reference to the early people of Rome:

> The three ancient Romulian tribes, the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres … to which the patricians alone belonged, must be distinguished from the thirty plebeian tribes of Servius Tullius*, Smith's Dictionary* 994/1 (1842)

Interestingly, the first occurrences recorded under this heading are two translations of that very same passage from Livy's *History* recalling Servius Tullius' division of the Roman territory into a certain number of districts and the reason why they might have been called *tribus*:

> *Þe toun of rome was dividit .. in sindri parties, and euery ane of þir parties war callit tribis, þe thirlage of tribute þat þai aucht to pay to þe king* (*Livy* I, xvii. (S.T.S) I. 96, tr. Bellenden, 1533)

> *Having divided the citie into foure Wards, according to the quarters and hils; those parts which were inhabited, he [Servius Tullius] called Tribes, of the word Tribute (as I suppose)* (*Livy* I., xliii, 31 b, tr. Holland, 1600)

To sum it up, then, at the time of Lewkenor's writing the English *tribe* indicated 1) a community of persons claiming a common ancestor, namely one of the twelve divisions of Israel [437], or 2) one of

---

Clahynne Qwhewyl and Clachin Yha. 2. *contemptuously*. A collection of people having common attributes; a fraternity, party, 'set', 'lot': 1536 Bellenden *Cron. Scot*. (1821) I. Introd. 108 For heir ar kingis and mony nobilis stout, And nane of thaim pertenand to his clan (*OED*):

[436] *Tribe*, sb., initially in the plural *tribuz*, possibly directly from the Latin *tribūs* pl. 1.a. A group of persons forming a community and claiming descent from a common ancestor; *spec*. each of the twelve divisions of the people of Israel, claiming descent fom the twelve sons of Jacob: *c* 1250 *Gen. & Ex*. 3813 'Đo[y] he wenen ðat god sal taken Of ðo .xii. tribuz summe mo. 2. a. *Roman Hist.* One of the traditional three political divisions or patrician orders of ancient Rome in early times (see quot. 1842); later, one of the 30 political divisions of the Roman people instituted by Servius Tullius, and in B.C. 241 increased to 35: 1533 Bellenden *Livy* I, xvii. (S.T.S) I. 96 *Þe toun of rome was dividit .. in sindri parties, and euery ane of þir parties war callit tribis, þe thirlage of tribute þat þai aucht to pay to þe king*; 3. A race of people; frequently applied to a group of primitive people, esp.a primary aggregation, under a chief or headman: 1596 Shaks*., Merch.V.*, V. I. iii. 111 *For sufferance is the badge of all our Tribe* (*OED*).

[437] *Tribe* 1.a (*OED*).

the political divisions of the ancient Roman people [438], though yet another meaning was then emerging, that of 3) 'a race of people', frequently 'a group of primitive people', especially 'a primary aggregation, under a chief or headman' [439], whose first two occurrences (until 1745) are:

> *For sufferance is the badge of all our Tribe*, Shakespeare*, Merch.V.*, V. I. iii. 111 (1596)
>
> *Good Heaven, the Soules of all my Tribe Defend From Iealousie*, Shakespeare*, Othello*, III. iii. 175 (1604)

Needless to say, none of these uses was applicable to Renaissance Venice and its institutions. By contrast, the English *tribe* never seems to have indicated any administrative division of a territory, a circumstance which may also account for the unsuccessful translation over the centuries of Machiavelli's '*E, perché ogni città è divisa in arte o in tribù'*.

Yet there is evidence that Lewkenor knew what he was talking about even though he was translating

> '*Sono al Prencipe aggiunti sei Consiglieri, da sei* tribù*, nelle quali è divisa tutta la città, elettone però uno per ciascuna*' (II, 77)

as

> '*There are to the prince adioyned sixe councellors of sixe* tribes*, into which the Citie is divided, every* tribe *chusing one*' (II, 44)

For instance, he translates Contarini's note in the margin of the Latin text - *In sex* tribus *Venetiæ divisæ* (II, 36) - into a corresponding marginal note where *tribus* is rendered as *quarters of the citie*, thus in a way undermining the use he makes of *tribe* in the text.

Again, towards the end of Book II, where *tribù* reappears together with, and as a synonym of, *regioni*, Lewkenor translates *tutta la città in sei* regioni, over tribù *è divisa* (II, 94) as *the whole citie is divided into sixe* quarters or tribes (II, 62) [440].

Finally, at the end of Book III, he translates *vadi caminando intorno intorno la sua* tribù *per infino all'alba* (III, 126) as *to make rounds about his* quarter*, till the dawning of the day* (III, 97-98). This last passage in particular is very interesting because it shows that Lewkenor was at least making a difference between *tribù* as 'people' and *tribù* as 'quarters of the citie'. The wider context is

---

[438] *Tribe* 2.a (*OED*).

[439] *Tribe* 3. (*OED*).

[440] 'Adsident principi, quod etiam supra monuimus, consiliarij sex, singuli inquam ex unaquaque urbis regione. In sex etenim regiones / universa civitas divisa est', [ed. 1543] III, 49-50.

Contarini's description of *i Capi de i Signori di Notte*, the magistrates having jurisdiction in case of 'a lighter offence to bee punished onely with whip-/ping or imprisonment' [441]. Lewkenor at first translates 'i Capi de i Signori di Notte' as 'the heades of the officers by night' [442], then as 'the captaines of the officers by night' [443], and finally as 'the heads or chieftaines of the officers by night' [444], this last possibly influenced by what follows, that is:

> (1) Capi delle tribù della Città *si chiamano quegli, che essercitano quel magistrato conciosia che da ciascuna* (2) tribù, *perciò che in sei* (3) tribù *è diuisa tutta la Città, si eleggono si i [sic] Capi di Notte, come* (4) il capo della tribù: *quale usenza anchora sogliamo usare nello eleggere i Consiglieri. il che di sopra non mica habbiamo lasciato di dire. Oltre ciò l'ufficio dell'uno, & dell'altro Magistrato è, che a vicenda hora il Capo di Notte, hora quello della* (5) tribù *vadi caminando intorno intorno la sua* (7) tribù *per infino all'alba co i publici fanti, & birri armati* (III, 126)

translated as

> Those that do execute this office are called (1) heades of the tribes of the city because out of euery (2) tribe (for the city is deuided into six (3) tribes) there is elected an officer of the night, and (4) a head of the tribe, which custome also we observe in the election of our Councellers as here before I haue expressed. The duty of eyther of these officers is, to keepe a watch euery other night by turn, within their (6) tribes and now the one and then the other, to make rounds about his (7) quarter, till the dawning of the day, being alwayes guarded and attended on with weaponed offi-/cers and seriants (III, 97-98)

Originally,

> (1) *Capita tribuum civitatis appellantur hi qui eum magistratum gerunt, quoniam ex unaquaque* (2) *tribu (in sex nanque [sic] tota civitas divisa est) tum præfectus noctis, tum* (4) *caput tribus eius eligitur. Quo more etiam uti solemus in consiliarijs eligendis, quod superius non omissum a nobis fuit. / Utriusque præterea magistratus officium est, ut nocturnas excubias per suas* (6) *tribus agant alternis noctibus, ac vicissim modo noctis præfectus, modo* (5) *tribus caput suam* (7) *tribum circumeant ad gallicinium, usque cum publicis stipatoribus ac apparitoribus armatis,* (ed. 1543, III, 76-77).

That is, for ease of reference:

(1)	Capi delle tribù della Città	heades of the tribes of the city	Capita tribuum civitatis
(2)	tribù	tribe	tribu
(3)	tribù	tribes	---
(4)	il capo della tribù	a head of the tribe	caput tribus
(5)	tribù	---	tribus caput
(6)	---	tribes	tribus
(7)	tribù	quarter	tribum

[441] Trans. Lewkenor, III, 96-97.

[442] Trans. Lewkenor, III, 96.

[443] Trans. Lewkenor, III, 96-97.

[444] Trans. Lewkenor, III, 97.

What with 'chieftaines' and 'tribes', there emerges from Lewkenor's unrelenting translating of *tribù* as *tribe* a highly improbable picture of Venice. However, *quarter* replaces *tribe* the sixth time *tribù* occurs, possibly on the consideration that for anyone 'to make rounds about his *tribe* till the dawning of the day' would have seemed too extravagant even for English readers.

One may wonder what choice of words, if any, was at Lewkenor's disposal to properly transmit the sense of the Italian *tribù* as 'an administrative division of a city'. Even *quarter*, which was beginning to emerge in the 16th century as denoting 'a particular division or district of a town or city', did so with special reference to that area 'appropriated to a particular class or race of people, as *the Jewish quarter*, etc.', and nowadays the Latin Quarter of Paris [445]. As for *district* [446], it was only later that it started to be used in a sense similar, though not exactly corresponding to that of *tribù*. As a matter of fact, Lewkenor had a perfectly good, old English word at his disposal, *ward* [447]. Holland employs it very naturally in his translation of Livy's *History*, above, published only the year after Lewkenor's work:

> *Having divided the citie into foure Wards, according to the quarters and hils; those parts which were inhabited, he [Servius Tullius] called Tribes, of the word Tribute (as I suppose)* (*Livy* I., xliii, 31 b, tr. Holland, 1600)

So does John Stow at about the same time, very plainly writing of London:

---

[445] *Quarter*, sb., a. OF *quarter*, *-ier* (12th c. in Littré) :- L. *quartārius* a fourth part (of a measure), from *quartus* fourth. III. 14. a., 1526 Tindale *Luke* xiv. 21 Goo out quickly into the stretes and quarters [1611 lanes] of the citie (*OED*).

[446] *District*, sb., a. F. *district* (16th c. in Littré), ad. med. L. *district-us*. 2. A portion of territory marked off or defined for some special administrative or official purpose, or as the sphere of a particular officer or administrative body civil or ecclesiatical, 1664 Jer. Taylor *Dissuas Popery* I. II. § 1 (R.) The decrees of general councils bind not but as they are accepted by the several churches in their respective districts and dioceses; 3.b. One of the urban or rural subdivisions of a county, constituted by the Local Government Act of 1894, and having an Urban or Rural District Council, 1895 *Whitaker's Almanac 667 (Parish Councils Act)* The whole country will be divided into districts, some of which are borough urban districts, some urban districts other than Boroughs, and some rural districts, each of which will have its own council. Rural districts in most cases comprise a large number of parishes. 4. Any tract of country, usually of vaguely defined limits, having some common characteristics; a region, locality, 'quarter' (*OED*).

[447] *Ward*, sb.², OE *weard* str. fem. = MLG *warde*, OHG *warta*, MHG *warte*, *wart*, guard, watch, observation, hence OF *warde, guarde, garde,* hence MdE *guard*. 19.a) An administrative division of a borough or city; originally, a district under the jurisdiction of an alderman; now usually, a district which elects its own councillors to represent it on the City or Town Council. Also, the people of such a district collectively. In Anglo-L. documents the wards (*wardæ*) of London are mentioned by that name from the 12th c., sometimes designated by the name of the alderman and sometimes by their locality: *c* 1130 in *9th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1883) 66 In wards Osberti Drinkepinne, terra quam tenuit Wulwinus juvenis; 1598-1603 Stow *Surv.* (1908) I. 117 The Auncient diuision of this Citie was into Wardes or Aldermanries (*OED*).

> *The Auncient diuision of this Citie was into Wardes or Aldermanries* (*Surv.* I. 117, 1598-1603 (1908)

Even before the publication of Stow's *Survey of London* (1598-1603), however, Lewkenor cannot have been ignorant of London's territorial divisions into wards since they went back to the 11th century. Each was led and represented by an alderman, and the citizens were responsible, among other things, also for the public safety of their ward, hence night constables and watchmen [448].

This is all the more baffling as Lewkenor is credited with having introduced the word *sestiere* [449] into English, having finally coopted it (from Girolamo Bardi) in his *Sundry Notes and Collections* at the end of the book, which fact alone, were he ever in doubt about the meaning of *tribù*, should have alerted him to his previous inaccuracy. That Lewkenor should have decided not to revise his translation, or why he may have wanted to shun *ward* in favour of the more classically sounding, but mistaken, *tribe*, is of no consequence. It remains that his adoption of *tribe* instead of *ward* or *town's quarter*, if not *sestiere*, is incorrect, and so is its persistent use in the context of Renaissance Venice, as for instance in:

> At the top of the pyramid to which the writers of the age were fond of comparing the Venetian government (see Contarini, Lewkenor pp. 42 ff.) was the Doge, elected for life and assisted by six councillors, one from each of the six tribes into which the city of Venice was divided, who … [450]

The Oxford Shakespeare's Othello [451] offers more recent instances, all based on Lewkenor's authority. To explain Brabantio's words,

---

[448] 'The territorial divisions of London, still in existence, were also of very early date. By the eleventh century the principal unit of territory had become the ward, which was led and represented by an alderman. The ward was more than a collection of citizens administering their own streets and shops; it was also a unit of defence and attack, with a midsummer inspection when, according to an official document dating from the reign of Henry VIII, 'ev'y alderman by himself musteryd hys owne warde yn the field, vewyng theym in harnes and sawe that ev'y man had a sworde and a dagger and suche as were not meate to be archars were turnyd to pykes'. As late as the fourteenth century a clerk could term London a respublica, and in this account of a carefully marshalled citizen army it is possible to trace the force and antiquity of the republican ideal', Peter Ackroyd, *London. The Biography*, Chatto & Windus, London, 2000, p. 49. 'The wards were also responsible for public safety […] with twenty-six separate forces of police who were classified as 'unpaid constables … beadles or bellmen, street keepers, or watchmen', *ibid*., p. 57. It has been remarked, however, that 'the fact that the night constables and watchmen were nearly always portrayed in the theatre as dimwits (think of Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing*) suggests that they were not regarded with much fear', Bill Bryson, *Shakespeare*, Harper Perennial, London, 2007, p. 49.

[449] *Sestiere*, pl. *-ieri*, It., from L. *sextārĭus* the sixth part of a measure. In Italy: one of six districts or areas of a city: 1599, L. Lewkenor tr. *Contarini's Commonwealth & Govt. Venice* 185 The Citie of Venice is divided into sixe parts, which they call Sestieri (*OED*).

[450] Zera Silver Fink, *The Classical Republicans*, 2nd ed., Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1962, cap. II, pp. 28-51, at p. 28.

‘Get weapons, ho!
And raise some special officers of night’
(*Othello*, 1.1.180-181)

the commentary refers to ‘tribes’, though in inverted commas:

> 181 **officers of night** The role of these officials (one elected from each of the city’s six ‘tribes’) is described in Lewkenor […], p. 208

Further on, to explain the use of *tribe* by Iago - who, it is assumed, is a Venetian – in

‘Good God the souls of all my tribe defend
From jealousy!’ (*Othello*, 3.3.178)

the commentary defines *tribe* at the same time as *kindred* and as *the division of the population of Venice*:

> 178 **tribe** kindred. The division of the population of Venice into six ‘tribes’, no doubt modelled on those of republican Rome, is described in Lewkenor, pp. 44, 97 […], p. 293

The added reference to *republican* Rome, rather than to the period of the kings, cannot but confirm a persistent uncertainty about the 16th century use of the English *tribe* with regard to both ancient Rome and Renaissance Venice, just as the use of ‘tribe’ in inverted commas signals the editor’s uneasiness, hardly appeased by referring the matter back to Shakespeare and, ultimately, Lewkenor:

> For information about the political and social organization of the Venetian republic, he [Shakespeare] evidently turned to Sir Lewes Lewkenor’s translation of Cardinal Contarini’s *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (Introduction, p. 18)

Finally, to comment on Othello’s words,

Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away,
Richer than all his tribe
(*Othello*, 5.2.346-7)

the editor enters the ‘textual-crux’ discussion on whether the correct reading is, in fact, *Indian*, as per the First Quarto (1622), or *Iudean*, as per the First Folio (1623), remarking, among other things:

> Moreover, ‘tribe’ had not yet acquired the association with ‘primitive’ peoples fostered by 19th-century ethnography, but was habitually applied to the twelve biblical divisions of Israel. Cf. also 3.3.178 for Lewkenor’s use of the term to describe the division of the Venetian people in six ‘tribes’ (p. 464) [452]

Thus, the issue has come full circle: from Contarini to Lewkenor and on to Shakespeare, then back to Lewkenor and now, hopefully, to Contarini, who never meant *tribus* in this sense.

---

[451] *The Oxford Shakespeare’s Othello*, *the Moor of Venice,* Michael Neill (ed.), Oxford University Press, 2006.
[452] The *Iudean* option, however, is eventually rejected, as the above quotation from the text shows.

As for the statement that "tribe' had not yet acquired the association with 'primitive' peoples fostered by 19th-century ethnography', the *OED* seems to indicate otherwise, entering under the heading of '(3.) A race of people; frequently applied to a group of primitive people, esp. a primary aggregation, under a chief or headman', two Renaissance quotations. Regrettably, these are not only Iago's lines *Good Heaven, the Soules of all my Tribe Defend From Iealousie* (III. iii. 175), but also Shylock's *For sufferance is the badge of all our Tribe* (I. iii. 111), which is confusing as this quotation should rather pertain to the first use mentioned in the *OED* (a division of the people of Israel).

Finally, another serious instance of mistranslation occurs in the same passages as a consequence of the uncertainty surrounding the notion of *tribù/ tribe*. As seen above, Lewkenor translates

> *sei Consiglieri, da sei tribù […] elettone però uno per ciascuna*, II, 77
> [sex consiliarij sunt, delecti ex senis tribubus, II, 36]

into

> *sixe councellors of sixe tribes […] euery tribe chusing one*, II, 44

as if the councillors were elected directly by the *tribe*.

This is seriously misleading. The election to any of the public offices of the Republic pertained to the Great Council only - and then it was never direct. This was such a fundamental aspect of Venice's constitutional system that Contarini begins his exposition from it, and describes the proceedings at length, reasoning about their premises, in short devoting to the election of the magistrates the whole of Book I.

The translation is wrong also on another count. Book II, where the mistake occurs, concerns the *Doge*, his functions and his powers, or rather the restrictions devised to prevent him from becoming a tyrant. One of the most evident restrictions was the presence at any of the Doge's public acts of six councillors. Their importance was enormous. Together with the *Doge* and the three heads of the *Quarantia criminal*, the six councillors – whose institution went back to about 1172 - constituted what was properly called the *Signoria*, though *latu sensu* the term came to indicate the whole government of the Republic of Venice. One example of the importance of the councillors is the fact that, when the *Doge* died, the oldest of the councillors then in office took charge until a new *Doge* had been chosen.

Obviously, such magistrates could not be elected by the *tribe*, whatever Lewkenor meant by it. In this respect, the Italian translation may be ambiguous but it does not say *by whom* the councillors are elected, only that there is one *for* each of the six *tribes*.

Still, Lewkenor's mistake may be partly blamed on the Italian translator. In Book III the same misrepresentation occurs with reference to 'the heades of the tribes of the city' and 'the officers of the night', the Italian text explicitly stating that:

> da ciascuna tribù … si eleggono *si i [sic] Capi di Notte, come il capo della tribù*: quale usanza anchora sogliamo usare nello eleggere i Consiglieri. *il che di sopra non mica habbiamo lasciato di dire* (III, 126)

> [ex unaquaque tribu … *tum præfectus noctis, tum caput tribus eius* eligitur. Quo more etiam uti solemus in consiliarijs eligendis, *quod superius non omissum a nobis fui*, [ed. 1543, III, 76]

which Lewkenor translates as:

> out of euery tribe … there is elected *an officer of the night, and a head of the tribe*, which custome also we observe in the election of our Councellers *as here before I haue expressed* (III, 97-98)

As for Contarini, he had made clear in Book II that the six councillors are elected

> ea ratione comitiorum qua omnes magistratus creari superius satis abunde explicuimus [ed. 1543, II, 50]

that is, in the same way *(ea ratione)*, *i.e.* the Great Council's sessions (*comitiorum*), by which (*qua*) all magistrates are created (*omnes magistratus creari*), and which he has previously (*superius, i.e.* in Book I) more than abundantly explained (*satis abunde explicuimus*). Now, in Book III, Contarini says that the 'officer of the night' and 'the head of the tribe' is also elected (*eligitur*) in the way (*Quo more*) followed to elect the councillors (*etiam uti solemus in consiliarijs eligendis*), as he has not omitted to mention earlier (*quod superius* [i.e. in Book II] *non omissum a nobis fui*).

Therefore, it seems that the understanding of the election of the councillors in Book II, and of the 'officer of the night' and the 'head of the tribe' in Book III, is marred for both translators by the presence of *tribù / tribe*. This is especially true for Lewkenor, but both appear unaware of the sense of Contarini's 'ex' *tribubus*, which means 'for' or 'in (nominal) representation of', the *sestieri*, and not that the officials concerned would actually be elected by them, which never happened – though originally, and until the 12th and 13th centuries, they were indeed put up for nomination by the resident patricians (*electio*) and confirmed by the Great Council (*approbatio*) [453]. Marin Sanudo,

[453] Dorit Raines, 'Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: le casate del patriziato veneziano, 1297-1797', in *Storia di Venezia – Rivista,* I, Firenze University Press, 2003, pp. 1-64, at p. 10, on-line.

being an exact contemporary of Contarini's, gives us a very useful and practical description of these magistrates at the time of their writing:

> *c.60 v* Officiali di Notte
> Officiali di notte sono sie, uno per sestier, et che non si cazzino uno con l'altro, prova di anni XXX in suso, stan mesi 8, si fa per 4 man di elettione li ordenarij a tre per Conseio; poleno esser eletti dentro et di fuora, non hanno contumacia. Sentano da mattina et dopoi disnar a San Marco, sopra le Preson, dove è la corda che si tormenta; questi con bossoli et ballotte fanno le sue termination, et non puol esser manco di 4, vanno con li soi cai di guarda, et officiali la notte per Venetia 4 zorni alla settimana, zoè uno zorno – over notte – sì, e l'altra va Cai di Sestier, come dirò di sotto ; et va con un feral et armati cercando arme et ladri, si trovasse; et haver custodia *etiam* di fuoghi per la Terra […] Questo officio fo prima fatto in tempo de Marin Moresini dose, et erano doi, uno di qua da Canal, l'altro di là ; poi cressuda la Terra di habitation et populo, fo azonto li altri 4, zoè uno per sestier […], [454]

> *c.65 r* Cai di Sestier
> Cai di Sestier sono sie, uno per sestiere, d'anni 25 l'uno, si fa per 4 man d'elettion a tre per volta, li ordenarij a tessere, et non puol esser se non uno parente ; stanno mesi otto, polendo esser eletti in rezimenti, non hanno contumatia, sentano di sora la Beccaria. Questi vanno certe notti deputate alla settimana per li soi sestieri, zoè quella notte che di quel sestier il Signor di Notte non va in cerca. Et va con il suo cao di guardia, et officiali a far custodia per la Terra, come fanno li Signori di Notte; et hanno quella auttorità, trovando arme *et cetera*, se non che non poleno far buttar zoso niuna porta […] Hanno superiori li Avogadori di Commun, et *etiam* hanno auttorità di far tuor le arme che trovano a quelli che non hanno licentia di portarle, et condannarli [455].

To conclude, it may well be that it was not only Holland's well-known pedantry that led him to find and use in his translation of Livy *le mot juste* for the Latin *tribus*, 'ward', nor his 'accurate and profound' knowledge of Greek and Latin. 'Still rarer', it has been remarked, 'was his knowledge of English'. Holland had 'a natural love of the old words and proverbs which distinguished his country language', but more to the point, '[i]f he seldom echoed the sound of Greek and Latin, he never missed the sense' [456]. Lewekenor, by contrast, may have chosen *tribe* over *ward* on the very ground of its 'classical' echo, thus forfeiting the Latin (and Italian) sense of *tribus* (*tribù)* [457].

Obviously, being the first to tackle a Venetian subject in such depth in the English language, Lewkenor found himself at a disadvantage. The very description of the city and its peculiar setting

[454] Sanudo, *De origine* ..., cit., pp. 129-130.

[455] *Ibid*., pp. 142.

[456] Charles Whibley, 'Translators. Prose and Poetry: Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton', *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes* (1907–21), vol. IV, on-line.

[457] On the 'classicizing' style of translation as a third option for Renaissance translators in addition to the 'domestication' versus 'foreignizing' choice see Peter Burke, 'Translations into Latin in early modern Europe', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 65-80.

was enough of a challenge in the absence of words like, for instance 'lagoon' [458]. Needless to say, the first difficulty Lewkenor encountered, starting with the title of Contarini's treatise, is the translation of *republica*.

Lewkenor's translation of '*respublica*', '*republica*'

'*Republica'*, now spelt '*repubblica*' [459], entered the Italian language in the 14th century meaning (1.) the public interest; (2.) a state where the power rested with the elected representatives of the people; (3.) a medieval city-state (a '*comune*'), as opposed to a monarchy [460]. Contarini's Italian translator employs it 39 times in Book I - plus once in the title - either to indicate Venice (variously referred to as '*la republica Vinitiana*', '*questa nostra Republica*', '*cosi chiara republica*', '[*i*] *benemeriti della Republica'*, etc), or to discuss this form of government in more general terms. The English 'republic' [461] entered the language sometime after Lewkenor's translation, early in the 17th century, meaning (1.) 'the state, the common weal' (*obs*.) [462]; or (2.) 'a state in which the supreme power rests in the people and their elected representatives or officers, as opposed to one governed by a king or similar ruler; a commonwealth' [463]. Some time later it was also applied to (2.b.) 'particular states having this form of constitution [464].

This means that Lewkenor could not avail himself of the word 'republic' at the time he was translating *La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia* into English. However, it is during the 16th

---

[458] 'Lagoon', also 'lagune' and in the It. form, 'laguna', ad. F. *lagune*, ad. It. and Sp. *laguna* :- L. *lacūna* pool, indicates 'an area of salt or brackish water separated from the sea by low sand-banks, esp. one of those in the neighbourhood of Venice'; 1612 in *Crt. & Times Fas*. I (1848), I. 184, He was observed that day to row to and fro in the laguna tpwards Murano; 1789 Mrs Piozzi *Journ. France* I. 187: Covering the lagoons with gaiety and splendour (*OED*).

[459] '*repubblica*': from L. *rēspublica* (abl. *rēpublicā*), from *rēs* 'thing', 'affair', and *publicus*, 'public'.

[460] See 'repubblica', *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano*, Carlo Battisti e Giovanni Alessio, 6 voll., Barbèra Editore, Firenze, 1968.

[461] '*republic*': from *ad*. F. *république* or L. *rēspublica*; it was also spelt *republique*, *republike*, *republick*, *reipublic*, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, Amen House, London (1933), repr. 1961, 2nd ed. 1989 (*OED*).

[462] See Drayton, *Bar. Wars* (1603) II. x,: 'Neither yet thinke, by their vnnaturall Fight What the republique suffred them among' (*OED*).

[463] See R. Cawdrey, *Table Alph.* (1604): '*Republike*, a Commonwealth'; also Bacon, *Ch. Controv*. (1626) Wks. 1879 I. 347: 'It may be, in civil states, a republic is a better policy than a kingdom' (*OED*).

[464] See Heylin, *St. George* (1631) 349 'The publike honours done unto him, by the greatest princes and Republicks in the Christian world' (*OED*).

century that two English words, 'common weal' and 'commonwealth', were the object of particular attention as to their meaning and use. 'Commonweal', but more properly two words, 'common weal' [465], is still used in the sense of 'common well-being', especially 'the general good, public welfare, prosperity of the community' - akin in this to the French *bien commun*, *bien public*, or, more to the point here, to L. *res publica*, *res commūnis* - but it had also come to be used in the sense of 'the whole body of the people, the body politic; a state, community' [466]. This use of 'common weal' came under close scrutiny in the early 16th century together with the word 'commonwealth' [467], because 'commonwealth' too was being used to indicate both 'the general good' and 'the body politic' as did 'common weal'. It is noteworthy how forcefully and effectively, as early as 1531, Elyot argued against the use of 'common weal' in the latter sense:

> 'Hit semeth that men haue ben longe abused in calling *Rempublicam* a common weale … There may appere lyke diuersitie to be in englisshe betwene a publike weale and a commune weale, as shulde be in latin, betwene *Res publica*, & *Res plebeia*' [468]

Thus, in the course of the 16th century, only 'commonwealth' emerged as 'the ordinary English term' indicating 'the whole body of people constituting a nation or state, the body politic; a state, an independent community'. Lewkenor therefore uses 'commonwealth' in the way in which the Renaissance used the term *respublica*, for instance to refer to the republics of antiquity, 'the commonwealth of the Romaines, of the Athenians, of the Carthaginians, of the Lacedemonians' (III, 65), when not omitting the term ('*il Dittatore nella Rep. Romana*' (*Libro* V, 161), 'the Romain Dictator' (V, 136). Similarly, Lewkenor translates as 'the whole commonwealth of Christendome' (IV, 109) the expression '*tutta la republica / Christiana*' (IV, 136-7) deriving from the High Medieval Latin *respublica Christianorum*, where *respublica* indicated the universality of the Christians (Christendom) [469].

---

[465] '*common weal*': 'well-being, prosperity', from *wealth*, ME *welthe*, :- OE *wela*, *weola*.

[466] See R. Brunne, *Chron*. (1330), (1810) 202: 'þe comen wele was paied of þat conseilyng þat it were not delayed, so was R[ichard] þe kyng' (*OED*, *ibid*., 2. c.).

[467] '*commonwealth*': 'body politic', from *wealth*, ME *welthe*, a later formation from OE *wela*; its history, in fact, runs parallel with that of '*common weal*' (*OED*).

[468] *OED*, see Sir Thomas Elyot, *Book Named the Governor*, 1531, on-line.

[469] See Francesco Guicciardini: '*il fondamento de' concili era la pace e la concordia tra i cristiani, non potendosi senza l'unione delle volontà convenire cosa alcuna in beneficio comune, né esser degno di laude cominciare il concilio in tempo e in maniera che e' paresse cominciarsi più per sdegno e per vendetta che per zelo o dell'onore di Dio o dello stato salutifero della republica cristiana*', *La Historia d'Italia*, *di M. Francesco Guicciardini* …., in Venetia, appresso Girolamo Polo, MDXCIX (1594), X.12. This is the reason why the project for a council - the future Council of Trent (1545-1547) – of which Contarini had been put in

Thus, Lewkenor used 'commonwealth' when translating *La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia*, though, even in this sense, the word 'commonwealth' did not – and could not - exactly account for the peculiarities of the Venetian government. This said, it is worth remarking that, in the course of the translation itself, though mostly translating '*republica*' by 'commonwealth', Lewkenor also looks for variety in one of the following types:

Libro I

'*la republica Vinitiana*', p. 41 > '*Venice*' p. 5

'*la republica*', p. 41 > 'their country' p. 6

'*cosi chiara republica*', p. 41 > 'so flourishing a commonwealth' p. 6

'*la Republica*', p. 48 > 'the government thereof', p. 14

'*la Republica Venitiana*', p. 50 > 'our Venetian commonwealth' p. 15

'*questa sola Repub.*', p. 50 > 'this onely cittie', p. 15

'*non à ogn'uno … il reggimento della Republica*', p. 67 > 'not every one do governe', p. 33

'*questa sola Repub.*', p. 68 > 'this cittie of ours', p. 33

Libro II

'*la Republica Vinitiana*', p. 76 > 'the citie of *Venice*', p. 42

'*la Repub. Vinetiana*', p. 81 > 'the commonwealth of *Venice*', p. 48 [etc.]

An original solution is found by Lewkenor for:

'*nell'ufficio della Republica*' (V, 165) > 'in duty' (V, 141).

There are, however, some significant exceptions to the translation of '*republica*' by 'commonwealth'.

A first category concerns some instances where Lewkenor translates '*republica*' by 'the common good' or 'the generall good', thus almost reflecting a perduring hesitation of the English language between 'commonwealth' e 'common weal', for instance:

---

charge when made a Cardinal in 1535, encountered so many difficulties. Hence the sensitiveness of the diplomatic mission entrusted to Contarini himself in 1541 as the Pope's observer at the Ratisbon talks, convened by the Emperor despite the unwillingness of many. The Italian *republica cristiana* seems to be first attested in Sanudo's *diaries*: '*Desiderando nui con summa affectione la defensione de la ortodossa fede e de la cristiana republica … volentieri atendemo sicome nostro debito, a quelle cosse per le quali sia opressa l'iniquità di nefandi turchi inimici di essa fede*', quoted in Salvatore Battaglia, voce 'Repubblica', *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, UTET, Torino, 2002.

Libro III

> '*ne venga à patir danno la Republica*', p. 101 >
> 'the common good might receive preiudice', p. 70

Libro IV

> *il Senato vuol che s'habbi talmente riguardo alla Rep. che…,* p. 139 > the Senate (as their chiefest care is directed to the generall good of the commonwealth) so …, p. 112
>
> *per commodo della Rep*, p. 139 >
> for the generall good and benefite of the common wealth, p. 112
>
> *che'l primo, & maggiore rispetto fusse havuto alla Republica, che al privato commodo*, p. 141 > that the generall good was first provided for, and then the private, p. 114

In turn, Lewkenor translates the Italian '*ben comune*' with great variety of language reaching a climax in the last paragraph Book IV:

> *Però sono publicamente ordinati i Magistrati, iquali à questi ufficij attendano, per non parere i nostri maggiori essere mancati in parte veruna (1) al ben commune, se alcuno (2) diligentemente (3) l'ordine di questa Republica (4) con diritto occio riguardarà*, IV, 150
>
> and therefore these magistrates are ordained to the ende to defend their children from wrong, whereby it may appeare to those that shall (2) consideratelie, and (4) with an indifferent eye looke into (3) the order, and government of this commonwealth, that our ancesters did not omit any thing that might tend to (1) the common benefite and good of their Countrie, IV, 125.

A second category concerns some instances where Lewkenor translates '*republica*' in the sense of '*erario*' and therefore by '*common treasure*' or '*common rents and tributes*', corresponding to the High Middle Ages use of *republica* / *respublica* for '*erario imperiale*':

> '*havesse rubbato alla Republica*' (IV, 136) > 'having abused or defrauded the common treasure'(IV, 108)
>
> *Sendo dunque di doppia maniera le contrate [sic] della Republica à quella cosa sono proposti per il censo raccolto de i cittadini, altri alle rendite, & Datij della Republica* (IV, 137) > Seeing then that this common treasure consisteth of two kindes, two likewise are the kinds of magistrates to whose charge they are committed. The one for the subsidies levied of the people; and the other for / the common rents and tributes (IV, 109-110)

A third and last category of exceptions to the usual translation of '*republica*' by 'commonwealth' concerns some cases where Lewkenor employs the term 'state'. An example is the following:

> *Aggiungansi, che cosa propria, & peculiare è d'ogni* ***Republica****, che della publica potestà molti partecipino, & quella cosa è molto giusta, che i cittadini tra loro uguali, per iquai la* ***Republica*** *in stato suol mantenersi, non siano diseguali nel conseguir de gli honori*, I, 67

> so that nothing is more proper to a **commonwealth**, then that the common authority and power should belong to many, for it is iust that the citizens, by whom the **state** of the Cittie is maintained, being otherwise among thenselves equall, should not in this distribution of honors bee made vnequall, I, 33 [sic]

The example of '*la Republica in stato suol mantenersi*'

As made clear in the original, however, the meaning of the sentence '*la Repubblica in stato suol mantenersi'*, rendered into English as 'by whom the state of the Cittie is maintained', is another [470]. In fact, the Latin expression *quod interest* means 'what is relevant', as in *interest omnium recte facere* (Cicero), 'it is important that all act properly' [471]. In addition, the first meaning of the verb *constare* in propositions with *ex* and the ablative means 'to consist of', as for example in *ex animo constamus et corpore* (Cicero), 'we are made of spirit and body' [472]. The Italian translator must have chosen the second meaning of the verb *constare* which is 'to remain in a stable, secure, unwavering state', and therefore 'to continue, to last, to persist'. Hence his translation of '*cives, ex quibus Resp. constare solet*' as '*la Repubblica in stato suol mantenersi*', and Lewkenor's equally baffling rendering of it as 'the citizens, by whom the state of the Cittie is maintained', whereas the meaning is: a republic is usually constituted (*Resp. constare solet*) of citizens all on an equal footing (*consimiles inter se cives*) in taking part in the government, that is, the patriciate. In other words, what Contarini says is *l'état c'est nous*, thus contributing textual evidence to what has been recently argued, that there was no distinction in Venice between the state as an entity and the patriciate [473].

Thus, although, unlike the first example of a mistranslation - where Lewkenor translates '*non può operar cosa contra la libertà della Republica*' as '[the Doge] cannot invade [the citizens's] liberty - this second example appears unintentional, it nevertheless ends, like the first, by altering Contarini's

---

[470] '*Adde quod Reip. interest publicam potestatem ad plures pertinere: idque æquissimum sit, ut consimiles inter se cives, ex quibus Resp. constare solet, non dispares sint in honoribus consequendis*' [ed. 1543, I, 28]. The text is substantially the same in the 1578 edition, though the particularly convoluted revision may have occasioned Lewkenor no little difficulty: '*magis autem reipublicæ proprium nihil prorsus est, quam publicam potestatem ad plures pertinere: nam cum Respublica ex ijs plane civibus constet, quos inter summa sit æqualitas,* [???] *honoribus adipiscendis dispares sint, minime conveni*t', I, 276.

[471] See *interesse* in Calonghi, *Dizionario italiano-latino*, cit.

[472] See *consto* in Calonghi, *Dizionario latino-italiano*, cit.

[473] 'Dès l'origine, la définition du patriciat se fondait sur l'exercice de l'autorité publique et l'ensemble des patriciens participaient, au moins théoriquement, à la gestion des institutions. En tant que catégorie collective, et en 'situation publique', les patriciens *étaient* l'État', see Claire Judde de Larivière, 'De l'impossible discours aux formes de l'action. La fidélité politique à Venise, XVe–XVIe siècles', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerrannée*, t. 118, 2006, pp. 217-225, at p. 6.

thought on fundamental points of his exposition. In fact, these examples bear on issues that were crucial to the political debate in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, namely the citizens's 'liberty' in relation to the monarch's power, and the very notion of 'citizens' as opposed to 'subjects'. No wonder if, either intentionally or inadvertedly, Lewkenor projected the 'republican' concerns of Elizabethan England unto the translation of this most celebrated text on the Republic of Venice.

Early Modern English

Lexicon apart, there were other difficulties to surmount, mostly syntactic. For instance, Lewkenor was obliged to have recourse to periphrastic sentences to translate the Italian 'per', 'accioche', and 'perche' in the absence of 'in order to', which only acquired the sense of 'for the purpose of (some prospective end)' in the 17th century [474], thus accounting for some of his additions to the Italian text. I have counted 15 occurences in Book I, variously resolved – and spelled - as 'lest' (× 4); 'to the end that' (× 2) / 'to the ende … that' (×1); 'that' (× 2); 'least' (× 3); 'least otherwise' (× 3); 'lest that otherwise' (× 1), all making use of the subjunctive, plus one instance where the solution was a free translation:

> *ciascuno del popolo con ugual potestà, & comodo dee nella Repub. essere trattato: accioche pervenir possi al grado de i Magistrati* (I, 68)
>
> *every one ought to bee sweetned alike with participation of the honours and commodities of the commonwealth, without more exclusion of one more then another* (I, 34 [*rectius* 34 *bis*])

On the other hand, Lewkenor had the advantage of writing at the time of the greatest and fastest development of the English language to which, as seen above, he offered the word *sestiere*. Besides the lexicon, however, also the orthography and the morphology of the translation provide evidence as to the linguistic enthusiasm of the age.

One instance is the exuberant use, as yet unchecked, of 'which' as a personal pronoun - as shown by 18 occurences as 'which' and 'the which', in Book I - alongside 'that', but also 'who' in its various cases. For example, 'those great Philosophers, which' (I, 7) and 'sundry of the chiefe Senators, among the which' (I, 14). There are, however, also instances of 'these yong men that' (I, 19), 'the gentleman, who' (I, 21), 'the young man whose name' (I, 21), 'the citizens, by whom' (I, 33 *sic*), this last also spelt 'whome' as in 'our auncestors, from whome' (I, 6), 'of electors: for whome' (I,

[474] 1655 *Clarke Papers* (Camden) III, 33 Col. Jones and Col. Penruddock are sent downe into the west in order to theire tryall; (b) with infinitive object: 1711 Steele *Spect*. N° 48 p. 2, I shall next Week come down … in order to take my Seat at the Board (*OED*).

29), ‘he, to whome’ (I, 34 *rectius* 26), etc. On the other hand, there are instances of ‘the ball, which if he be of the golden sort’ (I, 19); ‘round balles […] euery one hauing his marks’ (I, 19); ‘the fift part of the noble yong men … is euery yeare admitted … to giue his voice’ (I, 20); ‘nine litle bals … each of them marked with his number’ (I, 34 *rectius* 26).

Another instance of exuberance is the formation of the comparative and superlative which, though often similar to that of present English, still presents a certain amount of variety. For instance, starting with ‘the more cleere’ of the title page, we also meet the occasional ‘more excellent’ and ‘much more worth [he is then]’ (I, 10), ‘the worser’ (I, 13), ‘chiefest’ (I, 15) - also ‘chiefliest’ (I, 35 *bis*) – and ‘the middlest’ (I, 23) - also ‘middest’ (I, 38, *rectius* 30) - besides an interesting ‘learnedlyest’ (I, 14).

However, though confirming such characteristic features of Early Modern English, Lewkenor’s language still presents marks of individuality. I refer here to the third-person singular *–eth* ending, a Southern feature which had been the traditional form until the rise of the Northen *-(e)s* ending. Though attested in London since the late 15th century, the *-(e)s* (contracted) ending had finally gained acceptance in the 16th century and been adopted by the *literati*, while the *–eth* ending was retained in formal contexts (*e.g.* liturgical) and in some regional dialects. So it is interesting to remark that Lewkenor, a Sussex man and a resident of Selsey Isle at the time of translating Contarini, is at the end of the century still employing the Southern *–eth* ending for all third-person singular verbs: ‘ariseth’, ‘beginneth’, ‘beholdeth’, ‘bringeth’, ‘commeth’, ‘goeth’, ‘incloseth’, ‘leeseth’, ‘maketh’, etc.

Equally telling of an individual personality is the spelling of *The Commonwealth and Gouernement of Venice*. Though mostly adhering to the printing conventions being tentatively standardised at the time (*e.g.*, ‘u’ and ‘v’ used interchangeably, ‘v’ at the beginning of words, ‘u’ elsewhere; long ‘s’ resembling ‘f’; the occasional ampersand ‘&’, etc.), still in Lewkenor’s text common nouns are never capitalized as, by contrast, is the case of the five poems introducing the translation. The few exceptions to this ‘rule’ only confirm that they answer to a rationale of their own: ‘*City*’, that is, Venice (also variously spelt ‘*Citie*’ and ‘*Cittie*’ even on the same page, *e.g.* on page 1); ‘*Empire*’ (I, 2); ‘*Continent*’ (I, 3); ‘*Gods*’ (I, 4), etc.

V. Lewkenor's additional sources:

Divers Observations on the Venetian Government

1. Lewkenor's *Divers Observations on the Venetian Commonwealth*. Methodology of the comparison. **2.** The authors that Lewkenor chose and the editions seemingly adopted, with some examples of the divergences of the translations in relation to their respective sources: 1) *The situation of the Citie of Venice described by Donato Gianotti a Florentine, more plain & particular in mine opinion then that of Contarenus*: an example of modernization; 2) *Collections taken out of the historie of Signior Bernardo Giustiniani, a Gentleman of Venice*: an example of some omissions; 3) *Sebastian Munsters description of the Citie of Venice*: an example of a 'political' explanation; 4) *Notes out of Girolamo Bardi*: the example of a mistranslation: *Gesuati,* 'Iesuites', *Gesuiti*; 5) *Francesco Sansovini*: an example of a 'political' omission; Lexical omissions; Other divergences; 6) *A breviate of the History & lives of the Venetian princes*: a few examples of 'political' omissions. **3.** The interaction of Lewkenor's Appendix with Contarini's text: a) Integration of *De magistratibus* through the addition of sundry points not discussed by Contarini: a. 1.) from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*; a. 2.) from 'Girolamo Bardi'; a. 3.) from Sansovino; b) Integration of *De magistratibus* through the explication of Contarini's unclear points: b. 1.) from Donato Giannotti: the situation of the city of Venice; b. 2.) from Bernardo Giustiniani: the situation of the city of Venice; c) Integration of *De magistratibus* to update Contarini's exposition: from Donato Giannotti: the *oselle*.

1. Lewkenor's *Divers Observations on the Venetian Commonwealth*: the Appendix

Understandably, in the course of his translation, despite (or on account of) the continuous comparison with the Latin edition, some points in Contarini's text were still unclear to him. Lewkenor therefore researched them by reading other books and asking informed Venetian gentlemen about them. Thus he learnt a number of additional things that Contarini does not discuss in his treatise and that puzzle a foreign reader, and gained a better understanding of the complete picture. This complete picture, rendered as clear and precise as in a looking-glass, Lewkenor offers to Contarini's readers by way of an Appendix to the translation containing 'Divers Observations on the Venetian Government':

> *Sundry Notes and Collections which I have gathered as well by reading and observation, as also by conference with Venetian Gentlemen skilfull in the state of their countrey, for the better understanding of sundry points eyther not at all touched in the former discours or else so obscurely, that the reader being a stranger cannot thereby rest fully satisfied especially if he have a curious desire to knew every particular of their government. But this being added unto the former, I doubt not but the state of the whole shall be so cleerly and exactly delivered unto him, as though (if it were possible) he should see the same in a glasse* [475]

Thus, by this means, Lewkenor continues to interact with Contarini's text, furnishing integrations (usually to update the text, and at times also to curiously modernise it), or explications (which sometimes turn into criticism). Therefore, an overview, however brief, of the Appendix is necessary

[475] Lewkenor, 'Divers Observations …', p. 150.

to complement an analysis of Lewkenor's translation. In particular, also the passages selected for the Appendix may signal what elements were more or less sensitive for the English translator and his readers, or simply more interesting. In fact, the Appendix greatly contributed to the book's success in England.

Methodology of the comparison

The identity of the '*Venetian Gentlemen skilfull in the state of their countrey*' with whom Lewkenor held conversations is very likely to remain unknown, unlike the works consulted and which he indicates at the beginning of each section as follows:

1) *The situation of the Citie of Venice described by Donato Gianotti a Florentine, more plain & particular in mine opinion then that of Contarenus*
2) *Collections taken out of the historie of Signior Bernardo Giustiniani, a Gentleman of Venice*
3) *Sebastian Munsters description of the Citie of Venice*
4) *Notes out of Girolamo Bardi*
5) *Francesco Sansovini*
6) *A breviate of the History & lives of the Venetian princes*

Once the excerpts that Lewkenor translated, or simply summed up, are identified – possibly in the edition that he is most likely to have employed – they must be examined under two different aspects, once in relation to the original texts and once in relation to Contarini's text. In relation to Contarini's text, the translations from other authors are meant to complement it by way of additions, which may be classified as additions of (a) points not discussed by Contarini; (b) explications of Contarini's unclear points; (3) fresh information on Contarini's material. They are usually announced. Lewkenor's translations, however, must be examined also in relation to their respective sources in view of the divergences they present and which are usually undeclared. They may be grouped into (a) omissions; (b) modernisations; (c) mistranslations; and (d) additions, some examples of which are given here before turning to examine Lewkenor's translations in relation to Contarini's text. However, when Lewkenor's translation presents divergences from the text at the same time also tending to 'integrate' Contarini's exposition, they are examined as follows.

2. The authors that Lewkenor chose and the editions seemingly adopted, with some examples of the divergences of the translations in relation to their respective sources

1) *The situation of the Citie of Venice described by Donato Gianotti a Florentine, more plain & particular in mine opinion then that of Contarenus* [476]

[476] *Ibid*., pp. 150-167.

As already mentioned, *Della republica de' Viniziani* (1540) by Donato Giannotti (Florence 1492 - Rome 1573), may have given Lewkenor the idea of adding to Contarini's exposition, since it had then become the custom to publish it together with *La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia*. Equally successful at the time, Giannotti's 'rival' treatise, in dialogue form, was the work of an exiled Florentine who attended the *Studium* in Padova in 1525-1526 and knew Contarini's friends intimately enough to dedicate the book to one of them, Francesco Nasi, and to cast another, Trifone Gabriele, as the book's main character. It is, however, uncertain whether Contarini and Giannotti ever met, which makes it odd that they should be writing on the Venetian government at the same time, each unaware of the other's activity and satisfied with his own, as the first in the field [477]. However, one of the differences between them was that Giannotti, prompted by the celebrated humanist Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), wrote and published his work directly in Italian. From *Della republica de' Viniziani*, which he never mentions by title, Lewkenor translates about one tenth.

Divergences of the English translation from Giannotti's text: an example of modernization

Among the divergences from the original, the translation offers an interesting example of the way in which Lewkenor brought it up to date. After the book's Venetian character, 'Trifone Gabriele', has explained to his foreign friend the role of the *Capitano generale* of the Venetian army on the mainland, he conludes:

> *'La quale degnità non sono ancora due anni che [noi] demmo a Francesco Maria della Rovera duca d'Urbino; uomo, e per scienza militare, e per prudenza, e per molte altre sue virtú, da essere sopra tutti gli altri capitani de' tempi nostri celebrato: nella cui virtú abbiamo tanta fede, che mentre egli comanderà a' nostri eserciti, non pensiamo che i nostri stati possano essere da forza esterna oppressi'*

This paragraph is silently entirely replaced by the following:

> 'he that now enioyeth that place is one *Iohn Baptista de Monte* a Florentine borne, a notable soldier, and a very honourable Gentleman, one under whome I have served in the warres, and am in all thankefulnesse to acknowledge many favors that I received both from him and his brother *Camillo de Monte*', p. 166

In fact, Francesco Maria della Rovere Duke of Urbino (1490–1538), appointed *capitano generale* in June, 1526, was the *condottiere* of the Venetian army at the time Giannotti was writing and remained in charge, by subsequent renewals of his *condotta*, until the day he died. Lewkenor's *Iohn Baptista de Monte* – i.e. Giambattista del Monte a Santa Maria Marquess di Pian Castagnaio

[477] Felix Gilbert is the authority on the dates of composition of the two works: Contarini began his book during his diplomatic mission to Charles V between 1522 and 1525 and added the last part (Book V) after his return to Venice, about 1530, while Giannotti began his in Padua around 1525-1526, finished a first draft by mid-1527, and continued to revise it for ten years more, see Gilbert, 'The Date of the Composition …', cit., pp. 172-184.

(1540-1614) - was indeed the *capitano generale* of the Venetian army at the time of Lewkenor's translation. However, before receiving his *condotta* in 1587 del Monte, under whom Lewkenor served, was in the Spanish King's service in Flanders and flanked the Duke of Parma, Alessandro Farnese, on the occasion of the siege of Antwerp (1584-5) [478].

2) *Collections taken out of the historie of Signior Bernardo Giustiniani, a Gentleman of Venice* [479]

De origine urbis Venetiarum rebusque ab ipsa gestis historia (1492) by Bernardo Giustiniani (Venezia 1408-1489) was translated into Italian in 1545, one year after the Italian translation of Contarini's work, possibly by that same Ludovico Domenichi who is sometimes also indicated as Contarini's Italian translator. The Italian edition of the *Historia* is very likely the text adopted by Lewkenor for his translation from Giustiniani [480]. Lewkenor chose to translate most of Giustiniani's first pages of the *Historia* containing a geographical description of Venice, which in fact makes a good complement to Contarini's treatise in that it stresses the importance of the mainland rivers in the life of the city and its lagoon.

Divergences of the English translation from Giustiniani's text: the example of some omissions

Lewkenor kept fairly close to the text, but some omissions may prove interesting. Thus, for instance, when translating the paragraph that introduces the subject of the rivers flowing into the Adriatic sea, Lewkenor omits a few lines (here emphasised in bold print) on how these rivers had been identified by Pliny. The lines are, in effect, somewhat pedantic, and in any case irrelevant to the overall meaning of the translation which is the presence of a total of seven rivers:

In queste paludi senza gli altri minori si scaricano sette fiumi al[tissimi], che dall'alpi cadono, che mandan / fuori grandissima copia d'acque, il Tagliamento, la Livenza, la Piave, la Brenta, e il Bacchiglione, ***questi tre di più novo nome. Meduaco fu quello, che i moderni han poi chiamato Brenta, benchè Plinio metta due Meduaci, de iquali, come io credo, l'uno è il Bacchiglione, l'Adige, & il Pò dapoi. Hora*** *il Pò, & l'Adige hanno riempito tutta quella parte delle paludi, nella quale essi ricadono, d'arena*, pp. 14-5

Fiumi che entrano in dette paludi.

Besides sundry of lesse reckoning, there do disgorge downe into these Lakes,

[478] As seen above in chap. 4, in 1588, three years after the successful siege of Antwerp, the Duke of Parma had his troops (the Spanish Army of Flanders), ready for embarcation to cross the Channel under the escort of the Spanish Fleet, and 'almost' invaded England.

[479] Lewkenor, 'Divers Observations …', pp. 168-171.

[480] The text of Bernardo Giustiniani's *Historia*, here adopted for comparison with Lewkenor's translated excerpts, is a 1608 on-line edition.

> seven famous rivers that come descending from the Alpes: as *Taliagmento* [sic], *Livenza*, *La Piave*, *La Brenta*, *Bachiglione*, *Adice* [sic] and *Poe* [sic], which two last rivers, the *Adice* and the *Poe* have filled and stuffed up those parts of the Lakes, into which they fall with sande, p. 170

Below, however, Lewkenor omits the translation of a whole paragraph where Giustiniani, quoting Pliny again and in particular the remark that the estuary of the river Po was said to create 'seven seas' [481], observes that it is not so much the mouth of the river Po as all the marshes into which it flows, *tutte quelle paludi* (*i.e*. the lagoon), that are called 'the seven seas', *sono chiamate i sette mari*:

> *'[…] Da questi sette fiumi, ch'io ho ricordato, io stimerei forse queste paludi essere state chiamate* ***sette mari****, se ad alcuni non paresse Plinio più tosto haver voluto il Pò esser quello, che ridutto in fosse tra Ravenna, & Altino di cento venti miglia faccia* ***sette mari****; nondimeno perche più largamente getti esser detto che faccia i* ***sette mari****. Ma ciò che seguita non può molto parer lontano dall'opinion nostra; impercioche poco dapoi dice gli Asagi Toscani essere stati i primi, che fecero tutte queste fosse, & fiumi rigettato l'impeto del fiume per traverso nelle paludi degli Adriani; lequali si chiamano i* ***sette mari****; di sorte, che non solo quel tratto inferiore delle paludi, dove si scarica il Pò, quanto tutte quelle paludi siano / chiamate i* ***sette mari****. Oltra di ciò presso alcuno io non ho letto mai, che'l Pò entri in mare con sette capi'*, pp. 16-17
>
> Onde le paludi suddette siano dette i sette mari.

'However', Giustiniani equably concludes, 'if Pliny is of the contrary opinion, I do not want to contend with such an Author' [482].

As it is, the Venice lagoon is seemingly at the origin of the well-known idiomatic expression. As Lane writes: 'The expression *to sail the seven seas* was a classical flourish signifying nautical skill. It was applied to the Venetians long before they sailed the ocean' [483].

However, it is unclear when the expression 'the seven seas' entered the English language. The *OED* mentions it only to give a modern list of them: the Arctic, Antarctic, North and South Pacific, North and South Atlantic, and Indian Oceans [484], while the phraseology refers to 'the four seas', *i.e.* 'the

[481] '… nec alius amnium tam brevi spatio maioris incrementi est. urguetur quippe aquarum mole et in profundum agitur, gravis terrae, quamquam diductus in flumina et fossas inter Ravennam Altinumque per CXX, tamen, qua largius vomit, *Septem Maria* dictus facere', Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, III, 20, 16.

[482] 'Nondimeno, se Plinio è di contraria opinione, io non voglio contendere con Auttore di tanto nome', Giustiniani, *Historia,* cit, p. 17.

[483] Lane, *Venice ...,* cit., p. 4.

[484] See '*Seven*', A. 6. (*OED*).

seas bounding Great Britain on the four sides', hence the expression 'within the four seas' to indicate Great Britain [485].

Thus, by omitting the translation of that paragraph in Giustiniani's *Historia*, Lewkenor may have forfeited the – as yet unawarded – honour of having introduced the expression 'the seven seas' into English in favour of Philemon Holland and his 1601 translation of Pliny:

> And there is not a river againe, that in so little a way, groweth to a greater streame: for over-charged it is and troubled with the quantitie of water, and therefore worketh it selfe a deepe channell, heavie and hurtfull to the earth under it, although it be derived and drawne into the other rivers and goles, betweene Ravenna and Altinum, for 120 miles: yet because he belcheth and casteth them out from him in so great abundance, he is said to make **seven seas**, [486]

3) *Sebastian Munsters description of the Citie of Venice* [487]

The erudite cartographer, cosmographer, and philologist Sebastian Münster (Niederingelheim 1489-Basilea 1552) was the author of the first description of the world in German, the *Cosmographei oder Beschreibung aller Laender* (Basel, 1544), a work richly illustrated by several well-known artists, Hans Holbein among them. It was very successful. During the 16th century it went through several editions in different languages [488], but it never appeared fully in English, possibly for the technical reasons now suggested [489]. Thus, it may well be that Lewkenor was the first English translator of the part of the *Cosmographia* relating to Venice [490].

---

[485] See '*Sea*', 2. b., *ibid*.

[486] See Philemon Holland, *The Historie of the World. Commonly called, The Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus. Translated into English by Philemon Holland, Doctor in Physic,* 1601 translation of Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, on-line.

[487] Lewkenor, 'Divers Observations …', pp. 171-178.

[488] There were several German editions of the *Cosmographia* (1544, 1546, 1548, 1550, 1553, 1556, 1558, 1561, 1564, 1567, 1569, 1572, 1574, 1578, 1588, 1592, 1598, 1614, 1628). Translations appeared in Latin (1550, 1552, 1554, 1559, 1572), French (1552, 1556, 1560, 1565, 1568, 1575), Italian (1558, 1575, plus one Venetian edition between the two (Tomasini Jacopo?), and Chech (1554).

[489] 'No full English-language edition was produced. Perhaps Basel lacked a suitably equipped linguist, and England lacked an adequately equipped print house. Richard Eden, however, produced a translation of the last part of the *Cosmographia* focusing upon the sensational along with two other patchwork books in which Münster featured, and George North produced *The description of Swedeland* …, London, John Awdley, 1561', Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007, p. 175.

[490] Only sections of Münster's *Cosmographia* were translated into English. In 1553 there appeared the section on India (*A treatyse of the newe India, with other newfounde landes and Ilandes … after the description of S. Munster in his boke of universall Cosmographie …*Translated out of Latin into Englishe by R. Eden. B. L. Sutton, London, 1553), followed in 1572 by the section on the 'Tartars' etc, (*A Briefe Collection and compendious Extract of straunge and memorable thinges, gathered oute of the Cosmographye of S. Munster. B. L. MS. notes*), which ran into a second edition in 1574, and the section on

For the present purposes the collation has been conducted on a 1552 Latin edition (on-line) [491], although Lewkenor may have translated Münster from an Italian or possibly a French edition. A hint in this direction comes from a marginal note relating to the name of the fourth Doge, Diodato Orso Ipato (742-756) [492]. Münster's Latin version refers to him as *Adeodatum* (p. 155), but Lewkenor translates it as *Theodore* explaining that 'Munster calleth this Theodore Dieudome [Dieudonné]' (p. 173), which is in fact the French for *Adeodatum*. This is seemingly confirmed by another instance where Lewkenor employs an Italian source and therefore translates this name differently. In the last section of the Appendix, entitled *A breviate of the History & lives of the Venetian princes* (a chronological list of the Dogi derived from Sansovino), Lewkenor leaves the name in the subtitle, '*Theodato Hypato Doge IV*', unvaried, but on meeting '*Deodato già figliolo del Doge Orso*' in the text he translates it as '*Deodatus* sonne to Duke *Orso*' [493].

Divergences of the English translation from Münster's text: the example of a 'political' explanation

Whatever the language of the text adopted, Lewkenor translates the section on Venice with a certain relish. Sebastian Münster devotes to it four pages of Book II, plus one of the twelve city maps of his *Cosmographia*. Lewkenor translates virtually everything, including the ornamental inscriptions on the two-page map of Venice, partly because the world-view of the distinguished geographer-cartographer could not but capture his interest but mainly because the *Cosmographia*, which aspired to encyclopedic status, contains a wealth of information on the history and customs of the countries mentioned which, as regards Venice, form the really interesting parts of the English translation.

Political caution, however, may have inspired yet another marginal note after Münster's

> *In summa, urbs illa magnificentissima, pulcherrima et ditissima, facta est regina maris',* p. 155

translated, with the additional explication, as

> 'In fine this noble, goodly and magnificent citie is become Queene of the sea', p. 172 — He meaneth that she is commandresse of the Adriatique seas

---

'Moscovia' in 1577 ('A briefe description of Moscovia, after the later writers, as S. Munster, and J. Gastaldus', in Eden (Richard) *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies*, etc., 1577).

[491] The 1552 Basel edition is available on-line.

[492] The son of the third Doge, Orso Ipato (726-737). 'Ipato' means 'consul of Byzantium'.

[493] Lewkenor, 'Divers Observations …', p. 201.

Lewkenor thus seems intent on clarifying not only that Venice's maritime supremacy is not a 'royal' prerogative but also that it is limited to a specific sea, the Adriatic, according to the concept of state 'territorial waters' well established by the 13th century [494]. In fact, this concept had a long tradition in northern Europe. Ancient Anglo-Saxon law used the term *Strom* or *Strem* to refer to both rivers and coastlines adjacent to high seas, and the English term 'King's stream' (or river), like the Danish *Konges stromme*, was synonymous with 'territorial sea'. So the King of England appears to have been the first to lay claim to the coastal waters, giving himself the title of 'Sovereign of the Britannic Ocean' (10th c.) [495]. Thus England traditionally claimed the dominion of the sea areas close to its coast, the 'narrow seas' [496].

However, when the New World was discovered and new commercial routes began to be explored, England upheld the principle of the freedom of the high seas. It was first articulated in 1580 by Queen Elizabeth I who sent her fleet into the Caribbean Sea, thereby calling into question Spain's and Portugal's claim of exclusive sovereignty over the Atlantic Ocean, acknowledged in 1493 by a Bull of Pope Alexander VI [497]. Queen Elizabeth took the same stance against Denmark in 1602. Thus, Lewkenor's clarification seems to indicate that he was aware of the persisting sensitivity of the issue. In fact, he appears both to disassociate himself from Münster's use of the term 'Queene' with reference to Venice and to qualify Münster's generic expression of Venice's dominion 'over the sea' as a claim not over the high seas but simply over the closed and narrow Adriatic sea, that is, as a claim equivalent to England's over its 'narrow seas', and just as acceptable.

---

[494] There is a vast literature on Venice and its claim on the Adriatic sea. See for instance Filippo De Vivo, 'Historical Justifications of Venetian Power in the Adriatic', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 64, Number 2, Johns Hopkins University Press, April 2003, pp. 159-176.

[495] See René-Jean Dupuy, Daniel Vignes (eds.), *A Handbook on the New Law of the Sea*, Hague Academy of International Law, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1991, pp. 64 and 386. On the issue of the sovereignty of the sea in general and more particularly on the Venetian claim on the Adriatic sea, see Thomas Wemyss Fulton, *The sovereignty of the sea: an historical account of the claims of England to the dominion of the British seas, and of the evolution of the territorial waters, with special reference to the rights of fishing and the naval salute*, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1911, reprint by The Lawbook Exchange Ltd., 2002. Also, Michael S. Reidey, *Tides of History: Ocean Science and Her Majesty's Navy*, University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. 272; W. E. Butler, 'Grotius and the law of the sea', in *Hugo Grotius and International Relations*, Bull Hedley, Benedict Kingsbury, and Adam Roberts (eds.), Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 209 ff.

[496] This was followed by Denmark's and Sweden's claim on the Baltic, with Denmark extending it to the Atlantic on the principle that "possession of the opposite shores [Iceland and Greenland] carried the sovereignty of the intervening seas", see Dupuy, *A Handbook*…, cit., p. 386.

[497] See Dupuy, *A Handbook*…, cit., p. 387.

In addition to this additional explication, however, Lewkenor's translation from Münster presents some major and intentional divergences from the text which, though effectively altering the original, are ostensibly introduced to 'integrate' Contarini's exposition. They are therefore examined later on under this heading.

4) *Notes out of Girolamo Bardi* [498]

Lewkenor does not give the title of the work from which he extracts the *Notes* he attributes to Girolamo Bardi (Florence c.1544-Venice 1594). A Camaldolese monk in the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, a flourishing centre of humanism in Florence since the 15th century, Bardi later moved to Venice where he published several works, among them *La Cronologia universale dalla Creazione di Adamo fino al 1581* [499] and the *Dichiaratione di tutte le istorie, che si contengono ne i quadri posti novamente nelle sale dello Scrutinio, & del Gran Consiglio, del Palagio Ducale della Serenissima Republica di Vinegia* (1587) [500]. He was not, however, the author of the book from which Lewkenor took his *Notes*.

This book, published in 1556 with the title *Tutte le cose notabili e belle che sono in Venetia*, indicated the author as M. Anselmo Guisconi, a name disguising Francesco Sansovino (see below), who apparently continued to revise and enlarge it in the following years. The book was, in fact, extremely successful. It amounted to the first historic and artistic guide-book on Venice and appeared in various reprints and new editions under different titles, but with no mention of Sansovino's name except in a 1561 edition, where it appears at the end of the dedicatory epistle. Hence the 19th - century attribution of the book to him, which is reinforced by the subject-matter, typical of Sansovino and his *Venetia, città nobilis*[sima] *et singolare* (1581) [501]. No less than thirty-

---

[498] Lewkenor, 'Divers Observations …', pp. 178-190.

[499] *Chronologia vniversale, nella quale della creatione di Adamo fino all'anno 1581 di Christo nostro sig. brevemente si racconta la origine di tutte le genti, il principio di tutte le monarchie, di tutti i regni, republiche, principati, la salutifera incarnatione di Christo, con la successione de sommi pontefici romani, la creatione di patriarchi, le congregationi dei religiosi, le militie de cavalieri, i concili vniversali, & nationali, le heresie, i scismi, le congiure, paci, rebellioni, guerre, & prodigij, la denominatione di tutti gli huomini in ogni professione illustri. Con la particolar narratione delle dette cose successe d'anno, in anno, nel mondo*. Fatta da Girolamo Bardi. In Venetia : appresso i Giunti, 1581.

[500] *Dichiarazione di tutte le istorie, che sono state dipinte nei quadri delle sale dello Scrutinio, & del Gran Consiglio del Palagio Ducale. Nella quale s'ha piena intelligenza delle vittorie illustri conseguite fin' hora di varie nationi del mondo dai Vinitiani*. Fatta da Girolamo Bardi Fiorentino. In Venetia: appresso Felice Valgrisio, 1587.

[501] See E(mmanuele) A(ntonio) Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana*, Venezia, 1847, vol. 2., pp. 597-8; Melzi, *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime …*, cit.

nine editions appeared between the second half of the 16th and the end of the 17th century, although after Sansovino's death in 1583 the book carried revisions and additions by other authors [502].

As for the previous, long standing attribution to Bardi, a 1587 edition of the book, here adopted for collation with Lewkenor's translation, may explain the circumstances. This edition is entitled *Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia, libri II* [503] and is published together with Bardi's *Dichiaratione di tutte le istorie*. However, since the name of the author of the first work, Francesco Sansovino, is not given and only the name of the second author, Girolamo Bardi, appears, Bardi was long reputed the author of both. Thus, it has been pointed out that possibly Bardi was not completely innocent, and in fact that he 'arranged the typography of the title page (perhaps deliberately) so that the question of authorship is left ambiguous' [504]. Thus, Lewkenor's mistake was unavoidable, especially if he adopted the 1587 edition, which is highly probable since all the reprints of this edition appeared after Lewkenor's translation [505], and he does not provide any updates later than 1585.

Divergences of the English translation from 'Bardi's text: the example of a mistranslation

An interesting point may be raised following a mistranslation by Lewkenor while translating 'Bardi''s description of the Doge's funeral procession. The text mentions

> *un numero infinito di torzi portati da persone particolari parte, & parte da Frati Gesuati*, p. 82

translated as

> an innumerable number of torches, many of which are carried by the Iesuites, p. 180

---

[502] See, for instance, the edition catalogued in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice as 'Opera anonima attribuita a Francesco Sansovino, con aggiunte di Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni (1548-1629), di cui Leonico Goldioni è anagramma' (BNM, 92.D.219, segnatura: a8, A-M8, N12), entitled *Le cose marauigliose dell'inclita città di Venetia, riformate, accommodate, & grandemente ampliate da Leonico Goldioni; oue amplamente, & con ogni verità si contengono, & si descriuono vsanze antiche...fabriche, e palazzi...officij, e magistrati...tutti li patriarchi...chiese e monasteri...Con la tauola copiosissima di tutto il contenuto del libro*. In Venetia : presso Domenico Imberti, 1603.

[503] *Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia, libri II. Ne i quali si contengono vsanze antiche. Habiti & vestiti. ... Nouuamente riformati, accresciuti, & abbelliti con l'aggionta della dichiaratione delle istorie, che sono state dipinte ne i quadri delle sale dello Scrutinio, & del gran Consiglio del palagio Ducale. ...* Fatta da Girolamo Bardi fiorentino. In Venetia : appresso Felice Valgrisio, 1587. According to E. A. Cicogna it is a reprint of *Descrizione di tutte le cose notabili, che sono in Venezia, tra un Viniziano ed un Forestiero* (Rampazzetto, 1565? Franceschi 1568?).

[504] McPherson, 'Lewkenor's Venice and Its Sources', cit., p.464, n. 21.

[505] See Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana*, cit.

The visitors's confusion between *gesuati* and *gesuiti* is still, in fact, a frequent occurrence. Despite the assonance, however, there is considerable difference between the *frati gesuati* and the *gesuiti* (jesuits).

Gesuati

The *gesuati* friars were so called because of the frequent invocation of the name of Jesus but the official name of the Order was *Congregatio Iesuatorum Ordinis sancti Hieronymi*. Founded by the Blessed Giovanni Colombini da Siena c. 1360, the Order moved to Venice c. 1390 and settled in the *sestiere* of Dorsoduro at the Zattere, where a convent was eventually built in 1423 along the Canale della Giudecca together with an oratory, Santa Maria della Visitazione, which acquired its present form in 1524. It was an Order of Mendicant (or begging) Friars, who originally took the example of St Francis, renounced all property, and relied only on their work and charity [506]. It was their office to carry the torches in funeral processions:

> *Et dopò costoro vengono i Giesuati, de quali è proprio offitio in questa città, d'accompagnare i morti per privilegio, già gran tempo, ottenuto da loro [...] Et dopò lui continoua un'altra parte di Giesuati. Percioche il Cataletto si mette nel mezzo di detti frat. Et quel funearle è tenuto più & manco honorato, che ha più ò manco numero di Giesuati,* [507]

The Order, however, was suppressed by Pope Clement IX in 1668 and the assets of the congregation, seized by the Venetian state to finance the war against the Turks, were sold to another Mendicant Friars Order, the Dominicans, who built the present church, Santa Maria del Rosario (1743, arch. Giorgio Massari), and turned the former oratory into a library. Eventually, the Dominicans too had to abandon the convent in 1810 on Napoleon's edict dissolving the monasteries. The church of Santa Maria del Rosario, however, now a parish church, is still known as *Gesuati*.

---

[506] From the Middle Ages there remain four main mendicant orders – religious orders whose members have taken a vow of poverty and therefore depend on charity – *i.e.* the Friars Minor (Franciscans), the Order of the Preachers (the principal part of the Order of St Dominic), the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St Augustin (the Augustinians), see *The Catholic Encyclopedia* on-line.

[507] See Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilis*[sima] ..., cit., p. 150*v*. Also the entry 'Gesuati' in Fabio Mutinelli, *Lessico veneto che contiene l'antica fraseologia volgare e forense: l'indicazione di alcune leggi e statute, quella delle varie specie di navigli e di monete, delle spiaggie, dei porti e dei paesi già esistenti nel Dogado, delle chiese, dei monasteri, dei conventi, degli ospizii, e delle Confraternite che si trovavano nella città di Venezia, dei costumi, delle fabbriche e delle feste pubbliche, di tutti i magistrati, dei vescovi, dei patriarchi Ec. Ec;* co' tipi di Giambatista Andreola Editore, Venezia, 1851, on-line, p. 180.

It may be assumed, however, that Lewkenor did not know about the *Gesuati* friars, and so could easily mistake them for the *gesuiti* [508]. In fact, it seems likely that Lewkenor misread the unfamiliar word *Gesuati* (or took it for a misprint), and rendered it by one that was more familiar to him and closely associated with religion in Catholic countries, 'Iesuites'.

'Iesuites'

One may wonder, however, how Lewkenor felt about using the term 'jesuit' - albeit within a foreign context - considering its highly negative connotations in England at the time of the translation, following the fateful Jesuit mission to England in 1580-81 and the Armada in 1588. Closer in time to the translation, in 1593, an 'Act for restraining Popish Recusants' had been issued. In fact, it has been remarked that if England has never known the terrible bloodletting of the religious wars on the Continent, it is because, by skilful manipulation and propaganda, Elizabeth's government managed to make the Jesuits the scapegoats for most of England's troubles of the time. Thus, religion proved to be a most important factor in the formation of England as a modern state: the debate on ecclesiastical issues shaped the perception of the state and the nation, while Roman Catholicism (and the Jesuits) was 'the enemy against which an emergent Protestant nationalism defined itself' [509].

Gesuiti

Venice, by contrast, had long defined itself as a state, particularly on the issues of Catholic obedience and loyalty to the state, and when the Jesuits sided with the Pope against the Republic on the occasion of the interdict, they were promptly banished from the city and the whole Venetian territory (1606) [510], to be readmitted only fifty years later (1656) [511]. Interestingly, Venice was the first city where the Jesuits settled, possibly because its connections with the Middle and Far East made it a good base for their missions. In 1550, Andrea Lippomano offered the Society two

[508] However, it must be noticed that *Li Giesuati* are included later on in the translation of a list that Lewkenor copies from p. 206 of 'Bardi' (*rectius* Sansovino) under the heading 'The names & numbers of parishes and Churches under *Dorso duro*: Frieries', see Lewkenor, 'Divers Observations …', p. 188.

[509] See Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, cit., p. 109.

[510] For an English translation of the 1606 pronouncement of Pope Paul V against 'the lords of Venice', see Chambers, *Venice: A Documentary History…*, cit., pp. 225-227.

[511] Another Contarini, Alvise di Nicolò di Bertuzzi (of the St Giustina branch), was part of the delegation that successfully negotiated with the Pope the help that Venice needed in the war against the Turks in exchange of granting this 'papal wish'. He was elected Doge in 1676, see Gino Benzoni, 'Contarini, Alvise' (1601-1684), *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, vol. 28, 1983, pp. 91-97.

churches of which he was the Prior [512], one in Padua and one in Venice, Santa Maria dell'Umiltà, with the surrounding land and buildings. The church, formerly of the Knights Templar, was at the Zattere, near the Dogana, by a bridge still called Ponte dell'Umiltà [513]. Sansovino describes the church, which in 1582 the Senate had allowed the Jesuits to enlarge and which was later dedicated to the Visitazione della Vergine Maria (1589), as adorned with altar pieces by Jacopo da Bassano and Jacomo Palma and a rich ceiling by Paolo Veronese, and continuously visited by the majority of Venetians [514].

At the time of the interdict, however, the church and the annexed convent were granted to the Benedictine nuns of the Island of San Servolo (1618) [515]. Thus, when the Jesuits were readmitted, a new church was eventually erected in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio by the Fondamenta Nuove, *i.e.* exactly on the opposite side of Venice from the *Gesuati* [516]. Santa Maria Assunta, known as *Gesuiti* (1714–29, arch. Domenico Egidio Rossi), with its richly decorated interior and the impressive Baroque façade paid for by the powerful Manin family, provides a measure of the standing (re)acquired by the Society since its return to Venice.

In fact, if the Society could always count on rich and influential supporters among the patriciate it was also because of its special relationship to learning which naturally connected it with the upper classes in Venice and the Veneto [517]. For their part, the patricians's concern with instruction was also typically 'political', as made apparent by the words of Contarini's nephew Alvise (1537-1579), in his will of 1572. With the proviso that both his brother and himself died without male issue, he

[512] Andrea Lippomano was the brother of Luigi, the Bishop of Verona for whom Contarini had written *De officio episcopi*.

[513] See Flaminio Cornaro, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello, tratte dalle chiese veneziane e torcellane*, Stamperia del Seminario appresso G. Manfrè, 1758, pp. 524-5, on-line facsimile, and Giuseppe Cappelletti, *I Gesuiti e la repubblica di Venezia: documenti diplomatici relativi alla Società Gesuitica*, Grimaldo, 1873, p. 8, on-line.

[514] See Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilis*[sima] ..., cit., Lib. VI, pp. 98 *r-v*. In fact, the church is indicated in 'Bardi''s list of 'The names & numbers of parishes and Churches under *Dorso duro*' as *Di altra sorte: Giesuiti* […], p. 206, translated by Lewkenor as 'Other religious houses: *The Iesuites* […], p. 189.

[515] The church and convent, together with the nearby oratory to St Filippo Neri, were eventually destroyed in 1824 to enlarge the orchards of the Seminary, see Giuseppe Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, Filippi Editore, Venezia (1863) 1990, p. 673.

[516] The new building took the place of the church of the *Cruciferi* (Crossbearers), dating from the 12th c.

[517] See Rivka Feldhay, 'The Cultural Field of Jesuit Science', pp. 107-130, in O'Malley (ed.), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts*..., cit., at p. 111.

left the family's palazzo at the Madonna dell'Orto to the Society of Jesus to found a college for the instruction and Christian education of young patricians [518], and entailed the family's estate near Padua to perpetually fund 'this holy institution […] of which our city and consequently the whole state stands so much in need' [519], further endowing the college with 1000 ducats 'to arrange therein a church and other necessities' [520].

In conclusion, it is almost impossible to imagine the Jesuits taking part in a procession like a mendicant friar order, whether carrying torches or not.

5) *Francesco Sansovino* [521]

Francesco Sansovino (Rome 1521-Venice 1583) also employed the pseudonyms 'Anselmo Guisconi' and 'Giovanni Tatti', the latter inspired by the family name of his father, sculptor and architect Jacopo Tatti known as 'il Sansovino' (Florence 1486-Venice 1570), who was active in Rome at the time of 'the sack' in May, 1527. Having fled the city, Sansovino was on his way to Paris when he stopped in Venice, there to remain, however, to the end of his life, despite many renewed flattering invitations abroad, namely from Francis I of France and Henry VIII. Upon his arrival, in fact, Sansovino was introduced to Doge Andrea Gritti as a friend of Titian and Pietro Aretino, and was soon involved in the grand project of a complete renovation of St Mark's square, beginning with the statics of the domes of the basilica which stood in need of urgent and competent repairs. The results of Gritti's *renovatio urbis* is the familiar view we enjoy today: the Piazza and Piazzetta with the Procuratie, the Loggetta by the Campanile, the Biblioteca Marciana, and the Zecca [522].

Sansovino's natural son Francesco studied law in Padua and Bologna and after a brief career at the court of Pope Julius III returned to Venice where, as publisher and author, he soon became a significant representative of the tastes and trends of Venetian culture, society, and book market

---

[518] *'nel quale instituischino un collegio de gioveni gentil'homini venetiani che studiino et si allevino nel timor de Dio'*, see Gaetano Cozzi, 'Contarini, Alvise' (1537-1579), in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, vol. 28, 1983, pp. 78-82, at p. 81.

[519] *'questa santa opera … della qual la nostra città et per consequente tutto il stado ne ha tanto bisogno'*, *ibid*.

[520] *'per accomodarvi una chiesia et le altre comodità apartinenti a collegio'*, *ibid*.

[521] Lewkenor, 'Divers Observations …', pp. 191-198.

[522] See Manfredo Tafuri (a cura di), *"Renovatio urbis". Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)*, Officina Edizioni, Roma, 1985.

trade in the second half of the 16th century [523]. He wrote, translated, and edited numberless works both in prose and verse on literature, history, and rhetoric. Besides *Venetia, città nobilis*[sima] *et singolare, descritta in XIIII libri* (1581), his celebrated description of his adopted city, Francesco Sansovino wrote *Annali Turcheschi*, a history of the Turks in Europe; *Origini e fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia*; *Il Secretario*, a treatise in seven books on the art of letterwriting, as well as a political treatise, *Del governo dei regni e delle republiche*, and essays on Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio - *Lettere sopra le dieci giornate del Decameron* (1543) - Ariosto, Bembo, and Sannazaro.

Although Lewkenor does not mention the title of Sansovino's work he consulted for his Appendix, the excerpts he translated present textual correspondences with *Venetia, città nobilis*[sima] *et singolare*, first published in 1581, which is the edition that Lewkenor must have adopted [524], here employed for comparison with the translation [525].

Divergences of the English translation from Sansovino's text: the example of a 'political' omission

Lewkenor's 'political' sensibility is apparent also by way of omissions. For instance, the comparison with Sansovino's text shows a prudential omission referring once again to Venice's 'royal' status:

> Per queste cose adunque, & per altre infinite appresso, questa Città *ottiene, & ha ottenuto per molti secoli il Principato fra tutte l'altre del mondo*, come ammirabile per tante sue maravigliose doti. Però gli Scrittori la chiamano Singolare. Percioche se alcune furono bellissime di sito, & con ricchi & grandi edifici, nondimeno hebbero qualche somiglianza con l'altre [emphasis added], p. 3

Lewkenor translates the paragraph as

> The city above all other is most worthy to bee admired, as being singular by her selfe, and brooking no comparison with any other; for what other city soever that hath beene eyther pleasant by situation, or glorious in goodlines of buildinges, yet it had some resemblance or likenesse with others, p. 193

[523] Elena Bonora, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venezia, 1994.

[524] Cicogna mentions later editions in 1604 (updated by Stringa, Salicato, Venezia) and 1663 (updated by Martinioni, Curti, Venezia).

[525] As mentioned above (Chap. I), the 1581 first edition was recently reprinted in facsimile, see Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilis*[sima] …., Leading Edizioni, Bergamo, 2002.

thus totally omitting the sentence '*ottiene, & ha ottenuto per molti secoli il Principato fra tutte l'altre del mondo*', literally '[this city] attains, and has attained for many centuries to the Principality among all the others in the world'.

Lexical omissions

Other omissions are of a lexical character. Thus, for instance, in Sansovino's sentence

> *il Paraninfo conduce fuori d'una stanza la sposa,* Lib. X, p. 149 *r*

Lewkenor prefers to omit the translation of *'Paraninfo'*, a term which, however, was included in the first (1589) edition of John Florio's Italian-English dictionary:

> '*Paranimpha*, he or she that is ioined with the bride or bridegroome to make him or hir readie, to see that all things may be well, an overlooker of a marriage or wedding. It is now a daies vsed in manie partes of Italy for a mariage maker. Also an effeminate, nice, milkesop, puling fellow' [526]

Lewkenor also refuses to search for equivalents of *Paraninfo*, though the role, especially with regard to arranged marriages, was quite the norm in late Renaissance England as well as in Venice, and proceeds to translate simply

> & there the bride is brought forth, p. 194

Omissions of a lexical character, however, are very frequent in Lewkenor's translation of Sansovino's text, which is specifically devoted to typically Venetian customs and traditions, and is therefore highly difficult, if not impossible, to translate. Thus, for instance, other omissions concern the translation of *felze* and of the expression *andar in trasto*, both terms necessarily appearing in Sansovino's description of patrician wedding ceremonies:

> *& accompagnata allora da diverse gentildonne … [la sposa] monta in gondola* fuori del felze, e si pone a sedere sopra un seggio alquanto rilevato, coperto per tutto di tapeti (& quello modo si chiama andar in trasto) *seguendola un gran numero d'altre gondole,* Lib. X, p. 149 *r*

a description rendered as

> in company of divers gentlemen […] she entreth into a Gondola, & so being waited on with a great num /-ber of other Gondals [sic] [527], pp. 194-195

[526] John Florio, *World of Wordes*, ed. 1589 cit., item '*Paranimpha*', p. 258.

[527] The use of *gondola* in the English language is first attested in 1549: '[He kept] one man, or two at the most, to row his Gondola', William Thomas, *History of Italie*. Other Renaissance forms besides Lewkenor's 'gondal' are 'gondala' (pl. 'gondalaes') and 'gondelay' as in Spenser, *F. Q.*, II. Vi. 2 (1590), and Shakespeare, *A.Y.L.* IV, i. 38 (1600) (*OED*).

Nonetheless, and despite the curious transformation of *gentildonne* into 'gentlemen', Lewkenor proves to have understood that the sense of the bride's outing – almost an exhibition – is to make the wedding public, *i.e.* legal, as he correctly translates:

> and all this shewing of her selfe abroad is to no other end, but that in regarde of her children, and sundrie other thinges, it may after happen, she may make her marriage apparent and manifest to all men, p. 195

Other divergences

Other notable divergences in the translation appear in the frequent omission of aspects referring to religious matters, for instance

> *[Venetia] contiene parimenti 59. Monisteri, 31 di Frati, & 28. di Donne Monache* dedicate al culto di Dio. Gli oratorij, [omitted] *& gli Spedali vi sono in buon numero* officiati come le Chiese, & ogni Chiesa ha la piazza, & il pozzo publico, spatiose per la maggior parte, & quadrate [omitted], I, 3.

translated as

> It contayneth likewise 59. monasteries, 31. of Fryers, and 28. of Nunnes, besides a great number of goodlie schooles, and most ample and statelie Hospitals, p. 191

Divergences also took the form of additions, for instance after the following paragraph on funeral customs:

> *Nella materia de Funerali, non si può veder uso ne più magnifico, ne più ricco di questo. Percioche i mortorij delle persone ordinarie, con che de gli huomini d'importanza, si possono paragonare à funerali di qual si voglia gran personaggio di terra ferma.* […]

which Lewkenor concludes by an interpolation having a possible superstitious function:

> Likewise there is no part of the world, where the funerals even of the meanest citizens are solemnized with greater ceremony and expence, **neither is there any country or nation to bee found, where straungers find better entertainement, and live with greater security**, p. 196 [emphasis added]

There is also the odd treatment of a curious metaphor employed by Sansovino in the following description of Venice's security:

> *Di maniera che se l'altre Città guardano & conservano i loro Cittadini, con le mura, & con le torri, & con le porte, questa aperta, & senza ripari, non solamente è sicura come s'è detto, ma con mirabil provedimento, rende anco sicure quelle città che dormono sotto la custodia de gli occhi suoi*, pp. 3-4

Lewkenor, however, appears quite happy to translate *dormono sotto la custodia de gli occhi suoi* by a similarly curious expression, 'do sleepe under the watch of her winges':

> so that whereas other citties do keepe and defend their cittizens, with walles, towers and gates, this being naked and without ramparts, is not only (as I said) secure it self, but rendreth also with admirable providence such citties, secure, as do sleepe under the watch of her winges, p. 193

In fact, both Sansovino's text and Lewkenor's version appear to be echoing each a part of the Psalmist's line, 'Keep me as the apple of the eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings' [528], thus showing that there was also much ground in common between the two cultures.

6) *A breviate of the History & lives of the Venetian princes* [529]

Lewkenor completed the Appendix by a synthesis of the lives of the Dogi that he borrowed partly from *Venetia, città nobilis*[sima] and partly from *Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia* in the 1587 edition. In particular, it has been remarked that the chronological numeration of the Dogi follows the second source (1587) and the commentary the first (1581) [530], after which date Lewkenor refers to the 1587 edition to record later events such as the death of Doge Nicolo da Ponte in 1585 and the election of the new Doge, Pasquale Cicogna (spelt *Cenoca*).

Curiously, however, Lewkenor did not update his Appendix further. In fact, Doge Pasquale Cicogna having died in 1595, Marino Grimani was the Doge at the time of the translation.

Divergences of the translated excerpts conveyed into *the History & lives of the Venetian princes* from their original sources: examples of 'political' omissions

Also the comparison of *A breviate of the History & lives of the Venetian princes* with the originals reveals a number of omissions signalling Lewekenor's political self-censorship. For instance, among the notable events occurring during the dogeship of Francesco Donato [Donà] (1545-1553), is mentioned the death of Henry VIII 'who rebelling against the Church disrupted in his Kingdom all reasons human and divine, as a result of the fickleness of his character wholly bent towards the flesh':

> […] *Morì in questi anni Henrico Rè d'Inghilterra, il quale ribellatosi dalla Chiesa sovvertì nel suo Regno tutte le ragioni humane & divine, per cagione delle leggerezza dell'animo suo tutto volto alla carne* , Lib. XIIII, p. 259*v*

However, Lewkenor's translated account of the entire dogeship of Francesco Donà is simply:

---

[528] Psalm 17, 8, King James version ('*custodiscimi come la pupilla dei Tuoi occhi, proteggimi all'ombra delle Tue ali*').

[529] Lewkenor, 'Divers Observations …', pp. 215-248.

[530] McPherson, **'**Lewkenor's Venice and Its Sources', cit., p.466.

> ***79. Francesco Donato. An. 1545***. *Francesco Donato*, being Procurator of *S. Marke*, was a man of great eloquence, & singular capacity of spirit / and therefore his election applauded of the multitude with great ioy; he did many laudable things, and lastly died in the seventh yeare of his rule, and was succeeded by *Marcantonio Trevisano*, pp. 226-227

Lewkenor acts very similarly also in the case of the dogeship of Lorenzo Priuli (1556-1559), during which time the sources record a number of events pertaining to England, for instance:

> […] *Mancarono in questi tempi* […] *la Regina Maria d'Inghilterra moglie del Re Filippo, & il Cardinal Polo dottissimo, & savio Signore. Et in Inghilterra soccesse à Maria, Lisabetta sua sorella. La quale levatasi dalla obedienza della cattolica Religione, ritornò le heresie Luterane in quell'Isola, che vi durano ancora*, Lib. XIIII, p. 274*r* [531]

In fact, on this occasion too Lewkenor's translation opts for a very brief account of the entire Priuli's dogeship:

> ***82. Lorenzo Priuli. Anno [1]556***. *Lorenzo Priuli* was a man wholly given to religion & quietnesse; there was no great thing done in the time of his Dukedome, which he onely enioyed three yeares, and then departed this world, p. 228

3. The interaction of Lewkenor's Appendix with Contarini's text

As already mentioned, the excerpts chosen from other authors are meant to complement, either by integrations or explications, Contarini's text. However, if Lewkenor usually announces the reason for his intervention in relation to Contarini's text, he does not indicate the points where he occasionally alters the original message of the author from whom he translates, which is notably the case of his integrations from Münster.

Thus, Lewkenor continues to interact with his own previous translation by way of additions which may be classified as additions of (a) points not discussed by Contarini; (b) explications of Contarini's unclear points; (3) fresh information and updates on Contarini's material. Some examples of each are given below.

a) Integration of *De magistratibus* through the addition of sundry points not discussed by Contarini:

a. 1. from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*

Lewkenor's translation from Münster offers the example of a number of integrations to Contarini's text which are particularly interesting as they concern points where Münster appears to be critical of

[531] 'Occurring at this time were the deaths of […] Queen Mary of England, wife to King Philip, and of the very learned and wise Cardinal Polo [sic]. And in England Mary was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, who left the obedience of the Catholic religion and returned the Island to the Lutheran heresies still current there today'.

Contarini himself. In fact, it has been remarked that 'Muenster is notable for being evenhanded toward Venice, which he both praises and blames. In blaming, for instance, he takes Contarini to task for not mentioning how many Doges down through history had met execution […] and he tells how *La Serenissima* obtained Cyprus by treachery but then admits that his version may not be the true one' [532].

In both instances, however, the impression is that Lewkenor's translation accentuates Münster's criticism with regard to Contarini and the Venetians in general. For instance, Münster writes that, unlike other authors, Contarini – who writes specifically on the Republic of Venice – never mentions that many Doges met with a violent death:

> Hæc & multa alia passim scribunt de Venetis & eorum ducibus. At Caspar Contarenus, qui ex professo de Venetorum republica scripsit, nullam de hoc miserabili ducum interitu mentionem facit, p. 155

Soon after, Münster quotes Contarini again on the powers and role of the Doge:

> Porro de magnificentia & potestate ducis Venetorum, dictus Caspar Contarenus Senator Venetus in hunc modum scribit: … p. 155

Lewkenor does not translate this paragraph (possibly because he previously translated directly from Contarini what Münster resumes here). However, he retains Münster's qualifying expression – *Caspar Contarenus Senator Venetus* – and inserts it in the preceding paragraph which therefore is translated as:

> These and other thinges are written of the Venetians and their Dukes, but *Gasper Contareno* that hath written expresly of the commonwealth of *Venice*, being himselfe a Senator of the City, toucheth not at all the miserable end of these Dukes, p. 173

Apart from the fact that *De magistratibus* was not meant as a historical work – there was Giustiniani's - this sounds indeed as if Münster were criticising Contarini's lack of transparency. It must be added that Münster made a significant proviso to the effect that the story of the 'shameful' death of some Doges that he relates may be only rumours of old - *si vera sunt quæ passim de illis scribuntur*:

> multos ex ducibus turpi morte sustulerunt, si vera sunt quæ passim de illis scribuntur, p. 155

Lewkenor, however, omitted Münster's cautionary words and simply translated the sentence as

> they put many of their Dukes to a shamefull death, p. 173

[532] McPherson, 'Lewkenor's Venice and Its Sources', cit., p. 464.

Hence the impression that Münster 'takes Contarini to task for not mentioning how many Doges down through history had met execution' [533]. Consequently, if scholars do make this criticism of Contarini, it may well be on account of Lewkenor's translation rather than Münster's remarks, which on closer inspection appear neutral and unjudgemental. In fact, Münster simply reports the information and his sources when available - as in the case of the Doge, where he quotes a member of the Venetian Senate, Contarini, as his qualified authority - or else clearly indicates that the source of the information may not be reliable.

This is particularly true on another occasion regarding the circumstances in which the Venetians acquired the control of Cyprus. In fact, Lewkenor appears to accentuate the darker side of the story which Münster for his part moderates by his cautionary 'hearsay' proviso. The very narration begins by an addition that Lewkenor interpolates with Münster's opening sentence, a restrained 'in the year of Christ 1473 the Venetians occupied the kingdom of Cyprus, and they did it in this way':

> Anno Christi 1473 occupaverunt Veneti regnum Cypri, idque in hunc modum, p. 160

Lewkenor, by contrast, translates

> 'in the yeare 1402. they possessed themselves of the realme of *Cipres*, some say by a detestable and unchristian practise, which was in order as followeth', p. 175

Thus, besides the difference in the dates indicated [534], it is interesting to notice that by adding 'some say by a detestable and unchristian practise', Lewkenor not only introduces a note of disapproval not present in the text but does so by twisting the very use of Münster's habitual 'some say' proviso. Whether Lewkenor's interventions on Münster's text answer a precise intention to cast a shadow on Venice's reputation is at the moment a matter of speculation, particularly in view of the overall complimentary purpose of the translation. However, the military value of the island may have been interesting to British eyes even then.

a) Integration of *De magistratibus* through the addition of sundry points not discussed by Contarini:

a.2. from 'Girolamo Bardi'

By contrast, the integrations to Contarini's 'deficient' exposition that Lewkenor selects from 'Girolamo Bardi' are of a different import and significance, as is the case of the Venetian public offices, an instance in which Lewkenor signals his intervention and gives his reasons for it:

---

[533] McPherson, *ibid*.

[534] To be precise, the year 1473 that Münster indicates is the date of the death of Caterina Cornaro's husband, King James. She 'ruled' under Venetian tutorship for nearly fifteen years more and formally abdicated in 1487.

> 'There are certaine officers, of which *Contareno* speaketh nothing at all, or els very sparingly, and some that have been instituted since his time, of all which I think it not [now] necessarie briefly to say somewhat, for the better satisfaction of the reader', p. 181

Among the offices that Lewkenor 'adds' there are the *Signori alla Sanità* to which, however, Contarini devotes a long discussion taking five pages, from p. 115 to p. 120, of Lewkenor's own translation. In this case, therefore, it cannot be said that Contarini 'speaketh nothing at all' of them, nor that he does so 'very sparingly', as possibly he omitted some details he judged 'tedious'. Yet Lewkenor feels the need to make known also the description – in fact a very succinct one – of the *Signori alla Sanità* contained in 'Bardi''s text:

> *Sig[nori] alla Sanità.*
> *Custodiscono la Città di tutte le cose che potessero offendere, o per malattia, come del morbo, o per cose guaste, che si vendessero, così per terra, come per acqua. A questo ufficio togliono la licenza a i Circulatori, & i Medici. A questo è scritto il numero delle meretrici. E finalmente provedono alla sanita [sic] della terra. Et hanno assoluta potestà nella vita in tempo di morbo*, Lib. I, p. 135 [emphasis added]

It appears, therefore, that the new and significant element that Lewkenor wants to bring into relief is that the *Signori alla Sanità* were in charge of the licence issued to *i Circulatori, & i Medici*, a circumstance which in effect is not mentioned by Contarini. *Circulatori*, however, is a term that might have given Lewkenor some thought. If he looked for it in Florio's dictionary, he would have found *Circulare* as *Circolare*, hence '*Circolatore*, a visitor or goer from place to place'. This, however, only describes half the picture that Lewkenor seems to have had clearly in mind, which in fact is completed by the adoption of two terms, *Mountebanks, & Chiarlatanes*, for *Circulatori*, and some additional description:

> Beside those other things mencioned in the former treatise that belongeth to the office of the healthmaisters, they have authority to give licence to phisicions to practise, and *to Mountebanks, & Chiarlatanes to go up and downe the countrey, and to preach in the markets;* to them also is brought the register, containing the number of all publike women within the towne. Finally, so great is their authoritie, that in time of sicknes they have power to punish with death, p. 182 [emphasis added]

Finally, Lewkenor accompanies the translation by a long marginal note which furnishes a sort of definition of the relatively recent term *mountebanks* [535]:

> Mountbanks are certaine that shew their drugs in the market places, vaunting of great cures they have done, & with long tales persuading the people to buy their ware.

[535] 'Mountebank', lit. 'mount-on-bench' (Florio) is first attested in combined form in 1577: 'He shoulde have gone shotfree [sic] with his accomplices, and have made in Mounterbanckwyse the most he coulde of his wares', Stanyhurst, *Descr. Irel.* ii. 8/2 in *Holinshed* (*OED*). It also appears in Florio's definition for (*Ciarlatano*) '*Ciaratano*, a mountebanke, a pratler, a tatler, a babler, or a foolish prater' (1589).

Therefore, it seems likely that Lewkenor put to good use some recent description of the scenes that he depicts so vividly, although it may not be possible to ascertain his source, especially if it was a conversation with someone who, like Sir Philip Sidney, would set the term firmly in a Venetian context:

> Poets … are almost in as good reputation, as the Mountibancks at Venice,
> *Apology of Poetry* (1586) [536]

However, these details turned out to be highly interesting for his readers and contributed to the successful staging of Venetian life, notably in Jonson's *Volpone* and Shakespeare's *Othello*:

> *Brabantio.* Ay, to me;
> She is abused, stol'n from me, and corrupted
> By spells and medicines bought of mountebanks;
> For nature so preposterously to err,
> Being not deficient, blind, or lame of sense,
> Sans witchcraft could not, *Othello*, I, 3, 403

a) Integration of *De magistratibus* through the addition of sundry points not discussed by Contarini:

a. 3. from Sansovino

The increasingly touristic character of Lewkenor's integrations of Contarini's text is apparent in his choice of excerpts from Sansovino's *Venetia, città nobilis*[sima] *et* singolare. Still regarded as a relevant documentary source, Sansovino's *Venetia* was the first attempt at establishing a systematic inventory of the city's artistic patrimony. Thus, it contains the description of churches and artworks, besides information on the most significant personalities and events of Venetian history and the manners and customs of the day. Lewkenor, however, does not beat about the bush and immediately declares what aspects of Sansovino's subject are of interest to him and what are not:

> 'Among sundry others that have written of *Venice*, *Francesco Sansovini* is one of the latest, who very particularly, but in my opinion somewhat superfluously hath touched not onely the customes of the Citie, and the lives of the princes, but also the antiquities, ceremonies, foundations, monumentes, and epitaphes of every severall church, out of whose great volume I have onely extracted those few notes, serving to my purpose, the rest I have omitted as tedious, and not greatly needfull to be knowne' (p. 191)

There follow, after some opening excerpts on the city's topography, the description of some Venetian customs (that they refer to the patriciate is implied): of the way of celebrating weddings, christenings, and funerals; of the pastimes (for instance, hunting and fishing in the lagoon's reservations); of the titles pertaining to the Doge and their use, etc, all points obviously not discussed by Contarini.

[536] Sir Philip Sidney had, in fact, spent some time in Venice in 1572.

b) Integration of *De magistratibus* through the explication of Contarini's unclear points:

Lewkenor makes use of the Appendix not only to integrate Contarini's text by the addition of points not mentioned in the treatise but also to acquire a better understanding of Contarini's text itself. Thus, Lewkenor's choices are also very clear indications of the issues presenting the greatest interest for the translator and his readers.

b. 1.) from Donato Giannotti

Therefore the reason that Lewkenor offers in a marginal note at the beginning of his translation from Giannotti is significant: he finds that Giannotti's description of Venice is **'**more plain & particular' than Contarini's. Lewkenor then proceeds to integrate Contarini's text with other points from Giannotti, either correcting or updating it. As already indicated by McPherson, Lewkenor translates Giannotti's 'long discussion of the Avocatori, magistrates whom Jonson made great use of in *Volpone*' and notes from Giannotti that 'the Venetian Captain General (like Othello) is "always a stranger borne" [537]. In general, however, the geographical description of the site and city of Venice appears to be a constant element of the integrations offered for a better understanding of Contarini's text as this is what Lewkenor chooses to translate also from the other authors selected, and particularly from the second.

b. 2.) from Bernardo Giustiniani

Lewkenor translates several paragraphs from the first twenty pages of the *Historia di M. Bernardo Giustiniano*, dealing with the origin and the site of the city of Venice, which he introduces apocryphally by:

> 'The situation thereof is so strange and singular in it selfe, that it brooketh no comparison or resemblance with any other Citie, eyther of this present or former ages, the manner whereof is this' (p. 169)

Although the selection that Lewkenor makes from Giustiniani is shorter than that from the other authors, his choice makes sense because Giustiniani's geographical description of the site, unlike that of the other authors, includes references to the mainland and the hydrographical system of the Veneto, and thus to the consequences that the action of the region's many rivers, combined with that of the tides and the winds – notably the *scirocco* - has on the water levels of the lagoon. It is

[537] McPherson, **'**Lewkenor's Venice and Its Sources', cit., p. 463, referring to T. Sipahigil, 'Lewkenor and *Othello*: An Addendum', *N&Q*, N. S., 19, 1972, 127.

not immediately clear how much Lewkenor understood of Bernardo Giustiniani's concern. In fact, what strikes a modern reader today is the fact that at the end of the 15th century the water levels in the lagoon were so low as to seriously endanger the survival of the city with regard to both its defence and its maritime trading ventures [538].

c) Integration of *De magistratibus* to update Contarini's exposition

From Donato Giannotti: the *oselle*

An example of how Lewkenor employs the Appendix to bring Contarini's text up to date concerns the so called *oselle*. In Book II, which he devotes to the role and figure of the Doge, Contarini describes how the Doge had to invite sixty or more members of the Great Council to a banquet four times a year [539]. The custom originated, he explains, because 'the often meeting of the citizens was a mean to combine them together in friendship' [540]. 'But', he continues,

> 'because every citizen that is a gentleman, cannot every yeare receive this grace of being invited, it is by an olde law ordained, least any one should seeme to be left out, that the prince should in the winter time sende to every citizen that hath priviledge of voyce in the greater Councell five wild ducks, as a portion or share of the publike banket, which likewise is a great meane to the Duke of winning the love and goodwill of the citizens', II, 48 [541]

Lewkenor comments by a marginal note:

---

[538] Giangiorgio Zorzi, 'Preoccupazioni cinquecentesche per l'interramento di Venezia e della laguna e alcune proposte di Michele Sammicheli', Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venezia, 1960, t. CXVIII, pp. 163-210.

[539] [ed. 1543] Singulis *etiam quibusq;* annis quater prandium parat sexaginta & amplius civibus, II, 37 ; [ed. 1544] 'Per ciascheduno anno quattro volte apparecchia un convito à più de sessanta cittadini, II, 79; [ed. 1578] Singulis annis quater prandium parat, sexaginta & amplius civibus, II, 281; [ed. 1599] Four times a yeare he maketh a solemne and sumptuous banket, to above threescore citizens, II, 48

[540] [ed. 1543] Nam *cum* summopere *faciat ad benevolentiam inter cives* conciliandam conventus civium frequens, II, 37; [ed. 1544] giovando molto al reconciliare la benivolenza de i Cittadini il spesso ritrovarsi insieme', II, 79; [ed. 1578] Nam *quia* summopere *conducebat ad benevolentiam civium* conciliandam, conventus civium frequens, II, 281; [ed. 1599] II, 45.

[541] [ed. 1543] Caeterum quoniam *omnes* cives patricij singulo quoque anno hisce epulis honestari non queunt, ne ullus præteritus *fuisse* videatur, veteri instituto ac lege constitutum est, ut hyeme unicuique civi qui in maiori consilio *ius suffragandi* habeat, *mittantur à principe* quinque marinæ anates, veluti convivij quædam publici portio; quod etiam ad conciliandos cives Duci, non parum *facere* censeri potest, II, 39; [ed. 1544] 'perche i nobili, et patricij cittadini non possono per ciascheduno anno essere honorati in queste vivande, accioche niuno paia, che sia stato lasciato in dietro; et per vecchio statuto, & legge è stato ordinato, che nel verno à ciascun cittadino, ilquale nel gran Consiglio ha podestà di poter ballottare, siano mandate dal Prencipe cinque anadre marine, per poco una parte del publico convito', II, 82; [ed. 1578] Caeterum quoniam cives patricij singulo quoque anno hisce epulis honestari non queunt, ne ullus præteritus videatur, veteri instituto ac lege constitutum est, ut hyeme unicuique civi qui in maiori consilio *suffragandi ius* habeat, *à Principe mittantur* quinque marinæ anates, veluti convivij quædam publici portio; quod etiam ad conciliandos cives Duci, non parum *adiuvare* censeri potest, II, 282-3.

> 'A strange ceremony observed by the Duke of Venice, but now the same is altered, & the wild ducks changed into a peece of silver coyne', II, 48

This information must have been derived from Giannotti:

> *'Oltra queste cose,* [il Doge] *è tenuto ancora mandare ciascuno anno uno presente a ciascuno gentiluomo che va al Consiglio grande. E solevano i nostri Dogi, non molti anni a dietro, presentare a ciascuno cinque anitre marine: oggi presentano certe specie di moneta battuta che questo effetto; in una faccia della quale è uno San Marco che porge lo stendardo al Doge; nell'altra è il nome del Doge, e l'anno ch'egli corre nel magistrato, in questo modo:* Andreae Griti Venet. Príncipis munus, Anno IV'

In fact, Lewkenor included this paragraph in the Appendix. However, he interpolated in his translation a reference to Contarini which obviously is not present in Giannotti:

> Whereas *Contarene*, in the former treatise writeth of a present of five wild Duckes, which the Duke was yearely accustomed to send to every Gentleman that had not beene at his feats, now since the time in which he wrote, that kind of present is turned into a piece of silver coyne, upon one side of which is the picture of a marke [S. Mark] reaching a standard to the Duke, and on the other the names of the Duke, with the yeare of his raign with this circumscription: *Donum A. G. Ducis Venetorum*, (pp. 158-159)

Thus, Lewkenor doubly intervenes on both texts with the effect of placing them in perspective, with Contarini's work appearing farther back in time than Giannotti's since it needs to be 'updated' by the latter, though we know that the two treatises were composed at about the same time, with Giannotti's, in fact, being published three years *before* Contarini's.

A third and last intervention on the part of the translator on this particular paragraph offers the example of an attempted 'modernization'. The inscription on the coin quoted by Giannotti – *Andreae Griti Venet. Príncipis munus, Anno IV* – refers to the fourth year of Gritti's dogeship, *i.e.* 1526, Andrea Gritti having been elected on 20 May 1523. However, this is not to be found in the translation, nor is any other date indicated. In fact, Lewkenor seems to have wanted to bring the inscription up to date but, as already noticed with regard to his translation of excerpts for *A breviate of the History & lives of the Venetian princes*, he seems to have been unable – or unwilling - to do so after 1585. Thus, he does not exactly modernize the inscription given by Giannotti – *Andreae Griti Venet. Príncipis munus, Anno IV* – but limits his intervention to reducing it to the Doge's initials as if he were quoting a generic inscription by way of example: *Donum A. G. Ducis Venetorum*, whereas to really update it he should have indicated the name of the incumbent Doge at the time of his translation, Marino Grimani (from 1595 to 1605), or at least that of the Doge before him, Pasquale Cicogna, (from 1585 to 1595) as he does in *A breviate*.

In fact, the custom of the Doge's yearly 'gift' of a silver coin to all patricians lasted uninterrupted until the end of the Republic in 1797. As for the time when it was started and the possible reasons why Contarini did not mention it, it is necessary to reconstruct, however briefly, the history of the 'five wild ducks' and of the 'peece of silver coyne' that replaced them.

The *oselle*

The custom of the 'five wild ducks' that the Doge had to send to the patricians seems to have originated from the privilege of exclusive hunting right over some parts of the lagoon that used to pertain to the Doge (or rather the Duke) of Venice until, like all the Doge's original powers and privileges, it began to be limited by the Great Council. Thus, in the year 1275 it was established that the Doge's exclusive hunting right was *granted* him by the patriciate, and that yearly in winter the Doge had to present every member of the Great Council with five wild ducks of a very specific kind described as '*de bonis aucellis majoribus russis pedibus*' [542], called in dialect *masorini* (*i.e.* 'maggioringhi' because bigger – *majoribus* – than the other kinds [543]), that is *anas boschas*, mallards by the characteristic 'red legs', and in particular the prized females of the species which the Venetian dialect calls *uselle* or *oselle* (literally 'she-birds', from *usel* or *osel*).

From a legal point of view, the Doge's obligation may perhaps be construed as a more or less symbolic 'consideration' against his exclusive hunting right, thus yearly renewed, in parts of the lagoon, or as a means of yearly interrupting the Doge's 'tenancy' and thus preventing his acquisition of full ownership over them. Another possibility is that the 'gift' of the wild ducks represented a 'tribute' deriving from the sovereignty that Venice exercised over the lagoon, which sovereignty pertained to the Great Council and consequently to each of its members collectively. Hence the 'tribute' that was owed to each patrician by means of the Doge, who 'exacted' it.

Whatever its legal basis, however, even when – on account of war or seasonal difficulties – it was not possible to ensure the supply of such considerable quantities of game, still the Great Council decreed that the yearly deadline to send the 'gift' could not be extended [544]. However, in 1361 the

[542] See Marco Zanon quoting form the *Codex Publicorum* in 'Le *Oselle* di Marano', on-line, p. 1.

[543] See Mutinelli, *Lessico veneto*… cit., at 'Caccia', pp. 73-4.

[544] The matter of the Doge's 'gifts' to the magistrates in office and the other members of the Great Council on the occasion of the great festivities seems to have been the object of very detailed rules whose general principles were contained in the Doge's *promissio*. See, for instance, Francesco Foscari's *promissio* (1423): *De presenti<bu>s quo facere tenemur officialibus et ceteris de maiori consilio.* Presentes autem mittere debeamus ad festum Nativitatis et Caze [Venetian for 'hunts'] consiliariis nostris [etc] et omnibus et singulis de maiori consilio, tam si comuniter seu familiariter insimul habitant quam divisim, nichilominus mittere

Doge was allowed to partially and temporarily replace his 'gift' by 12 silver *grossi* to be sent to the patricians who had not received the *oselle* [545].

Similar difficulties arose again during the years of the war of the League of Cambrai that involved the Venetian territories on the mainland for a very long time (1509-1517). As the Imperials occupied the areas of Marano Lagunare from where most of the *oselle* came, it was not always possible to reach the quantity necessary for the Doge's winter 'gift', given also that by this time the number of patricians had considerably increased. Thus, as already decreed in 1361, the Great Council agreed that the 'gift' of the wild ducks could be combined with that of money, so that it should consist either of five *oselle* or of 12 silver *grossi* [546]. However, besides a hitch arising because the concurrent distribution of the Doge's 'gift' in both the form of money and game appeared legally unfeasible, it seems that the 'gift' in cash was simply not well accepted. In fact, patricians found it embarrassing. In December 1514 Marin Sanudo remarked:

> *Al dì 17 Domenega* […] *Non voglio restar da scriver: come in questo anno, per non si trovar oxele, per esser Maran de dove le veniva in man de i nimici, il Principe non mandoe le Oxele justa il consueto et l'ubligation ha, tamen quelli volevano pizoli* [soldi] *31 per uno, andava dal suo cavalier et li havea; ma pochi vi andono per esser vergogna a tuor denari* [547]

Again a few years later, in December 1519, Sanudo wrote:

> *A dì 24* […] *E' da saper: in questo anno il Doxe non manda oxele, ma chi le vol le vanno a tuor dal cavalier et con gran difficultà le se hanno. Si scusa non ne esser oxelle; tamen è mal fato a non darle a tuti, over soldi 31 per uno, come si asuefava di far; di la qual cossa è gran mormoration in li nobili, che non voleno andar a tuor* [548]

---

debe<a>mus […]: ita quod presentes quos in Nativitate mittere debemus secundum usum mittemus die prima decembris usque per totum ipsum mensem, non incipiendo ante introitum dicti mensis […] Ceterum debemus complevisse de dando dictos presentes infra terminos predictos, videlicet a die prima mensis decembris usque per totum ipsum mensem, **nec possumus petere prorogationem seu mutacionem termini nec id nobis consiliarii nostri concedere possunt,** chap. LXX (70), in Dieter Girgenshon (a cura di), *Francesco Foscari. Promissione Ducale 1423*, La Malcontenta, Venezia, 2004, pp. 81-3 [emphasis added].

[545] The possibility is provided for also in Doge Foscari's *promissio*: **Si vero predicta non fecerimus, consiliarii nostri dicere nobis tenentur quod dare debeamus grossos duodecim pro quolibet presente**: *ibid*. In fact, to modern ears, the possibility that the original obligation might be replaced by the payment of a predetermined sum of money in case it became impossible to fulfil for causes independent of the debtor's will sounds rather like a penalty [emphasis added].

[546] It is arguable whether, as some say, this was the *oselle*'s corresponding value as 12 silver *grossi* was also the amount of the 'penalty', see above.

[547] Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 323. It is noticeable that Sanudo should refer to both the custom (*justa il consueto*) and the law (*l'ubligation che ha*) as the sources of the Doge's duty. The *cavaliere del doge* was the Doge's master of ceremonies, see Mutinelli, *Lessico veneto*… cit., at 'Doge', p. 131.

[548] Sanudo, *Diarii*, 28: 134.

Eventually, on the occasion of the correction of the Doge's *promissio* following the death of Leonardo Loredan, the Great Council established that the Doge should order for the purpose the mintage of silver coins of the value of 31 *soldi* each, corresponding to 1/4 gold ducat, called *oselle* like the wild ducks that they replaced. The distribution took place on St Barbara's day [549], (*i.e.* 4 December [550]), which was also the day on which the Doge drew the names of thirty young patricians over twenty who could thus enter the Great Council before the required age of twenty-five (this was called *vegnìr ala Barbarela*) [551].

552

The first silver *oselle* thus appeared during the dogeship of Antonio Grimani (1521-1523), who was left free to choose how to inscribe the coin. The obverse of Doge Grimani's *osella* presents an enthroned image, God the Father (or Christ, see the inscription XC on the throne's side), giving his blessing while St Marco (•S•M) hands the standard to the kneeling Doge. In the exergue there appears the inscription BENEDIC • POPVLVM • TVVM • DNE • ('Bless your people, Lord') and below •ANT • GRIM • DVX •. On the reverse of the *osella* there appears the meeting of Justice

549 See Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, cit., at 'Osela'.

550 Though the *Atlante storico di Venezia* indicates St Barnaba's day (11 June) as the traditional day for the wild ducks - and later the silver coin – gift, this must be a misprint for 'St Barbara', see Giovanni Distefano, *Atlante storico di Venezia*, Supernova, Venezia, 2007, p. 219. June is not the season for wild duck hunting, and in fact all the sources refer to a 'winter' gift. See for instance Sanudo: *Al dì 4 di Decembrio, 1520:* […] *Fo cavato in questa matina, per esser Santa Barbara, 30 zentilhomeni per venir a Gran Consejio, di numero 150 eran scripti, che ogni anno per le leze si cava el quinto*, *Diarii*, 29: 444.

551 The connection between the two events must have been long established. Writing in 1514 his entry about the Doge not sending *oselle* (above), Sanudo also mentions that young patricians had just been admitted into the Great Council before the age of twenty-five, *Diarii*, 19: 323.

552 Silver *osella* under Doge Antonio Grimani (1521-1523), image on-line and in Alvise Zorzi, *Il dono dei dogi. La raccolta di oselle dogali della Banca Popolare di Vicenza*, 2009, p. 296.

and Peace with the inscription IVSTITIA•ET•PAX•OSCVLATAE•SVNT• ('Justice and Peace have kissed each other') from Psalm 85, 10.

Two years later it was the turn of Andrea Gritti (1523-1538) to order the *oselle* to be coined for the gift to the patricians. However, the trial casts were vetoed by the Council of Ten, and from the two specimens that have reached us it is easy to understand why:

553

The silver pattern *osella* carries the profile effigy of Andrea Gritti himself and in the exergue the inscription •ANDREAS•GRITI •DVX •VENET• [554]. It is true that in 1473, during the Dogeships of Cristoforo Moro and Nicolò Tron, there had been Venetian coins minted with the Doge's effigy, but they were destined to be the first and last of this kind. The novelty had been so little appreciated that after the death of Tron it was established that the Republic's coins could be inscribed only with the Doge's name, not his portrait, save as the purely symbolic image to be found on the Venetian ducat.

The same applied to the *osella* which, to all intents and purposes, had a regular currency. Thus, in vetoeing Doge Gritti's *oselle* the Council of Ten also established how all future *oselle* were to be inscribed, as can be seen from one of those coined during Gritti's Dogeship [555]:

---

[553] Silver pattern of the *osella* for Doge Andrea Gritti (1523), illustration from the American Numismatic Society, New York, in Alan M. Stahl, 'Mint and Medal in the Renaissance', *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal*, Stephen K. Scher (ed.), American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies, vol. 23, Taylor & Francis, 2000, pp. 137-158, fig. 7.5, at p. 144, on-line.

[554] The designs for the Doge's portrait, by the sculptor Vittore (Vettor) Gambello (commonly Camelio), attracted notable attention, see Stahl, 'Mint and Medal in the Renaissance', cit., at p. 140. Gambello had already cast a medal with the portrait of Doge Agostino Barbarigo and one each in honour of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, see Morelli (a cura di), Marcantonio Michiel*, Notizia d'opere di disegno* ..., cit. On Camelo see also Molmenti, *La Storia di Venezia* ...cit., II: 88,102, 140, 144, 147.

[555] Sanudo records the episode on 9 December, 1523: '*In questi zorni dovendo il Doxe nostro dar a li zentilhomeni per queste feste la moneda d'arzento, et havendo fato far una medaia a Vetor Gambello lavora in Zecha di conio, da una banda la sua testa con lettere atorno* Andreas Gritti dux Venetiarum, *e da l'altra uno san Marco in piedi con il Principe in zenochioni davanti con el stendardo in mano etc.; et perchè a molti non pareva tal cossa si potesse far in arzento, atento missier Nicolò Trun doxe fe' bater una moneda dove era la sua testa suso, si spendeva soldi 20 chiamata Truni; unde dil 147*[3] *… a dì* [...] *fu preso nel Consejo di X che più si stampasse in Zecha ditti truni nè più si potesse meter su alcuna moneda la testa dil Doxe: per*

Andrea Gritti's *osella* for 1535 [556]

Accordingly, all subsequent issues of the Gritti's *osella* bear on the obverse the image of the Doge receiving the standard from St Mark; on the reverse an inscription indicating that it was a 'gift' from the Doge, PRINCIPIS MVNVS, and thus: AND[REÆ] •GRITI •PRINCIPIS •MVNVS •ANNO• XIII • [557].

Therefore, one may wonder why Contarini should write about the Doge's 'gift' of the five wild ducks when already in 1514 and 1519 Sanudo records the objections against its being replaced by cash. Grumblings aside, Contarini could not be unaware of the Great Council's decision of June 1521, of the subsequent correction of the Doge's *promissio*, of the *osella* of Doge Grimani (which presumably he himself received, though away on his diplomatic mission), and later on of the discussion about the 'vetoed' *osella* of Doge Gritti of which he must have received news from Venice, etc. In fact, by 1521 the replacement of the wild ducks by the *osella* was established by law, and by 1523 all the details had been defined. Giannotti, who probably started writing his book when

---

il che li Cai di X passati suspese in Zecha non si batesse tal medaia; et sier Andrea Mudazo è proveditor sora la Zecha, con quelli di le Raxon Vechie che à questo cargo di dar tal presenti, solicitando la resolution, li Consieri terminorono che tal medaia con la testa non si dovesse far, ma si facesse da una banda san Marco con il Doxe in zenochioni davanti,e lettere atorno Andreas Gritti S. M. Veneti, *e da l'altra in mezo che dixe:* Andreæ Gritti Principis munus anno primo', *Diarii*, 35: 269.

[556] Image on-line and in Zorzi, *Il dono dei dogi…*, cit., p. 298. Marin Sanudo comments: *'La qual moneda o presente fo comenzà a dar da dì 15 in drio, et è bruta moneda. Si dispensa a l'oficio di le Raxon Vechie con mal ordine*', *Diarii*, 35: 269.

[557] These requirements were respected in all 275 mintings of the *oselle* - the last being issued in 1796, the year of the fall of the republic - though beginning in 1576 permission was given for an allegorical representation of some major event of the current year on the obverse of the *osella*, as was the portrayal of the newly-built church of the Redentore on the *osella* for 1576. Around the image on the reverse, however, there always had to be inscribed a sentence containing the word *munus* (gift). A unique collection of all 275 *oselle* has only recently been completed by the Banca Popolare di Vicenza and opened to the public, see Zorzi, *Il dono dei dogi…*, cit.

he was in Padua from December 1525 to December 1526, mentions the fourth *osella* of Gritti's Dogeship, issued in 1526.

One possibility is that Contarini would have rectified the point had he revised the book before his death. This, however, implies that he started working on it at an earlier date than that so far ascertained, that is, when the fact that the Doge would not send *oselle* but money was being grumbled about but had not been settled yet, and therefore before June 1521, when he was still in Venice.

Another possibility is that by mentioning the 'gift' of the five ducks Contarini was evidencing not so much the 'gift' itself as the origin of the custom and its reasons. In fact, Contarini puts the 'gift' into relation with the annual banquets that had to be offered by the Doge, in turn explained because 'the often meeting of the citizens was a mean to combine them together in friendship' [558]. Consequently, since 'every citizen that is a gentleman, cannot every yeare receive this grace of being invited', and 'least any one should seeme to be left out', those not taking part were to receive the five duck 'as a portion or share of the publike banket' [559].

Thus, it may be argued that, even if he wrote after the 'gift' of the *oselle* had been replaced by that of the silver coin, Contarini would still have referred to the five ducks and not to the coin to explain the sense of the annual banquets that had to be offered by the Doge, as a coin could hardly be viewed 'as a portion or share of the publike banket' but possibly as its embarassing monetary counterpart. Contarini's reference to the five ducks in connection with the Doge's banquets extends to the 'gift' the sense of a highly personal and individual attention on the part of the Doge to those who could not attend the banquets. In fact, Contarini continues, the Doge's banquets were also 'a great meane to the Duke of winning the love and goodwill of the citizens'.

It is often said that Contarini presents an idealized view of Venetian society and institutions. In the present instance at least, it appears that the reasons he offers to explain the Doge's banquets and the

[558] The matter of the Doge's banquets was the object of very detailed rules but the *promissio* contained some general principles. See, for instance, Francesco Foscari's *promissio* (1423): *Sit in libertate consiliariorum dispendandi in anno usque libras M pro coredando*: […] Et debemus pro diebus solemnitatum fieri facere dicta convivia ut est ordinatum et dare prandium invitatis illismet diebus predictarum solemnitatum venerandarum, prout proprie est intentio terre, nec possumus permutare dictos dies in alios dies nec prandia in cena<s> ullo modo, chap. CXI (111), *Francesco Foscari. Promissione Ducale 1423*, cit., p. 119.

[559] Trans. Lewkenor, II, 48.

related gift of the five ducks are real enough. In fact, if all the patricians were loath to relinquish the traditional gift, it seems that it was not so much the coin's face value that mattered – the majority of the patricians could surely buy themselves as many wild ducks they wanted at the market, when not hunting or having them hunted in their own reserves – as the fact that the five ducks came as a present from the Doge. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by the decision that the silver *osella* should always be inscribed with the word *munus* 'gift', meaning that it was 'the Doge's gift', *Principis munus*.

As for the banquets as 'a great meane to the Duke of winning the love and goodwill of the citizens', it is remarkable that Machiavelli too should comment on the importance for the prince to meet and entertain the citizens and on his doing so with 'courtesy and liberality', though 'always maintaining the majesty of his rank' [560]. Similarly, Contarini writes that the Doge's banquets are 'sumptuous indeed' (*lautis sane*), 'but' (*sed*), he immediately adds, *non invidiosis*:

> [ed. 1543] Quater ergo singulis annis cives à *p*rincipe adhibentur lautis sane, sed **non invidiosis** epulis, II, 37 [561]

It may not be easy to establish what exactly must be intended by *non invidiosis*. The Italian translation offers a – possibly misleading - ***non invidiose*** *vivande*:

> [ed. 1544] *Quattro volte dunque per ciascheduno anno sono chiamati i Cittadini dal Prencipe alle splendide veramente, ma* ***non invidiose*** *vivande,* II, 79-80

In fact, there was at the time of Contarini's writing a literary use of the Italian *invidioso* in the sense of 'scarso, o simili' [562], and consequently of 'propenso a togliere, a negare, a rifiutare, poco generoso' [563]. Therefore, Contarini's Italian translator use of *non invidioso* may be in the sense of 'not avaricious', 'not ungenerous', as attested in a novella by the contemporary Florentine humanist Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556):

---

[560] '*E, perché ogni città è divisa in arte o in tribù, debbe tenere conto di quelle università, raunarsi con loro qualche volta, dare di sé esempli di umanità e di munificenzia, tenendo sempre ferma non di manco la maestà della dignità sua, perché questo non vuole mai mancare in cosa alcuna*, XXI'; 'and as every city is divided into guilds or into societies, he [the prince] ought to hold such bodies in esteem, and associate with them sometimes, and show himself an example of courtesy and liberality; nevertheless, always maintaining the majesty of his rank, for this he must never consent to abate in anything', Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, tr. Marriott, 1908, cit. As already mentioned, Machiavelli's *Il Principe*, though composed in 1513, was first printed in 1532.

[561] [ed. 1578] II, 282, unvaried.

[562] See *invidioso* in Manuzzi *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* …, cit.

[563] See *invidioso* in Battaglia*, Grande Dizionario* ..., cit.

> *Intendo al presente di scrivere e la novella stessa, e le parole medesime dette da vostra Signoria, acciocché io* ***non*** *sia ad altrui avaro ed* ***invidioso*** *di tanto diletto* [564]

If this is true, then the Italian translation does not account for Contarini's use of *sane*, of which we can recognize the concessive relation not least due to its conjunction with *sed* [565]. Consequently, *non invidiosis* cannot but be corrective of *lautis*: 'sumptuous' *but* 'not ungenerous' is a useless repetition. There is, however, a classical precedent in Ovid who used *non invidiosus* to refer to the pleasure of drinking fresh water, which is 'not such as may excite envy' [566]. This may well be Contarini's use of *non invidiosus*: 'although sumptuous, the Doge's banquets are not such as may excite envy', and this is also ultimately the sense of Lewkenor's translation:

> [ed. 1599] Foure times a yeare therfore are the citizens banqueted of the prince, with fare truly honorable and daintie, and yet for the exceedingnesse thereof **not to be envied**, II, 46

Thus, Contarini's description of the Doge's banquets, 'royal' but at the same time 'tempered', is consistent with the image that the Doge was required to present and the function he was called upon to perform. Though 'royal' because singled out, yet in no way must he impede, but ensure, the progress of consent and concord among the patriciate and in the State, which is, in fact, the gist of Contarini's treatise.

---

[564] Luigi Alamanni, *Novella alla Signora Madama Batina Larcara Spinola*, text in *Novellieri italiani*, Antonio Maria Borromeo, Bassano, 1794, pp. 65-107, at p. 66, on-line, and in *Raccolta di novelle: dall' origine della lingua italiana fino al 1700...*, Volume 2, a cura di Carlo Gualteruzzi, Dalla Società tipografica de' Classici italiani, contrada di s. Margherita, N. 1118, 1804, pp. 227-265, at p. 228, on-line. Alamanni's story of a proud princess 'tamed' by her husband is echoed in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, see *Fiabe siciliane*, a cura di Laura Gonzenbach, Vincenzo Consolo, Luisa Rubini, Donzelli Editore, 1999, p. 494, on-line.

[565] On the linguistic marking of the concessive constructions see Dagmar Barth-Weingarten, *Concession in Spoken English. On the Realisation of a Discourse-Pragmatic Relation*, vol. 28 of Language in Performance, Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen, 2003, p. 124, on-line. The study's focus on the spoken language conveniently concurs with the circumstance that Contarini dictated most of his treatise.

[566] See *invidiosus*, 'est in aqua dulcis non invidiosa voluptas', Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* (ex P., 2, 7, 73), in Calonghi, *Dizionario latino-italiano*, cit.

Conclusions

If translation criticism is a perilous undertaking, the criticism of historic translations is particularly fraught with dangers. The aim of this doctoral research in the area of 'Modern Philology', however, was primarily to devise a practical method for the comparison of Lewkenor's translation to the original(s) and to test it on some parts of Contarini's book. Limited as its scope was, this exercise has nevertheless proved of interest. For one thing, it has established that if, as he writes, Lewkenor made use of a Latin text of *De magistratibus* in order to compare the Italian translation with 'the Latine originall', the text he availed himself of was not 'the Latine originall' of the first edition but a later, revised, and possibly censored text, nor was the Italian translation as close to the 'Latine originall' as one would expect. This means, on the one hand, that not all divergences of *The Commonwealth and Magistrates of Venice* from the first 1543 edition of *De magistratibus* are due to the translator; and on the other hand, that Contarini's original thought has been altered on seemingly crucial points, the alterations being later passed on to the English translation.

As it is, besides the inherent linguistic interest of a comparison of the three languages (and four texts) involved in the translation, the exercise of setting, however briefly, Lewkenor's 'result' beside the original(s) has opened up further avenues, especially those signalled by major deviations from the translated text(s), which may prove revealing of the Elizabethan mind. The research thus confirms the validity of such enticing, if general, statements as the following:

> 'A study of Elizabethan translations is a study of the means by which the Renaissance came to England. The nation had grown conscious of its cultural inferiority to the Continent, and suddenly burned with the desire to excel its rivals in letters, as well as in ships and gold. The translator's work was an act of patriotism. He, too, as well as the voyager and merchant, could do some good for his country: he believed that foreign books were just as important for England's destiny as the discoveries of her seamen, and he brought them into his native speech with all the enthusiasm of a conquest. And when you set his result beside the original, you find out a great deal about the Elizabethan mind. For you perceive what learning meant to him, and why he was so fired with enthusiasm to attain it; what is more significant, you understand the forces which actuated the development of the language in the sixteenth century, the qualities its writers strove to express, the difficulties they had to compass, and the ends they achieved' [567].

[567] F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation, an Elizabethan Art*, Harvard University Press, 1931, p. 1.

Lewkenor's translation certainly embodies the characteristic Elizabethan enthusiasm. He himself evokes '*the miraculous fertilitie of this age, wherein wee live*' [568]. Spenser is one of the five poets – in fact, the most distinguished of them - contributing introductory verses to Lewkenor's translation. In his sonnet, we remember, Spenser uses the word 'surquedry', a typical 'inkhorn' term, already obsolete in Chaucer's time [569]. Further research may ascertain whether Spenser and Lewkenor ever discussed, and in what terms, the question of literary archaisms in connection with the 'progress' of the English language. We may surmise, however, that Lewkenor would have accepted them if attached to poetic discourse, but not where the writer's (or translator's) purpose was '*the more cleere and exact satisfaction of the Reader*', as the title page of his translation announces. Lewkenor's prose style is, in fact, on the whole unaffected, and where it lays claim to elegance it is more because of the natural rhythm of the English language which he brings out, than by any imitation of the Italian or, better still, of the Latin language. That Lewkenor's translation was a ground-breaking achievement is accepted by all those who acknowledge its popularity among the English public. In fact, the interest Lewkenor brought to his subject led him not only to translate Contarini's account but also to update it by an appendix of '*sundry other Collections*' entitled *Divers Observations on the Venetian Commonwealth*.

Undoubtedly, much of the Elizabethan enthusiasm can also be viewed as linguistic anxiety, and much of the language's variety as instability, both reflecting the political uncertainty of late Renaissance England. There are, in fact, many paradoxes in the English attitude to Contarini's treatise, and most of the aspects of Lewkenor's translation that have been investigated in this research might exemplify the complexity of Lewkenor's choices in the course of translation. This comment refers not so much to Lewkenor's linguistic choices as to the political, philosophical, moral, and legal concepts they often imply and whose analysis, however, is beyond the immediate scope of the present research. In fact, where Contarini referred, for instance, to 'citizens', 'freedom', 'virtue', and 'state', the use of these terms was not the same in Elizabethan England, nor has it been the same since the French revolution, so that nowadays '[t]ranslating from a 16th- to a 20th-century political vocabulary turns out to be a more intractable task than passing from Italian into English' [570]. They are nevertheless key terms in Contarini's political 'grammar' and 'once the "grammar" is missed, connections are lost' [571].

---

[568] Lewkenor, 'To the Reader', sig. A1*v*.

[569] See Chap. II, 'Lewes Lewkenor'.

[570] John Gatt-Rutter, 'Niccolò Machiavelli', in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, Olive Classe (ed.), 2 vols., Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, Chicago-London, 2000, pp. 881-883, on-line, at p. 883.

Contarini's concerns, however, were different. Concord, not a debate on political principles, is the main theme of his treatise. If Venice's form of government had ensured its enduring independence and internal peace it was because of the patriciate's political 'virtue' and the consent of the rest of the body politic. Indeed, it has been said that Venice 'not only was the perfect state but also the perfect society' [572]. Nevertheless, we learn from nature that nothing human, however perfect at the outset, can last for ever [573]. In the last Book of his treatise Contarini does not refrain from mentioning also the shadows falling across this bright picture, all serious concerns for a state whose ultimate aim was the community's *bene beateque vivere*. Yet he is confident. From nature we also learn that continuous repairs are necessary to remedy the natural wear and tear of things and so, he concludes, with God's help they will imitate nature's rationale and come up with something [574]. That Contarini's trust was not misplaced is a fact. For more than two centuries after the *De magistratibus* Venetians could still refer, as proudly and gratefully as he had, to 'our auncestors, from whome wee haue receyued so flourishing a commonwealth' (I, 6).

---

[571] *Ibid*. The remark was originally made with reference to Machiavelli's 'political' grammar.

[572] Franco Gaeta, 'L'idea di Venezia', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 3/II *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, Vicenza, Neri Pozza, 1981, p. 635.

[573] 'for such is in all wordly thinges the course of nature, that nothing may bee among men perpetuall. But all thinges howsoever they seeme at the first perfectly and well ordained, yet in course of time nature still slyding to the worse, they had neede to be mended and renewed' (V, 135).

[574] Literally 'excogitate' (*Huiusmodi rationem nos quoque deo bene iuvante imitabimur, ac aliquod remedium excogitabimus*, V, 104), less clear in Lewkenor's translation: 'so in every thing there must be a reliefe and reparation added to the wearing and alwaies downe declining course of nature, of which remedy herein also (if it please God) we will have regard (V, 135).

APPENDIX I

Gasparo Contarini, *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*

LIST OF EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

1500

1543	*De magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri quinque, authore Gasparo Contareno Patricio Veneto*, Parisiis, ex officina Michaëlis Vascovani, MDXLIII	LT 1st
1544	La republica, e i magistrati di Vinegia, di M. Gasparo Contarino, nouamente fatti uolgari. In Vinegia : appresso Girolamo Scotto, 1544 Trad. a cura di Lodovico Domenichi, il cui pseud. Eranchirio Anditimi compare nella pref. *'Il y a sept ou huit Editions de cette Traduction'*, Clement, p. 289	IT 1st
= 1544	*Des magistratz, & république de Venise composé par Gaspar Contarin gentilhomme Venetien, & despuis traduict de Latin en vulgaire Francois par Jehan Charrier natif d'Apt en Provence...* On les vend à Paris en la grand'salle du Palays en la boutique de Galiot du Pré, libraire de l'université, 1544 (Imprime nouvellement à Paris par René Avril, M. D. XLIIII)	FR 1st
= 1544	Casparis Contareni patricii Veneti, De magistratibus, & repub. Venetorum libri quinque. Basileae : \Hieronymus Froben], 1544. (Basileae) : apud Hieronymum Frobenium & Nic. Episcopium, 1544. A cura di Sigmund Gelen, il cui nome appare nella pref. - Marche di Froben sul front. e in fine.	LT 2nd
1545	La republica, e i magistrati di Vinegia di m. Gasparo Contarino, nuouamente fatti volgari Stampata in Vinegia, 1545 LXX, \2! c. ; 8°. Esemplare legato all'opera di Giannotti "Libro de la republica de vinitiani"(Roma, 1542). Biblioteca Marucelliana Coll. SALA 1.LL.IX.104 Inv. MF000003409 1 v. *Cfr. Clement, p. 289 = Catal. Bibliothecae Bodlejanae (1738), où il est remarqué que le Traducteur s'appelloit Eranchiero Anditimo – on y cite aussi une Edition de Venise, 1551, in 8°*	IT 2nd
1547	Caspari Contareni... de Magistratibus et repub. Venetorum libri quinque. (Edidit Sigismundus Gelenius.) Basileae : apud H. Frobenium et N. Episcopium, 1547	LT 3rd
1548	La republica, e i magistrati di Vinegia, di m. Gasparo Contarino, nuouamente fatti uolgari In Vinegia : per Claudio Sabini, 1548.	IT 3rd
1551	La republica, e i magistrati di Vinegia. Di M. Gasparo Contareno, nuouamente fatti uolgari. In Vinegia : per Baldo Sabini, 1551.	IT 4th
= 1551	De magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri quinque authore Gaspare Contareno patricio Veneto. Venetiis : apud Baldum Sabinum, 1551 See David Clement, *Bibliothèque curieuse historique et critique: ou, Catalogue raisonné de livres difficiles à trouver*, Tome Setième [sic]. A Leipsic, dans la librairie de Jean Fred. Gleditsch, J. G. Schmid, 1757, pp. 287 ss, on-line,	LT 4th
1554	La republica, e i magistrati di Vinegia. Di M. Gasparo Contareno, Venezia, in 8° *'citeé dans l'Index Bibliothecae Barberinae'*, *Clement, 289*	IT 5th

1500

1557	*La Police et gouvernement de la République de Venise, exemplaire pour le jourd'huy à toutes autres, tant pour le régime des habitans que estrangers (par le cardinal G. Contarini), livre fort utile et nécessaire à tous amateurs du bien public, mis en langue françoise par Jean Charrier*,..., Lyon : B. [Benoist]Rigaud et J. [Ian] Saugrain, 1557, In-16, p. 313	FR 2nd
1563	*Della Republica & Magistrati di Venetia Libri V*. di Gasparo Contarini, tradotti dal Latino. In Venetia per Domenico Giulio, 1563, in 8vo. Clement, p. 289	IT 6th
1564	*La republica e i magistrati di Vinegia*. Di M. Gasparo Contareno. Nuouamente corretta, e stampata. In Vinegia : per Dominico Giglio, 1564.	IT 7th
1571	Gasparis Contareni cardinalis *Opera*, Parisiis : apud Sebastianum Niuellium, sub Ciconiis in via Iacobaea, 1571, in Fol.	LT 5th
1578	Gasparis Contareni cardinalis *Opera*,Venetiis : apud Aldum, 1578 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k60564t/f299.pagination#	LT 6th
1589	Gasparis Contareni cardinalis *Opera omnia*, hactenus excussa, ad omnes philosophie partes, & ad sacram theologiam pertinentia, Venetijs : apud Damianum Zenarium, 1589	LT 7th
= 1589	Gasparis Contareni De magistratibus, & republica Venetorum.Venetiis : apud Aldum, 1589. *NB: on a imprimé jusque là ce livret de Contarenus separément. Dans la suite on l'a accompagné de divers autres Traitez, qui y ont du rapport…*, Clement, cit., p. 288. *Cita ad es. l'ed. latina 1592, sotto*	LT 8th
1591	*Gasparo Contarini* della Republica, & Magistrati di Venetia; con un discorso alla medesima di Donato Giannotti, & i discorsi di Sebastiano Erizzo, & di Bartolomeo Caualcanti dell'excellenza delle republiche. Venetia, 1591, in 8°, presso Aldo. *Ve ne sono anche esemplari in 4°.* *Cfr. Clement, p. 289* *Vedine anche edizione del 1630*	IT 8th
1592	*Gasparis Contareni cardinalis, De magistratibus & republica Venetorum libri quinque*. Quibus de Romanorum & Venetorum magistratuum inter se comparatione Guerini Pisonis Soacii J.C. praeclarissimi elegans & doctus nouiter accessit libellus, summo omnes studio et labore expurgati, pristinoque candori suo ad amussim restituti; cum indice rerum maxime notabilium pro operis mole vt copioso satis, ita & miro ordine digesto.Venetiis : apud Io. Bapt. Ciottum Senensem sub signo Mineruae, 1592. *Ristampata nel 1616 col titolo 'Speculum optimi Magistratus, bene constitutae ac florentissimae Venetorum Reipub.etc, v. (Clement, p. 288)* *Edition de Venice,1692, in 8°, coteé dans la Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana, 'suiette à caution. Je crois que c'est celle de 1592' Clement, p. 289* = errore di catalogazione?	LT 9th
1599	*The Commonwealth and Government of Venice…* imprinted by Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes, London, 1599 at http://dewey.library.upenn.edu.	EN 1st

1600

1616 *'Speculum optimi Magistratus, bene constitutae ac florentissimae Venetorum Reipub. Reverendiss. Card. Casparis Contareni. Cui de Romanorum & Venetorum magistratuum inter se comparatione Guerini Pisonis Soacii J.C. praeclarissimi elegans & doctus nouiter accessit libellus, summo omnes studio et labore expurgati, pristinoque candori suo ad amussim restituti; cum indice rerum maxime notabilium pro operis mole vt copioso ...* Prostat Rostochii apud Johannem Hallerfortium [?] M.DC.XVI (1616) *(Clement, p. 288)* — LT 10th

1626 Casparis Contareni ... De republica Venetorum libri quinque. Item synopsis reip. Venetæ, et alii de eadem discursus politici. Lugd. Batauorum : ex officina Elzeviriana, 1626. 335, [5] p. ; 24º
Pubblicato da Bonaventura e Abraham Elzevier:
cfr. Willems, Les Elzevier, p. 68, n. 250. — LT 11th

1628 *Casparis Contareni ... De republica Venetorum libri quinque. Item synopsis reip. Venetæ, et alii de eadem discursus politici* Editio secunda auctior. Lugd. Batavorum : ex officina Elzeviriana, 1628.
Cfr. Willems, Les Elzevier, p. 77, n. 293.
NB: 2 edizioni nel 1628: 'ceux deux dernières Editions sont plus amples que celle de 1626 ... on y a ajouté plusieurs articles importants ... on en a retranché la Dédicace de Sigismond Gelesius, Clement, p. 228 — LT 12th

1630 Della Republica & Magistrati di Venetia. Libri V di M. Gasparo Contarini, che poi fu Cardinale. Con un Ragionamento intorno alla medesima di M. Donato Giannotti fiorentino. Et i discorsi de' Governi Civili di M. Sebastian Erizzo, & XV Discorsi di M. Bartolomeo Caualcanti: aggiuntoui di nuouo un Discorso dell'Excellenza delle Republiche. Onde con molta dottrina si mostra, quanto sono utili i governi publici, & necessari i privati, per conservatione del genere humano; con la diffinitione di tutte le qualità de gli Stati. Et di nuovo postovi la Tavola nel fine. …In Venetia, M.DC.XXX (1630). Appresso Giorgio Valentino, in 8°,
Cfr. Clement, pp. 289-90.
In Venetia : presso Aldo, 1591. in 8° — IT 9th

1636 *Pauli Merulae* Cosmographiae generalis libri III. It. Geographiae particularis libri IV. Acc. *Casp. Contareni* de Republ. Venetorum libri V. amstelod, 1636, in 12mo (Clement, p. 289) — LT 13th

1650 *Della Republica, et magistrati di Venetia. Libri cinque di M. Gasparo Contarini, con Ragionamento di Donato Gianotti. Annotazioni di Nic. Crasso, &c. [et i Discorsi de' gouerni ciuili di M. Sebastiano Erizzo, & 15 Discorsi di M. Bartolomeo Caualcanti, aggiuntoui vn Discorso dell'Eccellenza delle Republiche]*. All'Illustriss. & Eccellentis. Sig. il Sig. Giovanni di Zamoscia Zamoiski, In Venetia : per Francesco Storti, 1650, in 12mo. — IT 10th

1678 Republica di Venetia del *Cardinal Contarini, Giannotti* & altri Autori, Venetia, 1678, in 12mo. *La dernière Edition Italienne, que je connoisee', Clement, p. 290* — IT 11th

1692 *Edition de Venise,1692, in 8°, coteé dans la Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana, 'suiette à caution. Je crois que c'est celle de 1592' Clement, p. 289* — LT 14th

1700

1722 *De Magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri quinque*, cum notis Nicolai Crassi. — LT 15th
British Library
Accesserunt Balthasaris Bonifacii de majoribus comitiis et judiciis capitalibus duae epistolae.
Editio novissima, emendatior et auctior [Texte imprimé]
Publication : Lugduni Batavorum : sumptibus P. Van der Aa, 1722

1900

1968 Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis *Opera*, Farnborough : Gregg, 1968, 627 p. Ripr. facs. dell'ed. Parisiis, apud. S. Niuellium, 1571

1969 *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice…* facsimile reprint, Amsterdam and New York, 1969

2000

2003 *La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia*, facsimile reprint of the 1554 edition published by Girolamo Scotto in Venice, Vittorio Conti (ed.), Centro Editoriale Toscano, Firenze, 2003

ONLINE FACSIMILE EDITIONS

s.d. *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice…* imprinted by Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes, London, 1599, *The Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text & Image* webpage at http://dewey.library.upenn.edu.

s.d. *Gasparis Contareni cardinalis Opera*,Venetiis : apud Aldum, 1578 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k60564t/f299.pagination#

APPENDIX II

A REASONED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON *SESTIERE* / TRIBE (chap. VI) AND RENAISSANCE TRANSLATIONS IN GENERAL

On the topography of ancient Rome

Ugo Enrico Paoli, *Vita romana*, Oscar Mondadori, Milano (1976), 1990

> 'Le varie tappe del progressivo aumento di Roma, che ne riassumono la storia materiale, sono rappresentate da quei successivi ingrandimenti per i quali la *Roma Quadrata* sul Palatino si trasformò nel *Septimontium* (fig. 1), quindi nella città *quatuor regionum* [i.e.: I: *Suburana*; II. *Esquilina*; III. *Collina*; IV. *Palatina*] (fig. 2), città serviana', pp. 10-11.

Mario Attilio Levi, *L'Italia antica*. *Dalla preistoria all'età imperiale,* Oscar Mondadori, Milano (1968), 1974

> 'Roma nacque certamente come abitato da piccoli gruppi di popolazione. […] La comunità pastorale aveva tendenza a stabilirsi su alture, come quella del Palatino; con il progresso economico, il piccolo gruppo di capanne dovette trasformarsi in un più esteso villaggio. […] E' probabile che in questo periodo l'abitato dal Palatino sia disceso nella valle del Foro e risalito verso la Velia e l'Esquilinio, occupando forse anche la rocca capitolina. Le strade che convergevano su Roma si incrociavano nella zona del Foro, dividendo l'abitato in quattro regioni, grazie alle quali Roma venne indicata come città *quadrata*, appunto perché divisa in quattro parti. […] Malgrado la distruzione della città in seguito alla invasione dei Galli scesi fino alle foci del Tevere nel 390 a. C., sono rimaste tracce archeologiche sporadiche e occasionali, però sufficienti per offrire alcune informazioni sulla Roma precedente alla distruzione gallica', pp. 77-78.

Levi devotes a very useful two-page passage, *Le tribù*, on the issue:

> 'Sin dall'inizio del V secolo, i Romani avevano fatto un primo passo […] per creare distretti territoriali nei quali si raggruppava la popolazione della città e della Campania. Il nome di tribù corrrispondeva al termine italico *trifu* che indicava la popolazione che abitava fuori della città […] In origine, cioè nel 495 a. C., tutto il territorio romano venne diviso in quattro tribù urbane e sedici rustiche. Nel 488 vennero create altre quattro tribù rustiche per suddividere il territorio tolto a Veio e verso il 449 a. C., conquistata la località di Crustumerio, venne fondata la tribù Crustumina. I nomi delle antiche tribù rustiche corrispondevano a quelli di grandi casate (*gentes*) estinte o ancora esistenti, dimostrandosi così che il concetto base per la delimitazione dei distretti teritoriali era rappresentato, in origine, dai luoghi ove si trovavano le proprietà delle maggiori casate romane. Così si ebbero le tribù Claudia, Cornelia, Emilia, Fabia, Menenia, Orazia, Papiria, Romilia, Sergia e Volturia, tutte corrispondenti a nomi di *gentes*, che esistevano già nel corso del IV secolo e dopo, mentre altre tribù, la Camilia, Valeria, Lamonia, Pollia, Papinia e Voltinia, corrispondevano a nomi di *gentes* che non esistevano più. Quest'usanza di considerare come un toponimo il nome di un grande fondo rustico e della famiglia a cui il fondo apparteneva, rimase nelle abitudini dell'Italia antica ancora in avanzata età imperiale […] Accanto a queste sedici tribù di carattere territoriale aventi un nome gentilizio come toponimo, vi furono le quattro tribù Esquilina, Palatina, Suburana e Collina, che corrispondevano alla quadripartizione della Roma *quadrata* primitiva. Queste venti tribù, più la Crustumina, costituita a poca distanza di tempo, hanno grandissima importanza, non soltanto per lo sviluppo amministrativo interno dello stato romano, ma anche per tutta la successiva storia della penisola sotto l'amministrazione romana […]', p. 101.

No reference to Rome's administrative organization of the territory or to its *tribus* has been found in *The Oxford History of the Roman World*, John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, Oswyn Murray (eds.),

Oxford University Press (1986) 1991. Michael Crawford in 'Early Rome and Italy' (p. 20), simply states that:

> 'The city of Rome was formed by linking a number of villages; the consequence was that the Forum ceased to be used for burials and became the public open space of the new city'

while John Matthews in 'Roman Life and Society' (p. 398) remarks:

> 'Although the city was the fundamental unit of ancient social and administrative life, many were those who lived outside its range, in different ways; in tribal reservations which, at least in certain parts of north Africa, persisted to the late Empire […]'

The *tribus rusticae* were eventually increased to thirty-one, as Livy mentions to explain the total of thirty-five *tribus* at the time of his writing:

> '*Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus* […] *ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summam non convenire*' (Tito Livio, *Storia di Roma*, a cura di Guido Vitali e Carlo Vitali, Mondadori, Milano 2007, I, xliii, p. 116)
>
> 'Nè deve fa meraviglia che il presente ordinamento, dopo che si è giunti a trentacinque tribù […] non corrisponda più al totale di Servio Tullio', (*ib*., p. 117)
>
> 'Nor need it occasion any surprise, that the arrangement which now exists since the completion of the thirty-five tribes […] does not agree with the total as instituted by Servius Tullius' (tr. Rev. Canon Roberts, 1912).

On Livy' translations (in chronological order)

bef. 1323, *Le Deche di Livio*, *volgarizzamento del buon secolo*, 6 voll., Savona, 1842-1849.

Italian scholars have tentatively attributed part of Livy's early translations into the Italian vernacular to Boccaccio. See Maria Teresa Casella, *Tra Boccaccio e Petrarca. I volgarizzamenti di Tito Livio e di Valerio Massimo* (Studi sul Petrarca, 14), Editrice Antenore, Padova, 1982, reviewed by Giuseppe Velli in *MLN*, vol. 100, n. 1, Italian issue, pp. 175-177, as well as G. Billanovich, 'Il Boccaccio, il Petrarca e le più antiche traduzioni della letteratura italiana', in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, CXXX (1953), pp. 311-337). Bembo**,** however, writing to Rannusio in 1527 about Livy's vernacular version, judges that it is not by Boccaccio:

> 'e per quello che io stimar ne posso, per niente egli non è traduzione del Boccaccio'
>
> Cit. da Francesco Maggini, *I primi volgarizzamenti dei classici latini*, Firenze, 1952, p. 72, in Gianfranco Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre*, Einaudi, 1991, p. 78.

1354-1356, The first major translation of Livy from Latin into French was made by the Benedictine monk Pierre Bersuire (1290-*c*1362), upon the request of King John the Good (Jean le Bon, 1350-1364). There followed the translations commissioned under Charles V (1364-1380) and Charles VI (1380-1422). French scholars, however, argue for the existence of an earlier translation, now lost, which would have been the basis of the anonymous Italian translation, as attested by the colophon of the manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Canon it. 146:

> 'li quali X libri sono correcti per mano di colui che gli traslatoe di francescho in volgare fiorentino'.

French scholars also argue that, until the 16th century, most foreign translations were based on Bersuire's French version, notably Spanish and Catalan translations but also John Bellenden's first English translation.

(1533), 1822, *The First Five Books of the Roman History translated from the Latin of Titus Livius* by John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray and Canon of Ross, Edinburgh, W. and C. Tait, 1822, on-line.

It is unlikely that Lewkenor would have known of the translation of the First Five Books of Livy's *Roman History* by John Bellenden as it remained in manuscript form in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh until its publication in 1822. Bellenden, who undertook the translation of Livy's *Ab Urbe condita* at the request of James V, thought fit to render it into '*the domestic Scottis langage, maist intelligible for the vulgar pepil*.' Thus, besides being 'one of the first versions of a Roman Classic executed in Britain', Bellenden's translation of Livy is also particularly valuable '[a]s a specimen of the ancient language of Scotland and of the prose style of the purest of her early writers' (1822 Preface, p. ix). Both circumstances may account for Bellenden's translation of *tribus* as *tribe* – which is close to the meaning of *clan,* with the added touch of the payment of the tribute to the king - and consequently for the use recorded in the *OED* quotation under the heading (2.a.) *Roman Hist.*:

> One of the traditional three political divisions or patrician orders of ancient Rome in early times (see quot. 1842); later, one of the 30 political divisions of the Roman people instituted by Servius Tullius, and in B.C. 241 increased to 35.

The *OED*'s quotation

> *Þe toun of rome was dividit .. in sindri parties, and euery ane of þir parties war callit tribis, þe thirlage of tribute þat þai aucht to pay to þe king* (*Livy* I, xvii. (S.T.S) I. 96, tr. Bellenden, 1533)

omits *be regiouns and mountains* after 'was dividit, a detail that may be relevant as Contarini also uses *regiones* farther on in his text as an equivalent to *tribus*.

1562, *Tito Livio tradotto da Jacopo Nardi*, Giunti, Venezia, 1562

1600, Philemon Holland, *The Romane History* [*Livy*], London, Adam Islip, 1600*,*
The Historie of the World. Commonly called, The Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus. Translated into English by Philemon Holland, Doctor in Physic, 1601 translation of Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*

Though Pope derided him for his pedantry in *The Dunciad* (I, 154), Edmund Bohun mentions Holland respectfully in the preface to his 1686 version of Livy, see Tom Winnifrith, 'Latin Historians', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: 1660-1790*, Stuart Gillespie, David Hopkins, eds., Oxford University Press, 2005, at p. 281, on-line.

See also Charles Whibley remarks on Holland in 'Translators. Prose and Poetry: Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton', *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes* (1907–21), vol. IV, on-line.

1912, Livy, *The History of Rome,* tr. Rev. Canon Roberts, ed. Ernest Rhys, Everyman's Library, J.M. Dent and Sons, London, E.P. Dutton and Co, New York, 1912, The University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center, on-line.

1949, Frank Gardner Moore, *Livy, with an English Translation, in Fourteen Volumes. Vol. VIII: Books 28-30*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1949. Reviewed by Frank Givens Nickel, *Classical Philology*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Oct., 1951), pp. 250-252
2007, Tito Livio, *Storia di Roma*, a cura di Guido Vitali e Carlo Vitali, Mondadori, Milano, 2007

Machiavelli's translations

1560, Peter Whitehorne, *The Art of War*, in *The Tudor Translations: Machiavelli, with an Introduction by Henry Cust, M.P*. Volume I, London, David Nutt, 1905, on-line

1640, Edward Dacres, *The Prince*, in *The Tudor Translations*, cit.

1882, *The Prince, Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius, Thoughts of a Statesman,* in *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolo Machiavelli,* tr. from the Italian by Christian E. Detmold, Boston, J. R. Osgood and company, Vol. 2, 1882, on-line

1883, *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius by Niccolo Machiavelli Citizen and Secretary of Florence*, translated from the Italian by Ninia Hill Thomson, M.A., Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1883, on-line, which offers another instance of Machiavelli's use of *tribù* and its unfortunate translation into English as *tribe*:

> 'Erano in Roma, per la liberalità che i Romani usavano di donare la civiltà a' forestieri, nate tante genti nuove, che le cominciavano avere tanta parte ne' suffragi, che il governo cominciava variare, e partivasi da quelle cose e da quelli uomini dove era consueto andare. Di che accorgendosi Quinto Fabio, che era Censore, messe tutte queste genti nuove, da chi dipendeva questo disordine, sotto quattro *Tribù* acciocché non potessono, *ridutti in sì piccoli spazi*, corrompere tutta Roma. Fu questa cosa bene conosciuta da Fabio, e postovi, sanza alterazione, conveniente rimedio; il quale fu tanto accetto a quella civiltà, ch'e' meritò di essere chiamato Massimo', (*Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*, Libro II) [emphasis added]
>
> 'From the readiness wherewith the Romans conferred the right of citizenship on foreigners, there came to be so many new citizens in Rome, and possessed of so large a share of the suffrage, that the government itself began to alter, forsaking those courses which it was accustomed to follow, and growing estranged from the men to whom it had before looked for guidance. Which being observed by Quintius Fabius when censor, he caused all those new citizens to be classed in four *Tribes*, *that being reduced within this narrow limit* they might not have it in their power to corrupt the entire State. And this was a wisely contrived measure, for, without introducing any violent change, it supplied a convenient remedy, and one so acceptable to the republic as to gain for Fabius the well-deserved name of Maximus', (*Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius* …, II) [emphasis added]

1908, *The Prince*, tr. William K. Marriott, 1908, on-line

1909-1914, *The Prince*, tr. Ninian Hill Thomson, P. F. Collier & Son Company, The Harvard Classics, New York, 1909–14, on-line

1944, Hardin Craig (ed.), *Machiavelli's The Prince*: *An Elizabethan Translation*, Chapel. Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, H. Milford, London, 1944

1992, *The Prince. A Revised Translation, Backgrounds, Interpretations, Marginalia*, Robert M. Adams, ed., W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1992

1999, *The Prince* by Niccolo Machiavelli, translated by Luigi Ricci, Contributor Christian Gauss, Signet Classic, 1999

On Machiavelli's translations

A recent list of the English translations of Machiavelli's *Il principe*, together with a comment on the difficulties of rendering Machiavelli's political 'grammar' and a spirited review of the English versions for 'virtù' is given by John Gatt-Rutter, 'Niccolò Machiavelli', in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, Olive Classe (ed.), 2 vols., Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, Chicago-London, 2000, pp. 881-883, on-line.

Sydney Anglo, *Machiavelli – The First Century. Studies in Enthusiasm, Hostility, and Irrelevance*, Oxford University Press, 2005, particularly chap. 7, 'Machiavelli's Keenest Readers: The Early Translators', pp. 183-228.

Reviews to Hardin Craig, *Machiavelli's* The Prince*, An Elizabethan Translation* (1944), by
Allan H. Gilbert, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 60, No. 6 (Jun., 1945), pp. 418-420;
Una Ellis-Fermor, *The Review of English Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 82 (Apr., 1945), pp. 155-156;

Willis H. Bowen, 'Sixteenth Century French Translations of Machiavelli', *Italica*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Dec., 1950), pp. 313-320.

On London's territorial divisions

Peter Ackroyd, *London. The Biography*, Chatto & Windus, London, 2000

On London's night constables

Bill Bryson, *Shakespeare*, Harper Perennial, London, 2007:

> ' … the fact that the night constables and watchmen were nearly always portrayed in the theatre as dimwits (think of Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing*) suggests that they were not regarded with much fear', p. 49.

On Tudor London and John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598-1603)

Peter Ackroyd, *London. The Biography*, Chatto & Windus, London, 2000, p. 99

On Venice's sestieri

Giuseppe Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, 2 ed., Venezia, 1856, ristampa anastatica, Giunti, Firenze, 1998

On the evolution of the relationship between the patricians' public offices and the city's territory, Dorit Raines, 'Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: le casate del patriziato veneziano, 1297-1797', pp. 1-64, in *Storia di Venezia – Rivista,* I, Firenze University Press, 2003, on-line.

On the persistent use in English of Lewkenor's *tribe* for *sestieri*

Zera Silver Fink, *The Classical Republicans*, 2nd ed., Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1962, p. 28

The Oxford Shakespeare's Othello, *the Moor of Venice,* Michael Neill (ed.), Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 208, 293, 464.

On Venice's *Signori di Notte* and *Capi di Sestiere*

Marin Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae, ovvero, La città di Venezia (1493-1530)*, edizione critica di Angela Caracciolo Aricò, Cisalpino, La Goliardica, 1980, pp. 129-130 (*c.60 v*) for 'Officiali di Notte' and p. 142 (*c.65 r*) for 'Cai di Sestier'.

On the medieval and Renaissance translators quoted and their translation theories

Pierre Bersuire's *Tite-Live*
The translator's prologue underlines that readers of Livy's must look for examples, models, strategic rules, so that his *History* 'devient explicitement (et au fond, est-ce tellement le trahir?) un traité d'éducation politique, militaire et morale', Jacques Monfrin *et al*, 'Humanisme et traductions au Moyen Age', in *Etudes de philologie romane*, Genève, 2001, p. 768.

John Bellenden's *Livy*
'He has not considered it necessary implicitly to follow the original; but if the structure of the Roman Historian's sentences is occasionally departed from, the *spirit* of his narrative is invariably preserved. This power of *free translation* implies, on the part of Bellenden, a very intimate knowledge of the Latin language' (1822 Preface to *The First Five Books of the Roman History*, p. x).

Philemon Holland's *Livy*
Charles Whibley, 'Translators', cit., is worth quoting at some length for the sheer pleasure of it:

'His was the romance not of feeling, but of decoration. He loved ornament with the ardour of an ornamental age, and he tricked out his authors with all the resources of Elizabethan English. The concision and reticence of the classics were as nothing to him. He was ambitious always to clothe them in the garb which they might have worn had they been not mere Englishmen, but fantastics of his own age. Like all his contemporaries, he was eager to excuse his own shortcomings.

> "According to this purpose and intent of mine," he wrote, "I frame my pen, not to any affected phrase, but to a meane and popular stile. Wherein, if I have called againe into use some old words, let it be attributed to the love of my countrey language: if the sentence be not so concise, couched and knit togither as the originall, loth I was to be obscure and darke: have I not Englished every word aptly? Ech nation hath several maners, yea, and tearmes appropriate by themselves."

His phrase is never affected; his style is neither mean nor popular; and thus far he speaks the language of convention. The rest of the passage is the soundest criticism. Holland had a natural love of the old words and proverbs which distinguished his country language. His sentences are seldom concise or knit together, and his translations, though not apt to their orginals, are apt enough to the language of their adoption. If he seldom echoed the sound of Greek and Latin, he never missed the sense, nor did he fear a comparison of his own work with the classical texts. When it was said that his versions were not in accord with the French or Italian, he knew that he was in the right of it. "Like as Alcibiades said to one"—thus he wrote—"[char], *i.e. strike hardly* (*Euribiades*) *so you heare me speake:* even so I say; Find fault and spare not; but withal, read the original better before you give sentence." Let his own test be applied to him, and he will not fail. Take, for instance, a

famous passage in the fifth book of Livy, which describes the salvation of the Capitol from the Gauls. Here is the Latin, simple and straightforward:

> *Anseres non fefellere, quibus sacris Junonis in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit; namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit.*

Holland's English, close as it keeps to the text of Livy, has its own colour and quality:

> "But they could not so escape the geese"—thus it runs—"which were consecrated unto *Juno,* and for all the scarcitie of victuals were spared and not killed up. And this it was that saved them all. For with their gagling and fluttering of their wings, *M. Manlius,* who three yeares before had been Consul, a right hardie and noble warriour, was awaked. Who taking weapon in hand, speedily went forth and raised the rest withall to take armes."

The English has a plainness to which Holland very rarely attains; but it is not its plainness nor its perfect harmony that gives it a character of its own. In the first place, "gagling" arrests the ear so sharply, that the reader is as wide awake as M. Manlius himself. And then how admirable in sound and sense is the equivalent of *vir bello egregius*—"a right hardie and noble warriour"! It is by such touches as this and by a feeling of what is musical in prose, which never deserted him, that Holland produced his effects. His failing from a pedantic point of view is an excess of ornament. He was not always content to say what he had to say once. He delighted to turn a statement about—to put it now in this light, now in that. "*Jacta est alea,*" writes Suetonius. "The dice be thrown," says Holland; "I have set up my rest; come what will of it."

General on translation

Robert Cummings, 'Recent Studies in English Translation, *c.*1520-*c.*1590', in *English Literary Renaissance,* vol. 37, n. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 274-316

Robert Cummings, review, Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice,* Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, in *Translation and Literature,* Volume 17, Part 1, Spring 2008, pp. 111-119

Gianfranco Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre*, Einaudi, 1991

Theo Hermans, 'The Task of the Translator in the European Renaissance: Explorations in a Discursive Field', s.d., on-line at
http://eprints.ucl.ac.uk/955/1/97_Task_Translator_Renaissance.pdf

F. O. (Francis Otto) Matthiessen, *Translation: An Elizabethan Art*, Harvard University Press, 1931

Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, Volume 280, Burt Franklin Bibliography & Reference Series, Volume 32, Essays in Literature & Criticism, Vassar Semi-Centennial Series, Ayer Publishing, 1969

Daniel Weissbort and Astradur Eysteinsson, *Translation: Theory and Practice: A Historical Reader*, Oxford University Press, 2006

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

I
THE WRITINGS OF GASPARO CONTARINI

II
ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

III
MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE SOURCES (XI-XVI CENTURIES)

IV
ILLUSTRATIONS CITED

SECONDARY SOURCES

V
WORKS CITED

VI
OTHER ELECTRONIC RESOURCES CITED

VII
GENERAL REFERENCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

I

THE WRITINGS OF GASPARO CONTARINI

De magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri quinque, authore Gasparo Contareno Patricio Veneto, Parisiis, ex officina Michaëlis Vascovani, MDXLIII (1543), Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

De magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri V, in *Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera* (1578), pp. 259-326, on-line at http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=NUMM-60564&I=299&M=imageseule

De officio episcopi libri II, in *Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera* (1578), pp. 401-432, on-line at http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=NUMM-60564&I=439&M=imageseule

Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera, Apud Aldum, Venetiis, MDLXXIIX (1578), on-line at http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=NUMM-60564&I=1&M=imageseule

La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia, di M. Gasparo Contarino, novamente fatti volgari. In Vinegia, appresso Girolamo Scotto, 1544, a cura di Vittorio Conti, rist. anast., Centro Editoriale Toscano, Firenze, 2003

Relazione di Gasparo Contarini ritornato ambasciatore da Carlo V. Letta in Senato a dì 16 Novembre 1525 (‘*relazione di Germania*’), in Eugenio Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, serie I, vol. II, Tipografia all’Insegna di Clio, Firenze 1840, pp. 9-73, facsimile reprint in *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato* a cura di Luigi Firpo, vol. II, ‘Germania (1506-1554)’, in ‘Monumenta politica et philosophica rariora’, Bottega d’Erasmo, Torino, 1965, pp. 83-150. The text is available also on-line, see Biblioteca Italiana, Università di Roma ‘La Sapienza’, progetto ‘Biblioteca Digitale Italiana’, 2005, at http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/xtf/view?docId=bibit001112/bibit001112.xml&chunk.id=d5785e123&toc.depth=1&toc.id=&brand=default

The Commonwealth and Government of Venice. Written by Cardinall Gasper [sic] Contareno, and translated out of Italian into English, by Lewes Lewkenor Esquire, With sundry other Collections, annexed by the Translator for the more cleere and exact satisfaction of the Reader. With a short Chronicle in the end of the liues and raignes of the Venetian Dukes, from the very beginninges of their Citie, imprinted by Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes, London, 1599. Facsimile reprint Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Da Capo Press, Amsterdam and New York, 1969. On-line facsimile edition of The Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text & Image at http://dewey.library.upenn.edu

II
ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, *Notatorio*, reg. 7, c. 111 v, Archivio di Stato di Venezia

Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, *Notatorio*, reg. 7, c. 117 r., Archivio di Stato di Venezia

Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, *Notatorio*, reg. 7, c. 161 r, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, also on-line

Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, *Proclami*, busta 2, fol. 33, Archivio di Stato di Venezia

PUBLISHED

Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, *Notatorio*, reg. 7, c. 161 r, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, on-line with the editorial title 'Venetian Decree on Pre-publication Censorship (1527)', *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)*, L. Bently & M. Kretschmer (eds), Faculty of Law, University of Cambridge, at http://www.copyrighthistory.org/cgi-bin/kleioc/0010/exec/showThumb/%22i_1527%22/start/%22yes%22

Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, *Misti*, filza 39, fol. 39v, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, on-line with the editorial title 'Decree of the Council of Ten Appointing the First Literary Censor, Andrea Navagero', *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)*, L. Bently & M. Kretschmer (eds.), Faculty of Law, University of Cambridge at http://www.copyrighthistory.org/cgi-bin/kleioc/0010/exec/ausgabe/%22i_1516%22

Girgensohn, Dieter (a cura di), *Francesco Foscari. Promissione ducale 1423*, La Malcontenta, Venezia, 2004, facsimile on-line at http://books.google.it/books?id=oVKfBFNw1K0C

III
MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE SOURCES
(XI - XVI CENTURIES)

Anon., *Origo civitatum Italie seu Venetiarum* (*Chronicon altinate et Chronicon gradense*), a cura di Roberto Cessi, Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, n. 73, Scrittori. Secoli XI-XII, Tipografia del Senato, Roma, 1933

Bardi, Girolamo, *Chronologia vniversale, nella quale della creatione di Adamo fino all'anno 1581 di Christo nostro sig. brevemente si racconta la origine di tutte le genti, il principio di tutte le monarchie, di tutti i regni, republiche, principati, la salutifera incarnatione di Christo, con la successione de sommi pontefici romani, la creatione di patriarchi, le congregationi dei religiosi, le militie de cavalieri, i concili vniversali, & nationali, le heresie, i scismi, le congiure, paci, rebellioni, guerre, & prodigij, la denominatione di tutti gli huomini in ogni professione illustri. Con la particolar narratione delle dette cose successe d'anno, in anno, nel mondo*. Fatta da Girolamo Bardi. In Venetia : appresso i Giunti, 1581

Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia, libri II. Ne i quali si contengono vsanze antiche. Habiti & vestiti. ... Nuouamente riformati, accresciuti, & abbelliti con l'aggionta della dichiaratione delle istorie, che sono state dipinte ne i quadri delle sale dello Scrutinio, & del gran Consiglio del palagio Ducale. ... Fatta da Girolamo Bardi fiorentino. In Venetia, appresso Felice Valgrisio, 1587

Dichiarazione di tutte le istorie, che sono state dipinte nei quadri delle sale dello Scrutinio, & del Gran Consiglio del Palagio Ducale. Nella quale s'ha piena intelligenza delle vittorie illustri conseguite fin' hora di varie nationi del mondo dai Vinitiani. Fatta da Girolamo Bardi Fiorentino. In Venetia, appresso Felice Valgrisio, 1587

Beccadelli, Lodovico, 'Lettere del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini e di altri al medesimo sino ad ora inedite, con varie notizie sopra il Colloquio di Vormazia, la Dieta di Ratisbona, e la Legazione di Bologna', in *Monumenti di varia letteratura tratti dai manoscritti di Monsignor Lodovico Beccadelli*, a cura di Giambattista Morandi, Bologna, 1797-1804, Tomo I, Parte II, 1799, pp. 61-222

'Vita del Cardinale Pietro Bembo', in *Monumenti di varia letteratura tratti dai manoscritti di Monsignor Lodovico Beccadelli*, a cura di Giambattista Morandi, Bologna, 1797-1804, Tomo I, Parte II, 1799, pp. 223-252

'Vita del Cardinale Reginaldo Polo', in *Monumenti di varia letteratura tratti dai manoscritti di Monsignor Lodovico Beccadelli*, a cura di Giambattista Morandi, Bologna, 1797-1804, Tomo I, Parte II, 1799, pp. 277-333.Latin trans. *Vita Reginaldi Poli, Britanni, S.R.E. cardinalis, et Cantuariensis archiepiscopi*, Venedig, 1561. Trans. Benjamin Pye, *The Life of Cardinal Reginald Pole, Written Originally in Italian by Ludovico Beccadelli*, Bathurst, London, 1766

'Vita di Monsignor Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo Messer Gasparo Contarino Gentilhuomo Venitiano et Cardinale della S. Romana Chiesa', in *Monumenti di varia letteratura tratti dai manoscritti di Monsignor Lodovico Beccadelli*, a cura di Giambattista Morandi, Bologna, 1797-1804, Tomo I, Parte II, 1799, pp. 9-60

Bembo, Pietro, *Lettere*. Edizione critica a cura di Ernesto Travi, vol. II (1508-1528), Collezione di opere inedite o rare, Commissione per i testi di lingua, vol. 143, Bologna, 1990

Della Casa, Giovanni, *Gasparis Contareni Vita a Ioanne Casa Conscripta*, in *Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera* (1578), pp. 8-38

Joannis Casae Latina Monimenta. Quorum partim versibus, partim soluta oratione scripta sunt, Florentiae. In officina Iuntarum Bernardi filiorum edita, Firenze, Giunti, 1564

Erasmus Rotterdamensis, *Collectanea adagiorum* (1500) 1603

De duplici copia verborum ac rerum, 1512

Fabrizi, Alvise Cinzio de' (Aloyse Cynthio de gli Fabritii), *Libro della origine delli volgari proverbi*, a c. Francesco Saba Sardi, con sonetti di Pietro Aretino illustrati da Giulio Romano, Collana 'Questioni aperte con i classici', Spirali, 2007

Giannotti, Donato, *Opere politiche e letterarie*, collezionate sui manoscritti da F. L. Polidori, voll. I e II, Firenze, Felice Le Monnier, 1850, vol. II, *Libro della Repubblica de' Viniziani*

Giustiniani, Bernardo, *De origine urbis Venetiarum rebusque ab ipsa gestis historia* (1493), Italian trans. Lodovico Domenichi, *Historia di Bernardo Giustiniano* [sic] *cavaliere et Procuratore di S. Marco. Dell'origine di Venezia. nella quale raccontandosi per lo spatio di 400. anni li suoi progressi, si contengono anco le guerre de' Gotti, de' Langobardi, & de' Sarraceni. Tradotto da Lodovico Domenichi*. Con privilegio, in Venetia, MDCVIII. Appresso Pietro Dusinello

Guicciardini, Francesco, *La Historia d'Italia di M. Francesco Guicciardini* …., in Venetia, appresso Girolamo Polo, MDXCIX (1594

Hakluyt, Richard, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation.* Collected by Richard Hakluyt Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford and Edited by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S., (1589) 1598-1600

Harington, Sir John, *A Tract on the Succession to the Crown* (1602), ed. Clemens R. Markham, Roxburghe Club, London, 1880

Holland, Philemon, *The Romane History*, London, Adam Islip, 1600

The Historie of the World. Commonly called, The Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus. Translated into English by Philemon Holland, Doctor in Physic, 1601 translation of Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*

Lewkenor, Lewes, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice. Written by Cardinall Gasper [sic] Contareno, and translated out of Italian into English, by Lewes Lewkenor Esquire, With sundry other Collections, annexed by the Translator for the more cleere and exact satisfaction of the Reader. With a short Chronicle in the end of the liues and raignes of the Venetian Dukes, from the very beginninges of their Citie*, imprinted by Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes, London, 1599. Facsimile reprint Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Da Capo Press, Amsterdam and New York, 1969. On-line facsimile edition of The Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text & Image at http://dewey.library.upenn.edu

The Estate of English Fugitiues under the King of Spaine and his ministers. Containing, besides, a Discourse of the sayd Kings manner of government, and the iniustice of many late dishonorable practices by him contrived, 1595

The Resoved Gentleman. *Translated out of Spanishe into Englyshe, by Lewes Lewkenor, Esquier*. Imprinted at London, by Richarde Watkins, 1594

The Spanish Mandeuile of Miracles or The Garden of Curious Flowers […]. At London. Printed by I. R. for Edmund Matts, and are to be solde at his shop, at the signe of the hand and Plow in Fleetstreete, 1600

Machiavelli, Niccolò, *The Art of War*, tr. Peter Whitehorne (1560), in *The Tudor Translations: Machiavelli, with an Introduction by Henry Cust, M.P*. Volume I, London, David Nutt, 1905

The Prince, tr. Edward Dacres (1640), in *The Tudor Translations: Machiavelli, with an Introduction by Henry Cust, M.P*. Volume I, London, David Nutt, 1905

Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio, tr. C. E. Detmold, *The Historical, Political and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolò Machiavelli*, 4 vols, Boston 1882

Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius by Niccolo Machiavelli Citizen and Secretary of Florence, tr. Ninia Hill Thomson, M.A., Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1883

The Prince, Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius, Thoughts of a Statesman, tr. Christian E. Detmold, *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolo Machiavelli,* Boston, J. R. Osgood and Company, 1882, Vol. 2

The Prince, tr. Ninian Hill Thomson, P. F. Collier & Son Company, The Harvard Classics, New York, 1909–14

The Prince, tr. William K. Marriott, 1908

Morelli, Iacopo (a cura di), Marcantonio Michiel*, Notizia d'opere di disegno nella prima metà del secolo XVI, esistenti in Padova, Cremona, Milano, Pavia, Bergamo, Crema e Venezia*, s.e., Bassano, 1800

Navagero, Andrea, *Della vita e delle opere di Andrea Navagero, oratore, istorico, poeta veneziano del secolo decimosesto*, a cura di E. A. Cicogna, Tipografia Andreola, Venezia, 1855

Pole, Reginald, *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione* (*De Unitate*), written 1536

Pomponazzi, Pietro, *De immortalitate animae* [*Petri Pomponatii Mantuanii Tractatus De Immortalitate Animae*] on-line

Priuli, Girolamo, Diario, 2 March, 1510, BCV ms Prov. Div. 252c, vol. 5, ff 89v-90r, English trans. in Chambers, *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, Renaissance Society of America, (Basil Blackwell, 1992), University of Toronto Press, 2001

Sansovino, Francesco, 'Opera anonima attribuita a Francesco Sansovino, con aggiunte di Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni (1548-1629), di cui Leonico Goldioni è anagramma' (BNM, 92.D.219, segnatura: a8, A-M8, N12), *Le cose marauigliose dell'inclita città di Venetia, riformate, accommodate, & grandemente ampliate da Leonico Goldioni; oue amplamente, & con ogni verità si contengono, & si descriuono vsanze antiche...fabriche, e palazzi...officij, e magistrati...tutti li patriarchi...chiese e monasteri...Con la tauola copiosissima di tutto il contenuto del libro*. In Venetia : presso Domenico Imberti, 1603

Venetia, città nobilis[sima] *et singolare*, Venetia, 1581, rist. anast. Leading Edizioni, Bergamo, 2002

Sanudo, Marino, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae, ovvero, La città di Venetia (1493-1530)*, edizione critica a cura di Angela Caracciolo Aricò, Cisalpino, La Goliardica, Milano, 1980

I Diarii (1496-1533), a cura di Rinaldo Fulin, Federico Stefani, Nicolò Barozzi, Guglielmo Berchet, Marco Allegri, 58 voll., R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, Tipografia del commercio di Marco Visentini, Venezia, 1879-1902. Lenghty excerpts of Sanudo's diaries in English are in Patricia H. Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White (eds.), *Città Excelentissima*. *Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, tr. Linda L. Carroll, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2008

Sidney, Mary, *A Discourse of Life and Death. Written in French by Ph[ilippe de] Mornay. Antonius*; *A Tragœdie written also in French by Ro[bert] Garnier. Both done in English by the Countesse of Pembroke* (1592)

Terence, *Andria: The First comoedie of Terence, in English. A furtherance for the attainment vnto the right knowledge, & true proprietie, of the Latin tong. And also a commodious meane of help, to such as haue forgotten Latin, for their speedy recouering of habilitie, to vnderstand, write, and speake the same. Carefully translated out of Latin, by Maurice Kyffin*, Printed at London : By T[homas] E[ast] for Thomas VVoodcocke, at the signe of the black Beare in Paules Church-yard, 1588

Thomas, William, *Historie of Italie* (1549), section on 'The Venetian State' in *Lezioni ai potenti: William Thomas e l'Italia*. Con una selezione da *The Historie of Italie*, a cura di Angelo Deidda, Maria Grazia Dongu, Laura Sanna, testo inglese a fronte, CUEC Editrice, Cagliari, 2002 at pp. 232-262

Vettori, Pietro, *Il trattato delle lodi e della coltivazione de li ulivi*, c. 1530

IV
ILLUSTRATIONS CITED

Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Effetti del Buon Governo in campagna* (1337-1340), Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, at
http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ambrogio_Lorenzetti_011.jpg
Effetti del Buon Governo in città (1337-1340), Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, at
http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ambrogio_Lorenzetti_Allegory_of_Good_Govt.jpg

Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Maestà*, (1311), Museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena, at http://www.jetset.it/piazza/pages/pictures/images/duccio03.jpg

Map*: An English spy's map of Parma's siege of Antwerp*, The Common Heritage of the Transmanche Multimedia Project, cit., on-line at http://www.theotherside.co.uk/timelines/index.htm

Map: *Spanish Netherlands around the time of the Armada (1588), showing the northern rebel Protestant provinces [orange] which had English support during their struggle*, The Common Heritage of the Transmanche Multimedia Project, *Invicta Media*, Europa House, website, on-line at http://www.theotherside.co.uk/timelines/index.htm

Titian, Portrait of Doge Andrea Gritti (1546-48), the National Gallery of Art, Washington, at http://www.nga.gov/collection/gallery/gg23/gg23-46144.html

Titian, Portrait of Bishop Ludovico Beccadelli (1552), Galleria degli Uffizi, Firenze, at http://www.virtualuffizi.com/uffizi1/Uffizi_Pictures.asp?Contatore=297

Giovanni Bellini, Portrait of Doge Leonardo Loredan (1501-4), the National Gallery, London, on-line http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/largeImage?workNumber=NG189&collectionPublisherSection=work

Silver *osella* under Doge Andrea Gritti (1536), image from www.coinarchives.com.

Silver pattern of the first *osella*, never minted, under Doge Andrea Gritti (1523), image from Alan M. Stahl, 'Mint and Medal in the Renaissance', *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal*, Stephen K. Scher (ed.), American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies, v. 23, Taylor & Francis, 2000, pp. 137-158, at p. 144, fig. 7.5, illustration from the American Numismatic Society, New York, on-line http://books.google.it/books?id=QpU-vMwbdTgC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_navlinks_s#v=onepage&q=&f=false

Silver *osella* under Doge Antonio Grimani (1521-1523), image from www.coinarchives.com.

SECONDARY SOURCES

V
WORKS CITED

Abbagnano, Nicola, 'Renaissance Humanism', in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas. Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*, Philip P. Wiener (ed.), Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1973-74, Vol. IV, on-line, The Electronic Text Center at the University of Virginia Library, http://etext.virginia.edu/cgi-local/DHI/dhi.cgi?id=dv4-19

Ackroyd, Peter, *London. The Biography*, Chatto & Windus, London, 2000

Adams, Simon, *Leicester and the Court. Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain, Manchester University Press, 2002

Adamson, Sylvia, 'Literary language', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language, 1476-1776*, vol. III, Roger Lass (ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 539-653

Allen, Peter R., '*Utopia* and European Humanism: the Function of the Prefatory Letters and Verses', *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol. 10, 1963, pp. 91-107

Astington, John H., 'Sir John Astley and Court Culture', *Shakespeare Studies*, 1, 2002

Baldwin, Geoffrey P., 'The translation of political theory in early modern Europe', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 101-124

Barth-Weingarten, Dagmar, *Concession in Spoken English. On the Realisation of a Discourse-Pragmatic Relation*, vol. 28 of Language in Performance, Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen, 2003

Bellavitis, Anna, "*Ars mechanica" e gerarchie sociali a Venezia tra XVI e XVII secol*o, in M. Arnoux, P. Monnet (dir.), *Le technicien dans la cité en Europe occidentale, 1250-1650*, Rome, Ecole Française de Rome 2004, pp. 161-179, on-line at http://venus.unive.it/riccdst/sdv/saggi/testi/pdf/Bellavitis.pdf.

Benzoni, Gino, 'Contarini, Alvise' (1601-1684), *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, vol. 28, 1983, pp. 91-97

Bonora, Elena, *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino*, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venezia, 1994

Bowd, Stephen D., *Reform Before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy*, vol. 87 of Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, Brill NV, Leiden, 2002

Brennan, Michael G., review, Jonathan P. A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560-1613*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 252, n. 4, December 2007, pp. 511-2

Brown, Horatio F., *The Venetian Printing Press 1469-1800: An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished*, John C. Nimmo, London, 1891

Brown, Rawdon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, edited by Rawdon Brown, published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, 38 vols., London, 1864-1947

Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII: Selection of dispatches written by the Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, and addressed to the Signory of Venice, January 12th 1515, to July 26th 1519, Smith, Elder and Co., 2 vols., London, 1854

Notices Concerning John Cabot and his Son Sebastian: Transcribed and Translated from Original Manuscripts in the Marcian Library at Venice by Rawdon Brown, in *Philobiblon Society Miscellanies*, 2, London, 1855-6, pp. 1-26

Brusegan, Marcello, *Storia insolita di Venezia*, New Compton Editori, Roma, (2003) 2007

Bryson, Bill, *Shakespeare*, Harper Perennial, London, 2007

Burke, Peter, 'Translations into Latin in early modern Europe', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 65-80

Butler, W. E., 'Grotius and the law of the sea', in *Hugo Grotius and International Relations*, Bull Hedley, Benedict Kingsbury, and Adam Roberts (eds.), Oxford University Press, 1992

Cacciavillani, Ivone, *La Serenissima. Una repubblica burocratica*, Corbo e Fiore ed., Venezia, 2003

Cappelletti, Giuseppe, *I Gesuiti e la repubblica di Venezia: documenti diplomatici relativi alla Società Gesuitica*, Grimaldo, 1873

Caracciolo Aricò, Angela (a cura di), Marin Sanudo il Giovane, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae, ovvero, La città di Venetia (1493-1530)*, edizione critica, Cisalpino, La Goliardica, Milano, 1980

Marin Sanudo il Giovane, *Le dignitade di oficij di Veniexia*, in *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae, ovvero, La città di Venetia (1493-1530)*, edizione critica, Cisalpino, La Goliardica, Milano, 1980, pp. 240-292

Chambers, David, with Brian Pullan and Jennifer Fletcher, *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, Renaissance Society of America, (Basil Blackwell, 1992), University of Toronto Press, 2001

Cicogna, E(mmanuele) A(ntonio), Introduzione, *Della vita e delle opere di Andrea Navagero, oratore, istorico, poeta veneziano del secolo decimosesto*, Tipografia Andreola, Venezia, 1855

Iscrizioni veneziane, 6 voll., Venezia, 1824-1853

Saggio di bibliografia veneziana, voll. 2., Venezia, 1847

Classe, Olive, *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, 2 vols., Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, Chicago-London, 2000

Clayton, Roderick, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes (c.1560–1627)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* from the earliest times to the year 2000, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison; in association with the British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2004 (*ODNB*)

Clement, David, *Bibliothèque curieuse historique et critique: ou, Catalogue raisonné de livres difficiles à trouver*, Tome Setième [sic]. A Leipsic, dans la librairie de Jean Fred. Gleditsch, J. G. Schmid, 1757

Collinson, Patrick, 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I', *Bullettin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, vol. 69, pp. 394-424, reprinted in Collinson's *Elizabethan Essays*, London, 1994, pp. 31-57

Cooper, Thompson, 'Astley, John (d. 1595')', in *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900* (*DNB*)

Cornaro, Flaminio, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello, tratte dalle chiese veneziane e torcellane*, Stamperia del Seminario appresso G. Manfrè, 1758

Cozzi, Gaetano, 'Authority and the Law', in *Renaissance Venice,* J. R. Hale (ed.), Faber & Faber, London, 1973, pp. 293-345

'Venezia, una repubblica di principi?', in *La società veneta e il suo diritto*, Fondazione

Giorgio Cini, Saggi Marsilio, Collana Presente Storico, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, 2000, pp. 249- 265

Crouzet-Pavan, Elisabeth, *Venise trionfante. Les horizons d'un mithe*, Éditions Albin Michel, 1999, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, *Venice Triumphant. The Horizons of a Myth*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2002

Cummings, Robert, 'Recent Studies in English Translation, *c.* 1520 - *c.* 1590', in *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 37, n. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 274-316

Da Mosto, Andrea, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, Biblioteca d'Arte Editrice, Roma, 1937

Datta, Satya Brata, *Women and Men in Early Modern Venice*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003

De Maio, Romeo, *Riforme e miti nella chiesa del cinquecento*, Guida Editori, Roma, 2 ed., (1973) 1992

De Vivo, Filippo, 'Historical Justifications of Venetian Power in the Adriatic', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 64, Number 2, The Johns Hopkins University Press, April 2003

Derosas, Renzo, 'Contarini, Tommaso', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, 1983, vol. 28, pp. 300-5

Distefano, Giovanni, *Atlante storico di Venezia*, Supernova, Venezia, 2007

Donnelly, John Patrick s.j, (ed.), *The Office of a Bishop: De Officio Viri Boni Et Probi Episcopi*, Reformation Texts With Translation (1350-1650), Theology and Piety, Vol. 1, Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 2002

Douglas-Scott, Michael, 'Jacopo Tintoretto's Altarpiece of St Agnes at the Madonna dell'Orto in Venice and the Memorialisation of Cardinal Contarini', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 60, 1997, pp. 130-163

Drennan, William R., "Corrupt means to aspire': Contarini's *De Republica* and the Motives of Iago", in *Notes and Queries* 1988, Dec 35 (233) (4): 474-475

Dupuy, René-Jean and Daniel Vignes (eds.), *A Handbook on the New Law of the Sea*, Hague Academy of International Law, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1991

Feldhay, Rivka, 'The Cultural Field of Jesuit Science', in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, O'Malley *et al* (eds.), University of Toronto Press, 1999, pp. 107-130

Fink, Zera Silver, *The Classical Republicans*, 2nd ed., Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1962

Finlay, Robert, 'Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai, and the Rise of Habsburg Hegemony, 1509-1530', *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Winter), 2000, pp. 988-1031

Venice Besieged. Politics and Diplomacy in the Italian Wars 1494-1534, Ashgate Variorum, 2008

Flynn, Dennis, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, Indiana University Press, 1995, esp. chap. 6, 'The Jesuit Mission and the "Enterprise" of 1582'

Fortini Brown, Patricia, 'The Role of the Client: Patronage in Renaissance Venice', in *Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese: Rivals in Renaissance Venice*, Frederick Ilchman, Linda Boreai, Patricia Fortini Brown (eds.), Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd., 2009

Fragnito, Gigliola, 'Aspetti della censura ecclesiastica nell'Europa della Controriforma: l'edizione parigina delle opere di Gasparo Contarini', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 21, 1985, pp. 3-48

'Contarini, Gasparo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, vol. 28, 1983, pp. 172-192

'Cultura umanistica e riforma religiosa: il "De officio boni viri ac probi episcopi" di Gasparo Contarini', *Studi veneziani* 11, 1969

Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato veneziano al servizio della cristianità, Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa, Studi e Testi, IX, Leo S. Olschki Editore, Firenze, 1988, esp. chap. V, 'L'edizione parigina delle opere: una impresa al servizio della Controriforma', pp. 307–368

Memoria individuale e costruzione biografica. Beccadelli, Della Casa, Vettori alle origini di un mito, Argalia Editore, Urbino, 1979

Gaeta, Franco, 'L'idea di Venezia', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 3/II *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, Vicenza, Neri Pozza, 1981

Gatt-Rutter, John, 'Niccolò Machiavelli', in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, Olive Classe (ed.), 2 vols., Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, Chicago-London, 2000, pp. 881-883

Gaulin, Jean-Louis, 'Trattati di agronomia e innovazione agricola', in *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa*, vol. III, *Produzioni e tecniche*, a cura di Philippe Braunstein e Luca Molà, Fondazione Cassamarca, Angelo Colla Editore, Treviso, 2007, pp. 145-163

Gavarelli, Enrico, 'Bibliografia. Lodovico Domenichi', in *Cinquecento plurale*, giugno 2008, on-line at http://www.nuovorinascimento.org/cinquecento/domenichi.pdf

Gilbert, Felix, 'Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari. A Study on the Origin of Modern Political Thought', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 12, 1949, pp. 101-131

'The Date of Composition of Contarini's and Giannotti's Books on Venice', in *Studies in the Renaissance*, vol. 4, 1967, pp. 172-184

'Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai', in *Renaissance Venice*, J. H. Hale (ed.), Faber & Faber, London, 1973, pp. 274-292, reprinted in Felix Gilbert, *History: Choice and Commitment*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977, pp. 269-91

Gleason, Elisabeth G., 'Reading Between the Lines of Contarini's Treatise on the Venetian State', Ellery Schalt (ed.), *Culture, Society and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques, 15, 1, Spring 1988, pp. 251-270

Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993

Grangé, Ninon, 'Le ''moment vénetien'' dans la réflexion philosophique sur la guerre (XVIe – XVIIIe siècles)', Cahiers de la Méditerranée, vol. 70, I, 2005, on-line at

http://cdlm.revues.org/document890.html

Graves, Michael A. R., *Burghley: William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, Longman, London and New York, 1998

Grendler, Paul F., *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2002, on-line

Griffith, Huw, 'The Sonnet in Ruins: Time and the Nation in 1599', *Early Modern Culture,* 2007, on-line at http://emc.eserver.org/1-6/griffiths.html,

Grubb, James S., Review of Paola Lanaro (ed.), *At the Centre of the Old World: Trade and Manufacturing in Venice and on the Venetian Mainland, 1400-1800* (Essays and Studies 9. Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Toronto, 2006), in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Volume 60, Number 2, Summer, 2007, pp. 519-521

Hadfield, Andrew**,** *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545-1625***,** Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998

Hale, J. R. (ed.), *Renaissance Venice,* Faber & Faber, London, 1973

Hamilton, Albert Charles, *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, University of Toronto Press, (1990) 1997, on-line

Henry, Anne C., 'Iconic Punctuation. Ellipsis Marks in a Historical Perspective', *The Motivated Sign. Iconicity in Language and Literature*, Olga Fischer, Max Nänny (eds.), vol. 2 of Iconicity in Language and Literature Series, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001, pp. 135-228, on-line

Hogge, Alice, *God's Secret Agents: Queen Elizabeth's Forbidden Priests and the Hatching of the Gunpowder Plot*, HarperCollins, 2005, on-line

Houliston, Victor, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610,* Ashgate Publishing, 2007, on-line

Ilardi, Vincent, *Renaissance Vision from Spectacles to Telescopes*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 2007, on-line

Judde de Larivière, Claire, 'De l'impossible discours aux formes de l'action. La fidélité politique à Venise, XVe–XVIe siècles', *Mélanges de l'Ēcole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerrannée*, t. 118, 2006, pp. 217-225, on-line at http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/15/43/59/PDF/Judde_2006_Fidelite.pdf

Kilroy, Gerard, *Edmund Campion. Memory and Transcription*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2005, esp. Chap. 4, 'Sir John Harington: 'Wise Pretender of Follery', pp. 89-120

'Sir John Harington: 'A Protesting Catholique Purytan', Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution (BRLSI), Belief Lecture Series, King Edward School, Bath, Dec. 2003, *Proceedings of the BRLSI*, vol. 8, 2004, on-line at http://www.brlsi.org/proceed04/belief200312.htm.

Labalme, Patricia H., *Bernardo Giustiniani, a Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969

Patricia H. and Laura Sanguineti White (eds.), *Cità Excelentissima. Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, trans. Linda L. Carroll, The Johns Hopkins

University Press, Baltimore, 2008

Lane, Frederic C[hapin], *Venice, a Maritime Republic*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1973

Lemon, Rebecca, *Treason by Words: Literature, Law and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England*, Cornell University Press, 2006

Lewis, R. W. B., *Dante. A Life*, Penguin Books, (2001) 2009

Libby, Lester J., Jr., 'The Reconquest of Padua in 1509 according to the Diary of Girolamo Priuli', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 28, n. 3 (Autumn), 1975, pp. 323-331

Lines, David A., *Aristotle's Ethics in the Italian Renaissance (ca. 1300-1650): The Universities and the Problem of Moral Education*, Brill NV, Leiden, 2002, on-line at http://www.questia.com/PM.qst;jsessionid=JB2Yp6NbLMHYdm070b7FYzLPy0GhCfMVhg2DyV7knVPRPGlgR303!2216916?a=o&d=109270967

Mackensen, Heinz, 'The Diplomatic Role of Gasparo Cardinal Contarini at the Colloquy of Ratisbon in 1541', in *Church History*, 1958, pp. 312-337

Maranini, Giuseppe, *La Costituzione di Venezia, I. Dalle origini alla serrata del Maggior Consiglio*, *II: Dopo la serrata del Maggior Consiglio*, La Nuova Italia editrice, voll. 2, Firenze 1927

Massa, Eugenio, 'Gasparo Contarini e gli amici, fra Venezia e Camaldoli', in *Gaspare Contarini e il suo tempo*, Atti del Convegno di Studio, a cura di Francesca Cavazzana Romanelli, Comune di Venezia, Assessorato Affari Istituzionali, and Studium Cattolico Veneziano, Venezia, 1988, pp. 39-91

Matheson, Mark 'Venetian Culture and the Politics of *Othello*', in *Shakespeare Survey* n. 36, 2002, pp. 123-133

Matthiessen, F. O., *Translation, an Elizabethan Art*, Harvard University Press, 1931

Mayer, Thomas Frederick, *A Reluctant Author: Cardinal Pole and his Manuscripts*, Volume 89, Parte 4, Transactions Series, DIANE Publishing, 1999

McLean, Matthew, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007

McPherson, David, 'Lewkenor's Venice and Its Sources', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 459-466

Shakespeare, Jonson, and the Myth of Venice, University of Delaware Press, 1990

Mears, Natalie, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, Cambridge University Press, 2005

Miola, Robert S., *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources*, Oxford University Press, 2007

Molà, Luca, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000

Molmenti, Pompeo G., *La Storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, 3 voll., Lint, Trieste (1927) 1973

Morgan, David A. L., 'The Resolved Gentleman: Lewis [*sic*] Lewkenor, Olivier de La Marche and the Consciousness of Burgundy', *Le héros bourguignon. Historie et épogée*, Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes, vol 41, Brepols Publishers NV, Neuchâtel, 2001, pp. 89-103, on-line at http://brepols.metapress.com/content/e42061g548m011q2/

Muir, Edward, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton, 1981, tr. Eleonora Zambelli, *Il rituale civico a Venezia nel Rinascimento*, Il Veltro Editrice, Roma, 1984

Kenneth, 'Shakespeare and Lewkenor', *Review of English Studies*, Apr. 7 (26): 182-83, 1956

Neerfeld, Christiane, *"Historia per forma di diaria". La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, trad. Matthias Zucchi, Memorie dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere e Arti, vol. CXIV, Sommacampagna, Venezia, 2006

Neill, Michael (ed.), *The Oxford Shakespeare's Othello*, *the Moor of Venice,* Oxford University Press, 2006

Nolan, John S., *Sir John Norreys and the Elizabethan Military World*, Presses Université Laval, 1997

Norbrook, David, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, 2 rev. ed., Oxford University Press, 2002

Notestein, Wallace, *English Folks*, Essay Index Reprint Series, Ayer Publishing, 1970

O'Connell, Monique, 'Officials of the Venetian State, 1380-1420', Class History (3), s.d., on-line at http://www.wfu.edu/~caron/ssrs/OConnell.doc.

O'Malley, John W., s.j., with Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy (eds.), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773,* University of Toronto Press, 1999

'The Historiography of the Society of Jesus: Where Does it Stand Today?', in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, John W. O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy (eds.), University of Toronto Press, 1999, pp. 3-37

Parson, Jotham, 'The Roman Censors in the Renaissance Political Imagination', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 22, n. 4, 2001, pp. 565-586

Peltonen, Markku, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570-1640*, Volume 36 of Ideas in Context, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995

Perfetti, Stefano, 'Pietro Pomponazzi', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2004, at http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pomponazzi/.

Pilarz, Scott R., *Robert Southwell and the Mission of Literature, 1561-1595: Writing Reconciliation*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004

Piovan, F(rancesco), 'Fabrizi, Alvise Cinzio de', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, 1993 (*DBI*), vol. 43, pp. 794-796

Piscini, Angela, 'Domenichi, Lodovico', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), Istituto della

Enciclopedia Italiana, Treccani, Roma, 1991, vol. 40, pp. 595-600

Platt, Peter G., '"The Meruailouse Site": Shakespeare, Venice, and Paradoxical Stages', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 54, No. 1 (Spring, 2001), pp. 121-154

Pogue, Kate, *Shakespeare's Friends*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006

Prosperi, Adriano, *L'Inquisizione romana: letture e ricerche*, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, Roma, 2000

Questier, Michael C., *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England:Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, Cambridge University Press, 2006

Raines, Dorit, 'Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: le casate del patriziato veneziano, 1297-1797', in *Storia di Venezia – Rivista,* I, Firenze University Press, 2003, pp. 1-64, on-line at http://www.storiadivenezia.it/rivista/0103/raines.pdf

'L'arte di ben informarsi. Carriera politica e pratiche documentarie nell'archivio familiare di patrizi veneziani: i Molin di San Pantalon' in *Archivi nobiliari e domestici. Conservazione, metodologie di riordino e prospettive di ricerca storica*, Atti del Convegno di Studi, Udine, 14-15 maggio 1998, a cura di L. Casella e R. Navarrini, Forum, Udine 2000, pp. 187-210

'Office Seeking, Broglio, and the Pocket Political Guidebooks in '500 and '600 Venice', in *Studi Veneziani*, n. 22, 1991, pp. 137-94

Rees, Brinley, 'Llyn, William (1534 or 1535-1580)', *Welsh Biography Online*, *Welsh Biography Online*, The National Library of Wales at http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-WILI-LLY-1534.html?query=llyn&field=content

Reidey, Michael S., *Tides of History: Ocean Science and Her Majesty's Navy*, University of Chicago Press, 2008

Rendina, Claudio, *I Dogi. Storia e segreti*, 2.ed., Newton, Rome, 2003

Rinehart, Robert, and Jo Ann Browning Seeley, *A Country Study: Spain – The Golden Age*, Library of Congress Country Series, 1998, on-line at http://international.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+es0017)

Roberts, Peter, 'Tudor Wales, National Identity and the British Inheritance', in *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds.), Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 8-42

Robinson, Charles N., and John Leyland, 'The Literature of the Sea: From the Origins to Hakluyt', in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature* …, Volume IV: Prose and Poetry: Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton, on-line at http://bartelby.org/214/0413.html

Ross, James Bruce, 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends', *Studies in the Renaissance* 17, 1970, pp. 192-232

'The Emergence of Gasparo Contarini: A Bibliographical Essay', in *Church History*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Mar.), Cambridge University Press, 1972, pp. 22-45

Rozzo, Ugo, 'Italian Literature on the Index', in *Church, Censorship, and Culture in Early*

Modern Italy, Gigliola Fragnito (ed.), Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 194-222

Santoyo, Julio César, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor (1555?-1627): fragmentos biobibliográficos de un traductor olvidado', pp. 276-288, *Yearbook of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies*, n. 2, 1992, on-line at http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=1983429

Santosuosso, Antonio, 'On the Authorship of Della Casa's Biography of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 28 (Summer), 1975, pp. 183–189

Scalfari, Eugenio, 'Élite e democrazia', *L'espresso*, 23 luglio 2009, p. 109

Seigel, Jerrold E., '*Virtù* in and since the Renaissance', *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas, Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas* (*DHI*), Philip P. Wiener (ed.), Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1973-74, vol. IV, pp. 477-486, on-line at http://etext.virginia.edu/cgi-local/DHI/dhi.cgi?id=dv4-19

Shell, Alison, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 1558-1660, Cambridge University Press, 1999

Silvano, Giovanni, *La 'Republica de' Viniziani'. Ricerche sul repubblicanesimo veneziano in età moderna*, Il pensiero politico, Biblioteca, 18, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze, 1993

Singh, Ishtla, *The History of English*, Hodder Arnold, London, 2005

Sipahigil, T., 'Lewkenor and *Othello*: An Addendum', *N&Q*, N. S., 19, 1972, p. 127

South, Malcolm H., *The Jesuits and the Joint Mission to England during 1580-1581*, Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, New York, 1999

Tafuri, Manfredo, Manfredo (a cura di), *"Renovatio urbis". Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)*, Officina Edizioni, Roma, 1985

Tassini, Giuseppe, *Curiosità veneziane*, Filippi Editore, Venezia (1863) 1990

Tutino, Stefania, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007

Vaughan, Virginia Mason, *Othello. A Contextual History*, Cambridge University Press, 1996

Ward, Alan W., 'Some Political and Social Aspects of the Later Elizabethan and Earlier Stewart Period', in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature* in 18 Volumes (1907–21), Volume V. The Drama to 1642, Part One, § 6. Question of the Queen's Marriage, on-line at http://www.bartleby.com/214/0107.html)

Wemyss Fulton, Thomas, *The sovereignty of the sea: an historical account of the claims of England to the dominion of the British seas, and of the evolution of the territorial waters, with special reference to the rights of fishing and the naval salute*, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1911, reprint by The Lawbook Exchange Ltd., 2002

Whibley, Charles, 'Translators. Prose and Poetry: Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton', *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes* (1907–21), vol. IV, on-line at http://www.bartleby.com/214/0107.html).

Williams, Glanmor, 'Kyffin, Maurice (c.1555–1598)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* from the earliest times to the year 2000, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison;

in association with the British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2004 (*ODNB*)

'Kyffin, Morris (c.1555–1598)', *Welsh Biography Online*, The National Library of Wales at http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-KYFF-MOR-1555.html; http://www.llgc.org.uk/.

Wilson, Violet A., *Society Women of Shakespeare's Time*, John Lane, The Bodley Head Limited, 1924, reprint READ BOOKS, 2007

Witcombe, Christopher L. C. E., *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-century Venice and Rome*, Brill NV, Leiden, 2004

Woolfson, Jonathan, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy 1485-1603*, James Clarke & Co. Ltd, Cambridge, 1999, on-line extract from the 'Biographical Register of English Visitors to Padua, 1485-1603' at http://www.lutterworth.com/jamesclarke/jc/titles/padua2.htm

Zanon, Marco, 'Le *Oselle* di Marano', on-line at http://www.bassafriulana.org/cultura/ass-culturali/ad_undecimum/annuari/annuario08/testipdf/Oselle_Marano.pdf

Zorzi, Alvise, *Il dono dei dogi. La raccolta di oselle dogali della Banca Popolare di Vicenza*, 2009

Giangiorgio, 'Preoccupazioni cinquecentesche per l'interramento di Venezia e della laguna e alcune proposte di Michele Sammicheli', Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venezia, 1960, t. CXVIII, pp. 163-210

VI
OTHER ELECTRONIC RESOURCES CITED

Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates, and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900 (1922), Cambridge University Press, on-line at http://www.archive.org/texts/flipbook/flippy.php?id=p1alumnicantabri03univuoft

Bernardino Tommassini ('Ochino'), on-line resources at http://www.biographybase.com/biography/Ochino_Bernardino.html

Bibliotheca Britannica, Or, A General Index to British and Foreign Literature, Robert Watt (ed.,) Vol. 2, Printed for A. Constable and Company, 1824, entry for 'Kyffin, Maurice', at p. 579, on-line at http://books.google.it/books?id=swMJAAAAQAAJ&pg=RA1-PA579&lpg=RA1-PA579&dq=The+blessedness+of+Brytaine&source=bl&ots=8IucbRkdeC&sig=PSJFxTpk_5ZYFGi-wtGHjfJfy-Q&hl=it&ei=4SGmSqXtA4z0mQPjvOytAw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4#v=onepage&q=The%20blessedness%20of%20Brytaine&f=false

Dictionary of Literary Biography, on-line at http://www.bookrags.com/biography/maurice-kyffin-dlb/.

Kelly's Directory, 1918, entry for Selsey, West Sussex, on-line at http://www.sussex-opc.org/Kelly1918/SelseyKellys1918.htm

Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide: Queen Elizabeth I, on-line at http://www.lambethpalacelibrary.org/files/Elizabeth_I.pdf

The Common Heritage, The Transmanche Multimedia Project, on-line at http://www.theotherside.co.uk/timelines/index.htm
U.K., Her Majesty's Government, The Privy Council Office on-line http://www.privy-council.org.uk/output/page503.asp

Wyvern, 'Forgotten heritage on display', issue n. 6, University of Essex, 2006, p. 7, on-line at http://www.essex.ac.uk/wyvern/2006-03/Mar%2006%20PDF.pdf

Miranda, Salvador, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church*, Digital Biographical Dictionary (1998-2009), Florida International University Library, on-line at http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1535.htm.

Pastore, Christopher James, *Expanding Antiquity: Andrea Navagero and Villa Culture in the Cinquecento Veneto*, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 2003, abstract on-line at http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI3087447/

VII
GENERAL REFERENCES

A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature, David Lyle Jeffrey (ed.), William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1992, on-line

A Dictionary of Historical Slang, Eric Partridge (ed.), Penguin Books (1937) 1972

Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable, 14th ed. revised by Ivor H. Evans, Cassell Publishers, London (1870) 1992

Dictionary of the History of Ideas, Philip P. Wiener (ed.), Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, (1968), 1973, on-line at http://etext.virginia.edu/cgi-local/DHI/dhi.cgi?id=dv4-19

Enciclopedia del diritto, 46 voll., Giuffrè, Milano, 1988-

Oxford Concise Dictionary of English Etymology, T. F. Hoad (ed.), Oxford University Press (1986) 1996

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2009, on-line at http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/true?db=luna

The Book of Common Prayer, Oxford University Press

The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes (1907–21), on-line at http://www.bartleby.com/214/0107.html).

The Catholic Encyclopedia, on-line at http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10183c.htm

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography from the earliest times to the year 2000, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison; in association with the British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2004 (*ODNB*)

The Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford University Press, Amen House, London (1933), repr. 1961, 2nd ed. 1989 (*OED*)

Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, in Venezia, appresso Giovanni Alberti, MDCXII (1612), electronic edition, Accademia della Crusca - Scuola Normale Superiore

di Pisa, on-line at http://vocabolario.signum.sns.it/

Battaglia, Salvatore, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, UTET, Torino, 2002

Battisti, Carlo e Giovanni Alessio, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano*, 6 voll., Barbèra Editore, Firenze, 1968

Bloch, Oscar, Walther von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Française*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, (1932) 1994

Boerio, Giuseppe, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, Giunti, Venezia, 1856, rist. anast. Firenze, 1998

Calonghi, Ferruccio, *Dizionario della Lingua Latina*, 2 voll., Rosenberg & Sellier, Torino (1950), 1975

Cappelli, Adriano, *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum. Dizionario di abbreviature latine e italiane*, 6 ed., Hoepli, Milano, 1979

Contarini, Pietro, *Dizionario tascabile delle voci e frasi particolari del dialetto veneziano preceduto da cenni sulle denominazioni di molti luoghi della città e delle antiche venete magistrature*, G. Cecchini, Venezia, 1850

Cortellazzo, Manlio e Paolo Zolli, *Dizionario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana* (*DELI*), Zanichelli, Bologna (1999) 2008

de Franchis, Francesco, *Dizionario giuridico*, vol. 1, Inglese-italiano, Giuffrè, Milano, 1984

Florio, John, *World of Wordes*, 1589 and 1611 editions, links to text in Wikipedia at 'John Florio', on-line

Essayes on Morall, Politike, and Millitarie Discourses of Lo. Michaell de Montaigne, (1603), links to text in Wikipedia at 'John Florio', on-line

First Fruits, which yield Familiar Speech, Merry Proverbs, Witty Sentences, and Golden Sayings, accompanied by *A Perfect Induction to the Italian and English Tongues* (1578), links to text in Wikipedia at 'John Florio', on-line

Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues, Collected, and newly much augmented by Iohn Florio, Reader of the Italian vnto the Soueraigne Maiestie of Anna, Crowned Queene of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. And one of the Gentlemen of hir Royall Priuie Chamber. Whereunto are added certaine necessarie rules and short obseruations for the Italian tongue (1611), links to text in Wikipedia at 'John Florio', on-line

Second Fruits, to be gathered of Twelve Trees, of divers but delightsome Tastes to the Tongues of Italian and English men (1591), to which was annexed the *Garden of Recreation, yielding six thousand Italian Proverbs*, links to text in Wikipedia at 'John Florio', on-line

Manuzzi, Giuseppe, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana già compilato dagli accademici della Crusca ed ora novamente corretto ed accresciuto dall'abate Giuseppe Manuzzi*, Appresso D. Passigli e socj, Firenze, 1833, on-line

Melzi, Gaetano, *Dizionario di opere anononime. e pseudonime di scrittori italiani o come che*

sia aventi relazione all'Italia, 3 voll., Pirola, Milano, 1849-1859

Mutinelli, Fabio, *Lessico veneto che contiene l'antica fraseologia volgare e forense: l'indicazione di alcune leggi e statute, quella delle varie specie di navigli e di monete, delle spiaggie, dei porti e dei paesi già esistenti nel Dogado, delle chiese, dei monasteri, dei conventi, degli ospizii, e delle Confraternite che si trovavano nella città di venezia, dei costumi, delle fabbriche e delle feste pubbliche, di tutti i magistrati, dei vescovi, dei patriarchi Ec. Ec;* co' tipi di Giambatista Andreola Editore, Venezia, 1851, ristampa anastatica, Forni, Bologna, 2003

Ramminger, Johann, *Neulateinische Wortliste, Ein Wörterbuch des Lateinischen von Petrarca bis 1700*, on-line at http://www.lrz-muenchen.de/%7Eramminger/words/start_e.htm

Rocci, Lorenzo, *Dizionario greco-italiano*, Società Editrice Dante Alighieri, Società Editrice S. Lapi, coeditori, Città di Castello, 1966

Smith, Sir William, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, edited Sir William Smith (1870), on-line, the University of Michigan's project *The Making of America* at http://www.ancientlibrary.com/smith-bio/2776.html

Uden, Grant, *Dictionary of Chivalry*, Longmans, London, 1968

Viterbo, Carlo Alberto, *Una via verso l'ebraico*, Carucci editore, Roma, 1981

Estratto per riassunto della tesi di dottorato

Studente: MARIA STELLA FLORIO matricola: 955343

Dottorato: Lingue, Culture e Società

Ciclo: 22°

Titolo della tesi : *'So flourishing a Commonwealth'*. Some Aspects of Lewkenor's Translation (1599) of Contarini's *La Republica e i magistrati di Vinegia* (1544)

Abstract: The research examines some aspects of an Elizabethan translation, Lewes Lewkenor's *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (1599), anglicising *La Republica e i magistrati di Vinegia* (1544), in turn the Italian translation of the influential *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* (1543) by the Venetian patrician Gasparo Contarini. The aim of this study is to devise a practical method for the comparison of Lewkenor's translation to the original(s) and to test it on some parts of Contarini's book. Limited as its scope is, this exercise has nevertheless proved of interest. For one thing, it has established that if, as he writes, Lewkenor made use of a copy of *De magistratibus* in order to compare the Italian translation with 'the Latine originall', the text he availed himself of was not 'the Latine originall' of the first edition but a later, revised, and possibly censored text, nor was the Italian translation as close to the 'Latine originall' of *De magistratibus* as one would expect. This means that not all the divergences of *The Commonwealth and Magistrates of Venice* from the first 1543 edition of *De magistratibus* are due to the translator; and that on this count too Contarini's original thought has been altered on seemingly crucial points. The research being still in progress, of necessity only partial results are currently available.

Abstract: La ricerca verte sulla traduzione elisabettiana, *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice* (1599), del celebre trattato di Gasparo Contarini, *De magistratibus et republica venetorum* (1543), effettuata da Lewis Lewkenor sulla scorta sia della traduzione italiana dell' opera - *La Republica e i Magistrati di Vinegia*, 1544, di anonimo - che dell'originale latino. L'obbiettivo proposto è l'individuazione di un metodo per la comparazione dei testi di riferimento e la sua applicazione ad alcuni aspetti della traduzione inglese. Il materiale fin qui raccolto, che comprende ormai le fonti primarie più rilevanti ed un quadro complessivo del contesto di riferimento – la Venezia dei primi del '500 per la composizione dell'opera e l'Inghilterra di fine '500 per la sua traduzione - ha già fornito risultati interessanti. In particolare, ha consentito di accertare che se, come scrive, Lewkenor si è avvalso di una copia del *De magistratibus* per comparare la traduzione italiana con l''originale' latino, la copia in suo possesso non era l''originale' latino della prima edizione ma un' edizione 'riveduta e corretta' trent'anni dopo. L'analisi testuale fin qui condotta rivela inoltre che nemmeno la traduzione italiana è particolarmente fedele al testo. La conclusione è che non tutte le divergenze del *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice* rispetto alla prima edizione del *De magistratibus* – che normalmente segnalano la presenza di elementi più o meno sensibili per il traduttore - sono attribuibili allo stesso, ed in definitiva che anche per questa via il pensiero di Contarini appare essere stato modificato su punti essenziali della sua esposizione. Il lavoro di comparazione interlineare delle tre lingue (e quattro testi) di riferimento è tuttora in corso. Di conseguenza può fornire al momento solo risultati parziali.

Firma dello studente

_____