

Form[e]s of transnationhood: the case of John Wolfe's trilingual Courtier

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There was no shortage of *Courtiers* in England in 1588, when printer John Wolfe published a trilingual edition of Baldassare Castiglione's Renaissance bestseller. As Peter Burke, Daniel Javitch, Mary Partridge, and other scholars have demonstrated, *Il Cortegiano* and its many translations formed a century-long, continent-wide publishing phenomenon:¹ Burke itemizes some 125 editions, in six languages, printed between 1528 and 1619.² Wolfe's trilingual *Book of the Courtier* offered not a single new word to this rich textual field: it featured Castiglione's Italian, Chappuys's French translation, and Hoby's English translation, in a 616-page, tri-column quarto (Figs. 1 and 2).

All three texts were widely available in England; Burke's evidence proves that English readers with the right foreign language skills had been able to read one of the many texts of Castiglione's Italian version since the edition of 1528, and had owned, read, or commented on three different French translations (in twenty-one editions between 1537 and 1585). Latinate elites, whether at court or in university or ecclesiastical settings, could read any of the Latin editions printed on the continent, or one of the four Latin versions printed in England since 1571.³ And for readers who needed or simply preferred to read in English, Thomas Hoby's translation, printed in 1561 and 1577, was well known and available.⁴

The demand for Wolfe's trilingual edition of 1588 and the value it added to the English literary system are therefore not immediately obvious. Clearly this expensive volume was not aimed to meet an unsatisfied need for content. Nor

¹ Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's 'Cortegiano'* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996). Daniel Javitch (ed.), *The Book of the Courtier* (New York: Norton, 2002). Mary Partridge, 'Thomas Hoby's English Translation of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*', *The Historical Journal* 50 (2007), 769–86. References hereafter to Hoby's *Courtier* (London: Seres, 1561) and the trilingual *Courtier* (London: Wolfe, 1588) use the editions' respective spellings.

² Peter Burke, *Fortunes*, Appendix I, 158–62.

³ Latin editions were printed in London in 1571, 1577, 1584, and 1585. Burke's Appendix 2 notes further English readerships for Latin editions from the continent and for Spanish translations.

⁴ Peter Burke, *Fortunes*, Appendix 2, 163–78, and 141, documents eighty-three known readers in England, a conservative estimate that does not include, for instance, the English marginalia in BL shelfmark G.16579, nor the name 'Elizabeth Stanhope [Banbry]' or 'Elisabeth Banby' in *Le Parfait Courtisan*, trans. Gabriel Chappuys (Paris: N. Bonfons, 1585), BL shelfmark 1030.c.4. Marks of ownership and annotations suggest that many of the English readers Burke identifies read the book in foreign as well as English editions.

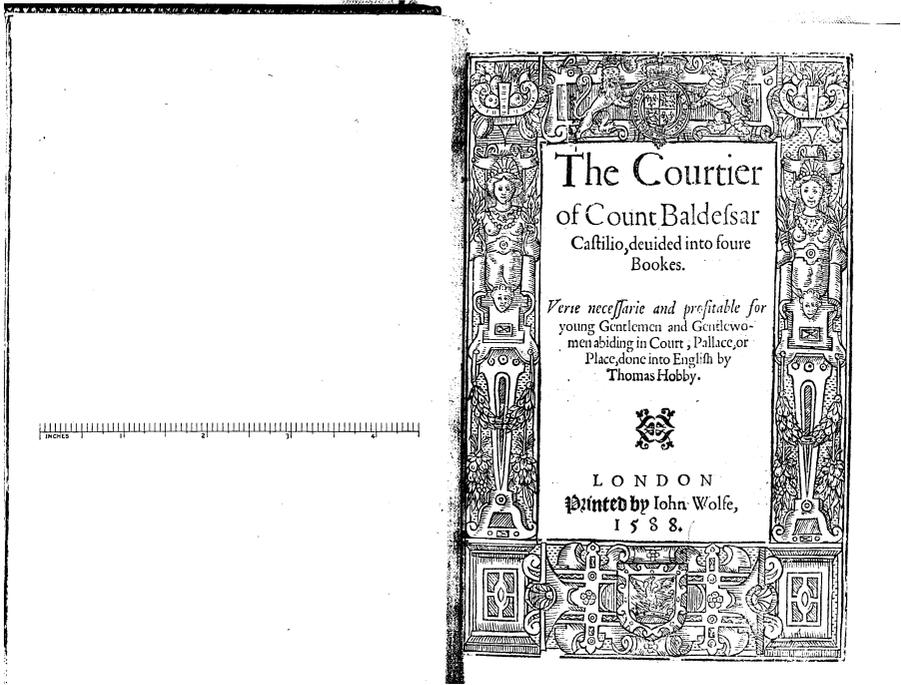


Fig. 1 Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier of Count Baldesar Castilio, deuided into foure Bookes*, tr. T. Hobby (London: John Wolfe, 1588), TP. SCT 4781, title page (reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Image published with permission of ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*. www.proquest.com. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.)

did it meet unsatisfied linguistic need, since monoglots had Hobby's translations in two editions. Nothing in the edition aims it as a language-learning tool (though, like any multilingual book, it certainly could be used that way). At first glance, Wolfe's edition appears to be merely a market bet, a convenient collection of reprints, repackaging three available versions of a work proven popular for sixty years. Such good bets typified the remaking and innovative conservatism that marked the Renaissance as a 'reprint culture', but were not often so elaborate, so strategic. Wolfe, a smart, daring printer if ever there was one, and a person said to have had 'savvy ambition' and 'resilient cunning',⁵ apparently imagined this expensive project as more than just a marketable reprint.

This edition was conceived at the height of tensions around the planned Armada invasion (ent. 4 December 1587; *SR*), which was also a moment of real English ambivalence about foreignness and the role of the foreign in national

⁵ Joseph Loewenstein, 'For a History of Literary Property: John Wolfe's Reformation', *English Literary Renaissance* 18 (1988), 389–412 (at 403).



Fig. 2 Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier of Count Baldesar Castilio, deuided into foure Bookes*, tr. T. Hoby (London: John Wolfe, 1588), [Alv]-A2. STC 4781, *mise-en-page* (reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Image published with permission of ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*. www.proquest.com. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.)

identity. In this context, Wolfe's edition seized on and made newly central the work's relatively brief suggestions that the ideal courtier be a person of the world, well versed in languages and letters, aware of and comfortably conversant with foreign customs and excelling even in the achievements of other cultures.

As it is read of Alcibiades, and that he excelled all other nations wheresoever he came [. . .] So shall this oure Courtier passe other menne [. . .] he shall bee in [equestrian skills] among the beste Italians. At tourneyement, in kepynge a passage, in fightinge at barriers, he shall be good among the best Frenchemen. At *Ioc[us] di canne*, runninge at Bull, castinge of speares and dartes, he shall be amonge the Spaniardes excellent. (tr. Hoby [D3v])

His foreign skills should be 'especially in speaking', but are immediately qualified: 'if he auoide curiositye'. Mainly, 'lette hym accompanie all his mocion with a certayne good iudgemente and grace' ([D3v]). Like the ideal courtier's other accomplishments (dancing, tasteful jests, musical skill, and so

on), a facility with words and a fluency in foreign forms are to be handled with *sprezzatura* (E.iii).

Wolfe's trilingual edition not only advocated these cross-cultural skills, but foregrounded and specifically enacted them, and assisted in practising them. It translated not a word, in the usual linguistic sense, but strongly 'translated' and internationalized Hoby's version, thus leading the reader to develop foreign fluencies, not merely to read about them. This would surely have pleased Elizabeth, the polyglot prince, so Armada-focused in the years leading up to 1588.⁶ Wolfe's tri-column *mise-en-page* addresses the international concerns of late-eighties England and has readers experience the very cosmopolitanism its pages advocate, each page visually insisting on what we might call a 'worldly reading'. The printer's formes internationalized the forms of nationhood.⁷

Most *Courtier* scholarship in English has rightly focused on the influential work's content and on Hoby's striking paratextual claims, for example, that 'translation is learning itself'. The present article instead treats Wolfe's printerly 'translation' of the texts, particularly his *mise-en-page* and his revision of paratext. First, it sketches a crucial background – the dominant appropriative direction of Renaissance English translation – and connects it to early modern ambivalence toward the foreign. In that context, Hoby's translation was valued as substitute or even prophylactic. Wolfe's edition, on the contrary, opened a textual heuristic that enhanced the heuristics of genre and form present in Castiglione's work. Next, the essay considers Wolfe's strategic, trilingual *mise-en-page*, which 'translated' the work so as to give the English *Courtier*, and perhaps the English courtier, a new transnational focus. Wolfe repositioned Hoby's English translation to function as an equal among versions, and the implicit geo-spatial analogies of Wolfe's page layout address English anxieties about the island nation's marginalized position in world literary culture. Wolfe also made significant paratextual changes, treated in the longer final section below, that inflect and reinterpret the content of the *Book of the Courtier* itself. He removed the letter to Silva, disrupting the long temporal arc and Italianate specificity that had framed other versions of the work; he also capably retained the sonnet to Sackville and Hoby's letter to Hastings. That famous letter's discussions of language and translation, with its complaints against insular English monoglots, gain amplified resonance when framing Wolfe's newly transnational *mise-en-page*.

⁶ Prince-pleasing was a key underlying goal of the courtier's accomplishments; see Daniel Javitch, *The Book of the Courtier*, viii–ix.

⁷ By considering printers' formes and translators' forms alongside authorial and historical forms, this essay, like my book *Printers Without Borders* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming) from which it comes, builds on Richard Helgerson's central concepts in *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Wolfe's *Courtier* diverges in part from its era's predominant patterns of translation and printing. Most English translation in the sixteenth century was appropriative or 'intake' in direction. By means of translation, foreign texts were to be brought in and 'made denizens' or naturalized as English, to become English, or to appear as if they already were and always had been English. A common early modern synonym for 'to translate' used the national adjective as a verb ('to English'), identifying as dominant this incoming, inward direction that we now term appropriative translation. This tendency, related to the complex of 'English exceptions' Andrew Pettegree notes, contrasts with the outward-translating tendencies of many Continental printers.⁸ In any case, appropriative translation made good sense in support of broader English cultural agendas of building the language, enriching the literature by renovating classics and emulating continentals, and asserting English literary nationhood.⁹ Within an appropriative, overall trend, the patterns of early modern translation varied considerably: what I elsewhere call linear, catenary, recursive, radiant, or compressed patterns of translation map the ways particular forms of transnationhood reached English readers of printed translations. Although those actual *patterns* of Renaissance translation certainly complicate any narrative of 'Englishing' as simple or straightforward, in England by far the most common *direction* of translation was nevertheless incoming. The general aim was to bring prior foreign texts into English for English readers (monoglot or not) to have *as their own*. The readership of an appropriative translation is one that by definition seeks not a foreign text but an 'Englished' one, which tries to seem an 'English' text.¹⁰ The paradox in this sort of substitution is clear: especially in 'invisible' translations – those that do not signal themselves as translations – the presence of the foreign thing is

⁸ Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation: The English Exception', in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 157–79. Paris printer-translator Antoine Vêrard's editions in English are an early example of this exception; Mary Beth Winn, *Antoine Vêrard, Parisian Publisher 1485–1512* (Geneva: Droz, 1997). More skillful export translations came later from, for example, Lyon printer-translator Jean de Tournes or Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin, with their polyglot teams. Much scholarship has treated a related phenomenon, the importation of foreign books into England; my topic is another kind of importation, the appropriative direction of translation into English, regardless of where the texts were to be sold or read. Appropriative translation differs from 'missionary' or outward translation, in which English texts would be translated into other languages (again, regardless of where sold or read). There is relatively little translation of English literature into other languages until the eighteenth century.

⁹ The well-known story of translation's enrichment of English literature has been better understood and nuanced thanks to recent developments including the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1640* (www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc), the MHRA Tudor & Stuart Translations book series, research such as the *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation*, the multivolume *Oxford History of Literary Translation into English*, new guides to translation studies from Routledge, Oxford, and other major presses, and journals such as *Translation & Literature* and *Translation Studies*.

¹⁰ Not that any given English reader cannot also enjoy texts in other languages; however, appropriative translations reach readers who seek a given work in English, whether their reasons are for linguistic need, comfort, curiosity, or social or other motives.

either not to appear or is to be reduced and read as nativized.¹¹ The paradox is heightened when the foreign prior text is trendy or marketable; reminders of the higher-status foreign text are retained in such cases, as enhancements. The title page of Hoby's *Courtyer*, for instance, announces the Italian work and author, and yet claims full 'Englishing'. So appropriative translations sometimes advertise and sometimes elide their constitutive alterity, yet they almost always resist it and hide its full extent.

For such reasons the dominant appropriative direction of printed translations is not the unvexed thing we might now imagine, despite its good fit with larger Renaissance imperatives such as literary nation-building, *imitatio*, *aemulatio*, or the *translatio studii*. The elisions of alterity inherent in this appropriative direction mean that Renaissance English translation was loaded with foreign residues and fraught with anxieties and ambivalences (such as Roger Ascham's or John Cheke's, examined below). As the grand appropriative twin engines of translation and printing revved up, ambivalence about lexicon intensified as writers advocated borrowing foreign words to enrich the English word-hoard, on the one hand, and, on the other, rejected too-foreign or 'inkhorn terms'. More generally, metaphors and common-places about translation such as metaphors of theft (themselves stolen from the *furtum* topoi of classical translators), or borrowing, debt, and bankruptcy, signal uneasiness about the heavily appropriative direction of sixteenth-century translation into English.¹² An unspoken worry may have been that there was nothing in English letters to export, or no one abroad who was yet seeking English literary culture to import. One mid-sixteenth-century French translator claimed in his dedicatory prologue that he was working on a translation into English because he regretted the fact that England was 'bastard allone' in the family of international letters; what a compliment to the dedicatee, William Pickering, English ambassador to France.¹³ There are, furthermore, exceptions to England's inrushing tide of translations: at the end of the sixteenth century, Wolfe, like Edward Aggas, Richard Field, and Arnold Hatfield, tested the export market by printing foreign-language books.¹⁴

¹¹ Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), and scholars following him have theorised invisibility in translation; in 'Visibility Now: Historicizing Foreign Presences in Translation', *Translation Studies* 5 (May 2012), 189–200, I adapt to older periods the powerful concept Venuti designed for post-seventeenth-century works to older periods.

¹² Theo Hermans, 'Images of Translation: Metaphor and Imagery in the Renaissance Discourse on Translation,' in Theo Hermans (ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation* (New York: St Martin's, 1985), 103–35. See also James St André (ed.), *Thinking through Translation with Metaphors* (Manchester: St Jerome Publishing, 2010).

¹³ Peter Derendel, trans., *True and Lyuely Historicke Purtreasures of the woll Bible* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1553), fol. A4v.

¹⁴ The Queen's Printer and Deputies also handled a fair amount of foreign-language printing, including the well documented state-sponsored or semi-state-sponsored Armada pamphlet campaigns. John Palgrave's early bilingual books were probably made for export. Still, polyglot printing remained more common and more sophisticated on the Continent. We shall learn more from forthcoming work on Wolfe from Elizabeth Evenden, on multilingual books from Belen Bistué, and on Armada texts from Meaghan J. Brown, '“The Hearts of all Sorts of People Were Enflamed”: Manipulating Readers of Spanish Armada News', *Book History* 16 (2013).

Counter-tides, residues, and frictions included, sixteenth-century English literary nationhood is built on appropriative translation and on the foreign-born printing technologies that made possible its wider distribution.¹⁵ (We should perhaps call it 'Englished' literary nationhood.)

This often furtive, sometimes visible, always foundational trans-nationhood elicited concern about the status of the residual foreign in 'English[ed]' texts and about the status of England in the world. One influential writer's discussion of Hoby's translation reveals such a concern. In a frequently mentioned passage in *The Scholemaster*, Roger Ascham commends Hoby's translated *Courtyer*.

Aduisedlie read, and diligentlie folowed, but one yeare at home in England, [*The Book of the Courtyer*] would do a yong ientleman more good, I wisse, then three yeares travell abrode spent in Italie. And I mervell this boke, is no more read in the Court, than it is, seyng it is so well translated into English by a worthe ientleman *Syr Th. Hobbie*, who was many wayes well furnished with learnyng, and very expert in knowledge of divers tonges (1570; G.iiii[v]).

In the wider context of Elizabethan literary efforts to fashion gentlemen and ladies in a tremendously mobile society, Ascham's commendation of Hoby's translation exemplifies a persistent English ambivalence toward the foreign, and toward foreign books in translation.¹⁶ *Il Cortegiano* advocates an easy cosmopolitanism, but Hoby, adding this marginal note, sets limits that resonate with Ascham's concerns: 'Men that . . . after a yeeres trauaile abrode, come home and begin by and by to speake the Romayne tunge, somtime the spanish tunge, or the Frenche, and God wotteth howe' are not graceful courtiers (E.iiii). Ascham, too, like other Tudor authorities, preferred protection from too much or the wrong kinds of foreign contact. Yet ambivalence toward things foreign surfaces all over the culture. Laws both encouraged and restricted foreigners: in the book trades, the permissive Act of 1484 was revised by mid century to hamper foreign workers; apprentice riots flared against immigrant competitors throughout the century. Works such as the *Ortho-Epia Gallica* are both laudatory and satiric towards foreigners. Andrew Boorde's denigrating yet humorous stereotypes also in a way promoted intercultural curiosity. The English adopted continental clothing and architectural styles, but young Englishmen who went abroad for polish were mocked if they came back 'too' foreign.

¹⁵ On early English print culture as a foundationally foreign contact zone, see my, 'Public Sphere/Contact Zone: Habermas, Early Print, and Verse Translation', *Criticism* 46 (2004), 207–22, or 'Translation's Challenge to Critical Categories: Verses from French in the Early English Renaissance', *Yale Journal of Criticism* 16 (2003), 315–44. On France and England generally, see a large body of work including Hosington, Butterfield, Prescott, Boucher, Cooper, Gucer, Williams, *et al.*

¹⁶ See Warren Boucher, "A French Dexterity and an English Confidence": New Documents on John Florio, Learned Strangers and Protestant Humanist Study of Modern Languages in Renaissance England from c. 1547 to c. 1625', *Reformation* 2 (1997), 39–102; and Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 159–63. Ascham's 'mervell' suggests a court more monoglot or resistant to the foreign than usually thought, at least in Ascham's opinion.

Ascham's ambivalence, too, is clear. He elsewhere famously deplores the Italianate Englishman and the bad effects on England of young gentlemen's travel to Italy.¹⁷ For him, Hoby's 'Englished' *Courtyer* is valuable precisely as a brief, protective substitute for genuine, extended (and therefore dangerous) cultural contact with foreign others. If the mediated, armchair contact with a translated book was more beneficial than travel, as Ascham suggested, a translation could substitute for and protect from direct contact with the foreign. Whether or not Elizabethan printers and readers mainly thought of translations as substitute or prophylaxis, and with ambivalence, they did persist in a chiefly appropriative direction.

Ambivalence toward the foreign, as we know well from today's news, was not exclusive to early modern England. Perhaps admixtures of aspiration and resentment, of emulation and mockery, of admiration and fear, are perennial, ubiquitous responses to the Other. Yet such ambivalence seems to have been acute over the course of the sixteenth century, as increasing numbers and kinds of foreigners entered England. In addition to the social, religious, and economic matters documented by historians,¹⁸ ambivalence toward the foreign both fuelled and was fuelled by the explosion of printed translations in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. By Ascham's time and at least until the end of the century, the right placement and use of the foreign in English literary nationhood was an ongoing problematic. The *Courtyer* was an important text in the continuing Tudor effort to garner the benefit of foreign ways without the attendant risks – to explore the fine line between fashionable and foppish, between cosmopolitan and culpable. Even as appropriative as Hoby's translation largely is, he stumbles at this line. In a telling addition to his letter to Hastings, Hoby reinforces the English reader's isolation from continental cosmopolitanism. Here, quoted fully, is the passage truncated above, about how the ideal courtier is to excel in every national specialty:

As it is reade of Alcibiades, that he excelled all other nations wheresoeuer he came, and euerye manne in the thynge he hadde moste skyll in. So shall this oure Courtyer passe other menne, euerye manne in his owne profession. And because

¹⁷ Ascham admits that he only went to Italy once, for nine days (I.iii; K.i). He praises the former virtues of Italy and condemns its current vices (H.iii[r–v]; K.ii); these map onto his approval of Hoby's *Courtyer* and its protective value. Yet he insists on the importance of learning languages (H.i) and writes against the translation of Italian books into English (I.ii [r–v]).

¹⁸ Lien Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London, 1500–1700*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Nigel Goose and L. Luu (eds.), *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005); Randolph Vinge and Charles Littleton (eds.), *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750* (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 2001); B. J. Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement, c. 1550–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain*, 2nd edn. rev. (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001); Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Irene Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and Their French Background, 1550–1800: Contributions to the Historical Conference of the Huguenot Society of London, 24–25 September 1985* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987).

it is the peculyer prayse *of vs Italians* to ryde well, to manege wyth reason, especialle roughe horses, to runne at the ryng and at tylte, he shall bee in this amonge the beste Italyans. At tourneymente, in keypyng a passage, in fighting at barriers, he shall be good among the best Frenchemen. At Io[c]lo di canne [sic], runninge at Bull, castinge of speares and dartes, he shall be Amonge the Spaniardes excellent. (tr. Hoby, [D3v]; first emphasis mine)

Hoby's new phrase, 'vs Italians,' which has no equivalent inclusive personal pronoun in Castiglione's 'gli Italiani' or Chappuys's 'les Italiens', reminds English readers that they are outsiders in this game of international aspiration, reading about another cosmopolitan place from the viewpoint of an Italian speaker (even though that speaker's *words* have been Englished). This slip resists full appropriation and separates the English reader from the continental perspective. But where Hoby's *Courtyer* works as substitute and prophylaxis, Wolfe's *Courtier* risks an openness to the foreign and thus enhances the centrally heuristic value of Castiglione's content.

POLYGLOT PAGES

Alterity in a translated book is only as available to readers as the translator and printer conspire to make it. Although Castiglione and translators Chappuys and Hoby (among others) created different versions of this work, their printers created the physical texts that engineered the reader's encounter with the work's alterity. Printers, like translators, can control the distance between the reader and the prior foreign text. Just as the translator may elide or enhance cultural distance with each lexical and syntactical choice and with register, tone, and style, so too the printer may elide or enhance the work's foreign elements with choices of *mise-en-page*, ornaments, initials, and typography. The translator's agency, like the printer's, may or may not surface as a meta-topic; if it does so, both appear most often in paratext. In both Seres's and Denham's printings (1561; 1577), Hoby's translation contains a good bit of visibility. Seres's title page names the Italian author and title, and contrasting typefaces visually highlight foreign names and phrases within the work. Still, the printers' blackletter-dominant pages assume the usual appropriative relation with the foreign, matching Hoby's appropriative theory of translation in the letter to Hastings. The English marginalia in Seres's and Denham's printings provide visual indexing and topic-summaries in blackletter (Fig. 3). Residual foreign presences here are largely, though not entirely, assimilated into a one-language 'Englished' *Courtyer*.

On the contrary, and by definition, multilingual books like Wolfe's *Courtier* highlight the foreign: the world crowds in openly on the 'English' pages. Multilingual books juxtapose alterities before the reader's eyes, permit no amnesia about the prior foreign work(s), and foster no appropriative illusions

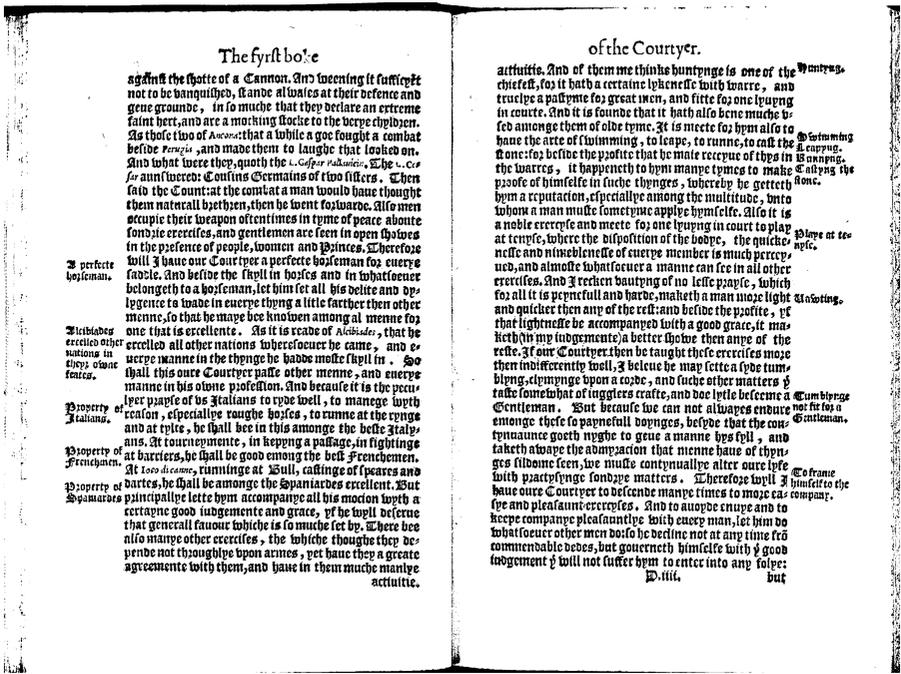


Fig. 3 Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio divided into four books*, tr. T. Hoby (London: William Seres, 1561), [D3v]-D.iii. STC 4778, *mise-en-page* (reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Image published with permission of ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*. www.proquest.com. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.)

of possession. The translator’s agency, and its implicit challenge to the category of authorship, is inescapable; the printer’s agency is fully visible in each contrastive typeface. More broadly, multilingual books make visible the ‘co-presence of cultures’ that Karlheinz Stierle finds the distinctive mark of the Renaissance, and the particular physical and visual composition of any such book establishes how those co-presences are to be understood in relation to one another and in terms of that book’s content and purpose.¹⁹ The pattern of compressed translation found in multilingual books sometimes subtly represents imagined relationships among languages and cultures; such books may serve as material analogues to a cultural dynamic. Indeed, multilingual pages are ‘contact zones’ (to borrow Mary Louise Pratt’s term), and the reading they require is comparative or contrastive in nature. Multilingual pages demand an immediate acknowledgement of alterity and then invite judgements about the relations between the native and the foreign (for even

¹⁹ Karlheinz Stierle’s influential notion first appeared in ‘*Translatio Studii* and Renaissance: From Vertical to Horizontal Translation’, in Sanford Budick and Wolfgang Iser (eds.), *The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 55–67.

polyglot readers will locate a 'native' text on such pages). Multilingual books put readers through an implicit transnational heuristic: what are these differently shaped letters, and to what language do they belong? To what nation? How are these phrases different from 'mine', and can they also in some way become 'mine' as I read more fluently here? What meanings are implied in one text, but not in the others? *What are they like in that Other part of the world?* Multilingual texts inculcate a more inquisitive, transnationally alert or 'worldly' way of reading.

For our purposes in understanding Wolfe's *Courtier*, multilingual *mise-en-page* is the most crucial factor shaping the reading experience. In his edition, Castiglione's Italian text is in italic in the gutters (that is, at the centre of each opening), with Chappuys's French translation in the centre column of each page (that is, in medial position in each opening), and finally, in a blackletter type in the outer margins, Hoby's English translation, as we see in Fig. 2. The affiliations and associations of these typefaces have been much disputed; Wolfe's assignment of the types to languages is fairly typical.²⁰ He probably took his concept for the polyglot *Courtier* from the bilingual editions printed in France in 1580 and 1585, bi-column editions featuring Italian in italic in the centre (nearer the gutters), and French in roman in the outer columns (Fig. 4).²¹ It is no surprise that, like nearly all previous printers in England, Wolfe drew techniques, materials, design aesthetics, and texts from the francophone presses on the Continent.²² But this imitation of *mise-en-page* seems a particularly direct one with important effects.

Like other multilingual column-format books, Wolfe's permits either insular or transnational reading, since a reader can choose to move from one column to the others, or to linger comfortably within one language-column. However, with catchwords at the bottom of each column, not just at the bottom of each page, and with Wolfe's addition of the English columns in blackletter at the outer edges of each page, the reading experience is very strongly guided. Even a reader intending to stay safely inside the English

²⁰ Steven Galbraith, '“English” Black-Letter Type and Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*', *Spenser Studies* 23 (2008), 13–40; Adrian Weiss, 'Casting Compositors, Foul Cases, and Skeletons: Printing in Middleton's Age', in Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 195–225, which also invalidates an older idea of blackletter as 'the commoner's typeface' (202–3).

²¹ Lyon: Cloquemin, 1580; Lyon: J. Huguetaun, 1585; Paris: C. Micard, 1585; Paris: N. Bonfons, 1585. The 1580 editions have colophon dates of 1578 and 1579, and the editions of 1585 followed within days of the expiration of the 1580 privilege; evidently this was a hot property.

²² Wolfe had spent time in France and Italy, as Huffman, Loewenstein, Massai, Gadd, and others explain. On early English printing as a francophone subculture, note 15 above. Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York: AMS, 1988); Sonia Massai, 'John Wolfe and the Impact of Exemplary Go-Betweens on Early Modern Print Culture', in Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (eds.), *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, (Berlin: de Gruyter), 2005, 104–18; Loewenstein, op. cit.; I. Gadd, 'Wolfe, John (b. in or before 1548?, d. 1601)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu/view/article/29834?docPos=1>> (accessed August 2013). English printers' evolving use of passe-partout initials seems another clear but little-studied case of imitation of French book aesthetics.

16 LIVRE

seant on estoit entrelacé, vn homme & vne femme, tant qu'il y auoit des femmes pource que le nombre des hommes estoit quasi tousiours de beaucoup plus grand.

Après ils se gouernoient comme il plaisoit à madame la Duchesse, laquelle le plus souuent en laissoit la charge à madame Emilie.

Ainsi le iour apres ie de parmentie du Pape, estant la compagnie assemblee au lieu accoustumé, à l'heure accoustumee, apres plusieurs agreables propos, madame la Duchesse voulut que madame Emilie commanceast le ieu.

Et icelle apres auoir quelque peu refusé cete charge, dist ainsi, Madame puis qu'il vous plait que ie sois celle qui donne commencement & entrecouiteu de ce soir, ne pouuant raisonnablement faillir de vous obeir, ie delibere proposer vn ieu, duquel ie pense auoir peu de blasme & moins de peine.

C'est que chacun propose, selon son aduis vn ieu qui n'aiecint esté fait, & puis on elistacelui qui semblera le plus digne d'estre ioué en cete compagnie.

chior erano sedendo dinanzi vno homo & vna donna, fin che donne v'erano cinque quasi sempre il numero degli huomini era molto maggiore.

Poi come alle S. Duchessa parca. si gouernauano: laqual per lo piu delle volte ne lasciava il carico alla Signora Emilia.

Cosi il giorno appresso la partita del Papa, essendo allhora restata riduata la compagnia al solito loco, dopo molti piaceuoli ragionamenti, la Signora Duchessa volse per che la Signora Emilia comincasse i giuochi.

Et dista dopo l'hauer alquanto rifiutato tal impresa, così dista, Signora mia poi che par a voi piace, eh'io sia quella, che dia principio a i giuochi di questa sera, non possendo ragionevolmente mancar d'obedire, delibero proporre vn ieuo, del qual penso dauer hauer poco biasimo, & men fatica.

Et questo farà, che auelo vn proponza secondo il parere suo vn ieuo non piu fatto da poi si elegerà quello, che parerà esser piu degno di celebrarsi in questa compagnia.

PREMIER.

17

Et dista d'ella si rivolse al Signor Gasparo Palamocino, intendogli che el iouo dista: il quale subito rispose.

Al vos tacia Signora dir prima il vostro. Disti la Signora Emilia.

Eccoci c'io l'ho detto: ma, vos Signora Duchessa comò dategli che'è sia obbedienti.

Allhora la Signora Duchessa ridendo, accò disti che ogn'uno v'habbia al suo ordine, us'faccio ma iouo tentate, & us' di tutta la mia autorità.

Graciosa è pur, rispose il Signor Gasparo che iouo pre alle donne sia lecito habuer questa s'entione di giuochi:

Et: certo rag'io n'faria volere in ogni modo intendere la ragione: ma per non esser io quello, che dia principio a disubbidire, lasserò questo ad vn'altro tempo: & direi quello che mi toccherà, & comincio.

A me pare che gli animi nostri si come nel resto, così auolano nell'amare siano di giudicio diuersi, & perciò spesso interueno che quello, che al l'una è gratissimo, all'altro sia odiosissimo: ma con tutto questo sempre per se concordano, in hauer

Et distant ainsi le tourna vers le Seigneur Gaspar Paluofin, luy ordonnant de dire le sien: lequel respondit incontinent.

Madame c'est à vous de dire premierement le vostre: & madame Emilie repliqua.

Voy lecy, ie vous lay dist: mais vous madame (dist elle à la Duchesse) commandez luy d'estre obediante.

A l'heure la Duchesse rient, A fin, dist elle, que chacun ait a vous obeir: vous tray ma Licutenante, & vous donne toute autorité.

C'est grand es neant moins, respondit le Seigneur Gaspar, qu'il soit tousiours permis aux femmes d'aueir cete exemption de peine.

Et certainement il seroit raisonnable en toute maniere d'en rendre l'occasion: mais a fin que ie ne sois celuy qui commence à estre desobediante, ie laifferay cela pour vn autre temps, & diray ce que ie doy: & commancea ainsi.

Il me semble que noz esprits soient de iugement diuers ainsi bien a aimer qu'au demourer: & de la aduient souuentefois que ce qui est tresagreable à l'un est tresdesplaisant à l'autre: mais ce nonobstant ils accordent tousiours en ce que chascun tient: & la trescherie la

Fig. 4 Baldassare Castiglione, *Le Parfait Courtisan*, tr. G. Chappuy (Lyon, 1580), 16–17 (with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France [& Gallica])

columns must, in any given opening, move the eye from the lower-left column's catchword to the upper-right column in a grand diagonal sweep, up across the whole opening. Thus even when reading 'only in English', one cannot read 'only in English'. One must instead pass an eye over French-roman and Italian-italic columns on the verso, with their striking visual alterities, and then back over the Italian-italic and French-roman columns on the recto, before arriving at the recto's outer English-blackletter column. In a way, the eye itself makes an armchair voyage to the continent and back, and a voyage to 1528 and back.

Not all multilingual column-format books have such a strong effect. Compare, for instance, complutensian Bibles or many polyglot phrase books and dictionaries, where the eye may comfortably stay in one column, or fix upon a single point of content in the work and cross columns at that one point. Nothing prevents Wolfe's readers' eyes from working that way, but as we have said, his column arrangement insures that even those wishing to read

only the English version must also encounter the Others. For instance, when reading Hoby's 'vs Italians' in Wolfe's edition ([D1v]), immediately to the right on the same line, in clean roman type, is Chappuys's 'les Italiens', to the right of which, one half-line ahead in italic, is Castiglione's 'gli Italiani'. Hoby's addition thus strengthens the speaker *as an Italian*, but in Wolfe's version, this becomes obvious, and the neutral-national voices of the other texts are now visible. The trilingual arrangement thus animates a 'worldly reading' heuristic, inviting comparisons, and the instructive process embedded here aligns Wolfe's *Courtier* with other influential Renaissance works. Just as, for instance, *The Faerie Queene* leads readers through processes of discernment, with strategies such as delayed naming and ambiguously moralized landscapes, as Judith Anderson and others have shown, and just as Milton's readers are, in Stanley Fish's famous title, *Surprised by Sin*, here too, the edition makes a point of exercising the reader's faculties.²³ This effect works well with Castiglione's similarly heuristic and guided dialogic form and use of open questions in the discursive, social-debate genre. Wolfe's *mise-en-page* insists on awareness of the foreign versions, adding 'worldly' reading as part of the reader's heuristic. Even English-monoglot readers experience a more direct textual encounter with alterity here than any single-language translation could provide. And for Wolfe's *Courtier* edition to function as Hoby's had apparently done, as substitute or prophylaxis, an impossibly willful, xenophobic reader would have to ignore the very words on the page.

Polyglot book layout is surprisingly varied in the early modern period, and can sometimes suggest the printer's assumptions about the relative statuses of the languages and cultures in question.²⁴ Translators' prefaces often address status issues directly, and the genre and purpose of any particular polyglot book will shape how we interpret the cross-cultural assumptions behind *mise-en-page*. For instance, regardless of the disposition of their pages, practical multilingual books such as accounting manuals or phrase books tend to assume that the co-presence of cultures is, in Stierle's term, horizontal, even if the status-relation among the vernaculars in question is not fully 'equal'. On the other hand, translations of higher-status foreign works, classical or vernacular, into lower-status English depend on genealogical models for their stories about themselves. Textual genealogies, with or without expressions of hierarchy, explain the co-presence of cultures in such translations, and these may be open, in paratext, or encoded in *mise-en-page*. That is, translators and

²³ Judith Anderson, 'A Gentle Knight Was Pricking on the Plaine': The Chaucerian Connection', *ELR* 15 (1985), 166–74; A. Leigh DeNeef, *Spenser and the Motives of Metaphor* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1982), 142–56; Stanley Fish, *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost*, 2nd edn., (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

²⁴ Column formats varied, but there were also entry-by-entry formats, interlinear formats, and the fascinating, varied typographical tactics of printed macaronic verse. On interlinear educational formats see Nikolaus Henkel, 'Printed School Texts: Types of Bilingual Presentation in Incunabula', *Renaissance Studies* 9 (June 1995), 212–17, and, more broadly, the introduction to Jürgen Schäfer (ed.), *John Minshew, Ductor in Linguas: A Facsimile reproduction* (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1978).

printers often explained status differences between versions in prefaces or epilogues, and sometimes represented them visually on the page. Although it is well worth noting how the languages are separated, how the typefaces are distributed among languages, and in what order the eye is to move among them on the page and across an opening, geo-spatial analogies to language difference make for delicate, uncertain inferences about *mise-en-page*. In Wolfe's edition, for instance, we might be tempted to infer an Italian centrality, a French mediation, and an English belatedness or derivative distance from the cultural center. Or, conversely, we might note that English has primacy as the first version, and the last, that readers encounter in any given opening. It is risky, and I think usually untenable, to imagine that the page represents political or social relationships in any simple or direct way. What we can say, however, is that Wolfe's edition shows a very acute awareness of language difference, poses the question of relations among the three cultures, and still positions Hoby's English as a parallel version on a horizontal axis with – on a par with – the usually higher-status Italian and French versions. The English *Courtier* is no longer lesser, derivative, belated, 'needy', or appropriative: an equal, if not *primum inter pares*.

PURGED PARATEXTS

Somewhat more subtly, Wolfe's altered paratexts also shifted the emphasis of the *Courtier* toward the transnational. From the spare Aldine first edition of *Il Cortegiano* (1528), with its simple epistle dedicatory, to the more fully framed early French editions (and the later ones of 1580 and 1585 that inspired Wolfe's *mise-en-page*), then to the extremely full English and Latin editions printed in England in and after 1561, we find a progressive proliferation of framing apparatus. Wolfe, however, pulled back, streamlined the paratexts, and created a new focus. The paratexts available in prior editions created certain kinds of understanding around the book, but he preserved particular pieces (the Sackville sonnet, the letter to Hastings) and removed others (the letters to Silva and Colonna; Cheke's letter). To remove the Italian letters is not, however, simply to de-foreignise or to anglicise; paradoxically, the intellectually and socially deracinated Elizabethan edition thereby gains new synchronic force.

First of all, Castiglione's dedicatory letter to Michael de Silva, Bishop of Viseo, had been an important, resonant introduction to the work. It seems to have been considered integral to other editions and translations, including Hoby's translation (in both the Seres, 1561 and Denham, 1577 editions) and the French-Italian bilingual editions (Lyon, 1580 and 1585; and Paris 1585), where the dedicatory letter receives the same bilingual-column treatment as the rest of the work (Fig. 4). This letter opens with the story of the social contexts in which *Il Cortegiano* was first imagined, explaining Castiglione's relations to the Court of Urbino and the unauthorized pre-circulation of the

work by Victoria Colonna. It stresses the fact that in the time since he wrote the work, most of the people involved had died; most lamented is the deceased duchess at its centre. The letter's nostalgic, memorializing introduction in some sense conflicts with the appearance of the work itself: the eavesdropping snapshots of *Il Cortegiano* appeal to the current and the social, the immediate and the personal, but the dedicatory letter describes a longer span of time, creating distance from – and claiming permanent value for – the work. In its memorializing stance, the letter countermands any idea of the work as gossipy, fashionable fluff, as ephemeral or without lasting value. It also raises the issue of language and dialect, defending the use of Lombard rather than Tuscan, and debating the merits of old versus newer Tuscan speech.²⁵ The letter forestalls comparison with Boccaccio's framed social stories and distinguishes Castiglione's work from the *Decameron* in language, style, and contents. Finally, it also performs the crucial task of explaining the 'ideal' nature of the courtier, with Castiglione famously comparing himself to Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero: writers of the ideal republic, ideal king, and ideal orator, respectively. It is not shallow preening for Castiglione to place his work in this line and give the courtier an important social and political role, since here he also points out that such ideals are perhaps impossible to attain but are nevertheless worth striving for. His famous simile of the archer explains that even if no one hits the centre of the target, the ones who come closer are better, and that taking high aim has value in itself. The end of this letter makes the judgement of Time the final reference point: traditionally so, as the father of truth and the ultimate arbiter of value.

In dropping Castiglione's letter to Silva, Wolfe drops certain key things. In both editions of Hoby's translations published in England (1561 and 1577), it provided a socio-textual rationale and history of what was being 'Englished'. It had been included in the French editions that inspired Wolfe's *mise-en-page*. By 1588, was it familiar enough to have seemed superfluous or stale? Or did practical motives dictate paratextual cuts, since Wolfe's tri-column quarto plan required some 616 pages? Regardless, the absence of this letter removes the work's originating Italian social context, losing Castiglione's references to memories of Urbino or of actual persons now dead. It also means that Castiglione's discussion of literary language and dialect, available to Hoby's readers, is not 'Englished' either; it would nevertheless still have been topical for Wolfe's readers, actively debating as they were similar problems in their own tongue and facing related language questions on each page. The letter also places the work in an authoritative line of ideals reaching back to Plato; removing it removes the work's ancient intellectual lineage. With no references to the future judgements of time, Wolfe further effaces the long tem-

²⁵ See Amedeo Quondam, 'On the Genesis of the Book of the Courtier', in Daniel Javitch, *The Book of the Courtier*, 283–95, and Wayne Rebhorn, 'The Enduring Word: Language, Time, and History in *Il Libro Del Cortegiano*', in Robert Hanning and David Rosand (eds.), *Castiglione: the Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 69–90.

poral arc Castiglione's paratexts so carefully drew. Thus unlike the many previous editions (such as Hoby's) that saw fit to retain and translate the letter to Silva, Wolfe's reaches out much more synchronically than diachronically.

Wolfe removed another Italian paratext that had been translated and reprinted in both English editions of Hoby's translation: the remarkable letter from Castiglione to Vittoria Colonna, in which the author smoothly and devastatingly castigates the lady for having circulated his text in an unauthorized way. This letter is a *tour de force* of civilised fury, of suave accusation and subtext. It appears in various locations in different editions – sometimes just after the letter to Silva, sometimes at the very end of the work, as it does in both prior English editions of Hoby's translation. In each location its effects vary. When in the front matter, the original Italian social context is emphasized; located there, it reminds the reader of the author's complaint, of the surreptitious, transgressive nature of its initial circulation, and thus of the central problems of textual authority and transmission. It stresses an author's assertion of rights within the delicate, aspirational social structures that are the subjects of his book. When placed at the end of the work, following Book Four, as in the English editions prior to Wolfe's, the letter has rather different effects. Book Four ends with Lady Emilia replying in sceptical disapproval to one of the male courtiers. In response to a debate about gender issues, she says: 'in case my *L. Gaspar* will accuse women, and geue them (as his wont is) some false reporte, he wil also put vs in suretye to stand to triall, for I reckon him a waueringe starter'. Situated just after this chastisement of dubious male behaviour, the author's letter to Colonna seems a bit like a capping or an answering chastisement of another Lady's bad behaviour and has the feel of an extension to the gender debate that constitutes Book Four's closing dynamic. By removing the letter, Wolfe thus removes some of the attention that prior editions had given both to gender and to textual transgression.

In omitting these letters to Silva and Colonna, Wolfe also erases visible alterity in the paratexts. That is, he removes the Italian-born communiqués, the last anchors of the work to its author's originating context. Instead, he asserts a very different, newly equal status for the English *Courtier* and, by implication, for the English courtier and English reader. Having surpassed the mere denizenship Hoby's *Courtyer* had achieved in 1561, where the anchoring Italian back-stories were reminders of the appropriative direction of 'Englishing' and residues of the higher-status foreign, Wolfe's *Courtier* is instead unmoored from the old place to circulate in the new one, among other versions, and to become a fully current cosmopolite. It removes the diachronic palimpsests (the Italian paratexts around *Il Cortegiano*), emphasizing rather the synchronic presence and contact of three cultures (*Il Cortegiano/Le Parfait Courtisan/The Courtyer*). In this, *mise-en-page* and paratext reinforce one another.

Wolfe also removes other paratexts that had conditioned the English reader's approach to prior editions. Gone is Seres's 'printer to the reader'

preface, with its talk of the mysterious publication history of the work.²⁶ Also gone is John Cheke's letter, which ends the 1561 edition with a pronouncement against lexical borrowing and specifically exonerates Hoby's translation from that charge.²⁷ The implication of Cheke's letter is that the *Courtier* has been fully 'Englished' even at the lexical level, and that part of what is supposed to happen with the printing of such a work is precisely *not* the bankruptcy of English letters that Cheke says happens with too much borrowing, but rather the enrichment of English letters in native forms. (Seeing how many Latinate forms Cheke himself uses, one might be sceptical of this line of argument.) Like Ascham, Cheke feels ambivalent about England's appropriative relation to alterity, and his economic metaphors locate value in lexicon. Still, his letter is a piece of lexical protectionism that excuses Hoby's translation even as it frets about the inkhorn foreign. When Wolfe omits it, he removes a boundary marker for English anxiety, in a way, and removes lexical borrowing as a problem for his readers. This omission supports his new *mise-en-page* in rejecting England's appropriative or derivative relation with the foreign. Both changes support his equalizing of English alongside the foreign.

With those important framing thresholds removed, Wolfe does see fit to retain and emphasize other prior paratexts. The title page design is enhanced (Fig. 1). His more elaborate design gives the impression of a high-culture object, a courtly, embellished thing consonant with late-Elizabethan aesthetics. He adds Tudor arms with dragon and lion, and the Order of the Garter motto, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense'. Although his edition compiles Castiglione's Italian, Chappuys's French and Hoby's English versions, the title page names only Castiglione and Hoby. Although printed in a clean roman type in the mid-page columns, French is here, as often in English books, a less-heralded but active mediator.

Significantly, Wolfe retains Sackville's commendatory sonnet, placed decorously on its own page, as in many English editions. Here, it is on the title verso, in large, legible italic type with the title, in roman, 'Thomas Sackeuyll in commendation of the worke To the Reader'. This is shrewd. In 1561, Sackville had been a young, favoured Elizabethan courtier, and by 1588, had become

²⁶ That is, this removes mention of the Marian-period and manuscript origins of Hoby's translation; see Mary Partridge, 'Thomas Hoby's English Translation', on the origins and the edition of 1561 as 'a product designed for Marian consumption', 782, 772, 774–6, 778–80. Hoby's manuscript pre-circulation problems do not parallel the Colonna-Castiglione situation, and could have seemed too edition-specific. Is it that Wolfe excludes anything that doubts his text's authority or provenance?

²⁷ 'I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangeled with borowing of other tungen, wherin if we take not heed bi tijm, euer borowing and neuer paying, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt. For then doth our tung naturallie and praisable vtter her meaning, whan she bouroweth no counterfeitness of other tungen to attire her self withall, but vseth plainlie her own, with such shift, as nature, craft, experiens and folowing of other excellent doth lead her vnto, and if she want at ani tijm (as being vnperfight she must) yet let her borrow with suche bashfulnes, that it mai appeer, that if either the mould of our own tung could serue vs to fascion a word of our own, or if the old denisoned words could content and ease this neede, we would not boldly venture of vnknewen words.'

one of the kingdom's most important men. (Notwithstanding his banishment from Elizabeth's favour in 1587, by 1588 he had again returned to a place as one of her closest advisors.) Sackville himself was a pattern of transnationally skillful English courtiership who had travelled extensively in diplomatic missions overseas, so his commendation would have been meaningful and more current than many twenty-seven-year-old epideixes might have been:²⁸

These royall kinges, that reare vp to the skye
 Their pallace tops, and deck the[m] all with gold:
 With rare and curious workes they feede the eye:
 And shew what riches here great Princes hold.
 A rarer worke and richer far in worth,
 Castilios hand presenteth here to thee:
 No proude, ne golden Court doth he set forth,
 But what in Court a Courtier ought to be.
 The prince he raiseth huge and mightie walles,
 Castilio frames a wight of noble fame:
 The king with gorgeous Tissue clads his halles,
 The Count with golden vertue deckes the same;
 Whose passing skill, lo, Hobbies pen displaies
 To Britaine folke, a worke of worthy praise.²⁹

The form of Sackville's sonnet, three *abab* quatrains plus couplet, is straightforward, as is its architectural conceit: Quatrain One sets royal building as the topos, and Quatrain Two compares Castiglione's Courtier to it as a superlative construction. The third quatrain accelerates, in inverted *correlatio*, to a line-by-line comparison: Prince/walls to Castilio/wight; king/tissue to Count/vertue. The closing couplet praises the translator for displaying the praiseworthy foreign work 'to Britaine folk'.

Along with the neatly handled form, the poem's architectural metaphor establishes the essential comparisons: first, comparing the prince's building of palaces to the greater cultural project of building a courtier – a metaphor reminiscent of the related project that Spenser would soon call 'fashioning a gentleman'. Spenser, who included his dedicatory sonnet to Sackville in the 1590 *Faerie Queene*, may have had in mind Sackville's other relevant works

²⁸ See Rivkah Zim, 'Sackville, Thomas, first Baron Buckhurst and first Earl of Dorset (c.1536–1608)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24450>> (accessed August 2013).

²⁹ Wolfe tweaks spelling and punctuation in the poem with little consequence. Points of typographical interest: (1) that, as in Seres's edition, no indentation is used to mark the parts of the sonnet; (2) that the initial drop-cap T is in the 1561 edition a three-line letter, but here is not a full two-line initial but rather an enlarged letter that creates only a partial drop, although lines 1 and 2 are indented as if it were full-sized drop; (3) The pattern of uppercase C is the same here as in Seres's edition, but here, in line 6 ('Castilio'), line 7 ('Court'), and line 10 ('Castilio'), are even larger, descending to the top of the following line; (4) but Cs in lines 8 ('Court' and 'Courtier'), and line 12 ('Count') are normal uppercase size. Visually the result is minor – the eye moves left-right-left, Castilio-Court-Castilio. But interpretively, the larger 'Castilio' begins those lines, and the 'golden Court' of line 7 is enlarged as an imagined ideal, unlike the actual 'Court' and 'Courtier' and 'Count' of lines 8 and 12.

(*Gorboduc*; the 'Induction' to the *Mirror for Magistrates*), if not this particular poem's building conceit. Spenser's buildings, after all, tend to be fully allegorized sites in the moral landscape rather than conceptually compressed as in this brief lyric.³⁰ Spenser's and Castiglione's educational projects are executed quite differently: Castiglione featured women in ways Spenser did not, and nonchalant prose has more secular *sprezzatura* than stanzaic Protestant allegorical romance. However, the obvious Spenserian signals here remind us that Wolfe could have seen the Sackville poem as consonant with an active late-century trend.

Given its important culture-building conceit, Sackville's poem is curiously ambiguous about 'Englishing'. It notably preserves the visibility of the work's foreign authorship. It does not exactly praise Hoby's translation itself, only the fact that his pen displays the praiseworthy foreign work to British people – and note British, not English. The 'passing skill' is Castiglione's. That is, unlike other strategic paratexts here, and quite unlike Wolfe's daring, transnationalizing *mise-en-page*, Sackville's poem does not mitigate or amend England's unequal, appropriative relation with the foreign text. Even so, it is a deft poem, and Wolfe apparently saw aesthetic and socio-political value in retaining it. (It only took up the one verso, after all.)

Wolfe likewise preserves Hoby's much longer letter to Henry Hastings, with its famous opening statement about translation as the reverse side of tapestry, and its claim to remedy for England the lack of a native version of the *Courtier*. That claim could not, in Wolfe's text, have seemed anything but anachronistic, given the available editions of Hoby's translation. Hoby's letter asks for patronage for a newcomer-courtier/text from a courtly young man, Hastings, whose ancestors had actually entertained Castiglione. The appeal to family history here may have still had some vibrancy. Hoby, of course, was long gone except in his *Courtyer* and his famous 'lounging' tomb effigy, having died in July 1566 in Paris.³¹ It was during a previous French sojourn (1552–3) that he translated *Il Cortegiano*, and 'his *Travels and Life* [1564] shows him (. . .) an interested and perceptive participant in aristocratic life abroad'.³² So Hoby's own relations to the foreign were rich and complex. But his diplomatic travels and travails were long over in 1588, and his old letter's request to Hastings for patronage was likewise by then a piece of the English past. Hastings, however, like Sackville, was very much alive and active in late-Elizabethan politics and diplomacy, and in 1588 it must have seemed to Wolfe a smart thing, even perhaps a bid for patronage, to include this letter.³³

³⁰ The royal-architectural metaphor is most familiar at mid century from Du Bellay's 1549 *La Deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse* and *Les Antiquitez de Rome*. When Spenser translates the latter as *Ruines of Rome* in his 1591 *Complaints*, he omits the apt prefatory poem, a building-conceit sonnet comparable to this.

³¹ Landing in Calais that April as ambassador to France, he was welcomed by shots fired through the English flag, and demanded and received an apology.

³² L. G. Kelly, 'Hoby, Sir Thomas (1530–1566)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online] [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13414> (accessed 12 Aug 2013)].

³³ I am indebted to Brenda Hosington for the idea that there may have been a bid for patronage.

The letter to Hastings probably also served more than social or market goals for Wolfe's edition. Its reverse-tapestry metaphor raises translation as a topic, one inescapably relevant in the reading of Wolfe's trilingual text. The letter mentions the *Courtier's* long presence in Italy, Spain, and France and its piecemeal presence in all those languages in England, and claims that Hoby's translation meets an important need for an all-English version. By Wolfe's time, of course, this old claim, too, was stale, since Seres's and Denham's editions (1561 and 1577) were still in circulation. But the claim to solve the problem of fragmentation with a wholeness is one that Wolfe's edition could also make, and in its way could make most effectively: with several versions scattered about in 1588, it brings together three key vernaculars. The need in that year seems to have been for a national conversation with a vernacular-international awareness and focus. Hoby's old letter to Hastings provides some elements of such a conversation that had been lost in the removal of the letter to Silva. And these had fresh relevance in Elizabeth's 1588: philosophers can say things to kings that others dare not say; people who lead and rule must first rule themselves; and there is a living analogy between Cicero's orator and Castiglione's courtier.

Furthermore, Hoby's long, famous defence of translation takes on a new relevance in Wolfe's edition. The letter to Hastings says that English writers must translate knowledge from Greek and Latin into English. Translation is 'learning itself'.³⁴ A printer like Wolfe, competing with the four Latin editions printed in England since 1571, must have felt support for his multi-vernacular book project here, along with what may have been a growing sense that international Latinity did not have the same value as vernacular cosmopolitanism, and that the latter was perhaps more urgently needed. If part of Wolfe's agenda was to display English as a vernacular parallel to, even equal to, French and Italian – that is, to raise the status of English letters in the bright light of socially mobile, Elizabethan *realpolitik*, not in the fading glow of an increasingly elite *aeternitas* – that agenda was well served in his choice to reprint Hoby's letter to Hastings. In addition to the letter's pro-vernacular and pro-translation stance, two main passages assert that England is lacking in letters:

As I therefore haue to my smal skil bestowed some labour about this piece of woork, euen so coulde I wishe with al my hart, profounde learned men in the Greeke and Latin shoulde make the lyke prooffe, and euerye manne store the tunge accordinge to hys knowledge and delite aboue other men, in some piece of learnynge, *that we alone of the worlde maye not bee styll counted barbarous in our tunge, as in time out of minde we haue bene in our maners.* And so shall we perchance in time become as famous in Englande as the learned men of other nations haue ben and presently are. (my emphasis)

³⁴ 'So that to be skillfull and exercised in authours translated, is no lesse to be called learning, then in the very same in the Latin or Greeke tunge. Therefore the translation of Latin or Greeke authours, doeth not onely not hinder learning, but it furthereth it, yea it is learning it self. . . .'

His letter continues: 'In this pointe (I knowe not by what destinye) Englishemen are muche inferiour to well most all other Nations:' – that they do not translate or use foreign texts as much or as well. Then, after traditional modesty and fidelity topoi, Hoby boasts that his version is truer to Castiglione's than are other language versions.

I haue endeouored my self to folow the very meaning & woordes of the Author, without being mislead by fansie, or leauing out any percell one or other, wherof I knowe not how some interpreters of this booke into other languages can excuse themselues, and *the more they be conferred, the more it will perchaunce appeere.* (my emphasis)

Hoby's boast invites just the kind of textual comparisons that Wolfe's edition, twenty-seven years later, will make immediately possible on every page, for the first time within the covers of one *Courtier* volume. Now, finally, reading this letter in this volume, one can turn immediately to Wolfe's trilingual pages to make a trial, and 'conferre' or compare. Thus Wolfe not only underscores Hoby's claim about England's need for improved vernacular multilingualism, but provides the practical means for the reader to accept Hoby's challenge to compare versions. That is, in changing Hoby's translation from substitutive (or prophylactic) to heuristic, Wolfe could also actualize what Hoby had advocated in this letter.³⁵

Wolfe's new title page (Fig. 1) further positions the book in a court context; the edition directly addresses 'the changed political and social circumstances' of the late-Elizabethan court,³⁶ where the need for English identity that also foregrounds an international position seems to have become acute in the pre-Armada decade. Courtiership of a certain kind, as we know from the work of Javitch, Bates, May, and others, was required and connected to Elizabethan literary production; for our purposes, Wolfe's tri-column format participates in that by making explicit – indeed by making impossible to ignore – the demand for courtiers with transnational facility, fluidity, and fluency. And like everything else in the *Courtier*, the transnational imperative has an aspirational or idealizing aspect: it is intended as a guide for what to emulate or imitate. It makes sense that Elizabeth's courtiers should imitate her multilingualism and aspire to display (with *sprezzatura*, deference, and at least an appearance of humility) their language skills and cosmopolitan awareness. That is, polyglot, polycultural courtiership was at that late-Tudor moment an increasingly

³⁵ Wolfe also retains elements of apparatus, and enhances the 'contentes' page. 'The contentes of this book', listing the four books' topics, now comes after Hoby's letter and immediately precedes the body of the work, just as in Denham's edition of 1577. But where Denham had used only headpiece and tailpiece framing, Wolfe surrounds the 'contentes' with an elaborate, prominent 31-mm wide arabesque-vine L-pieced encadrement. After the four books of the *Courtier*, Wolfe also retains, but does not enhance, Hoby's summative pages, 'A briefe rehearsall of the chiefe conditions and qualities required of a Courtier' and 'Of the chief conditions and qualities of a waiting Gentlewoman'. These pieces had appeared in many previous editions; they serve readers who want summary and abstract, divided by gender.

³⁶ Daniel Javitch, *The Bok of the Courtier*, viii, *et passim*.

important part of the system of aspirational behavior at court. Wolfe's *mise-en-page* and revision of the paratexts foreground that aspect of the work and provide the means to actualize it on each page. His edition guides the English courtier specifically in aspiring to transnational fluencies.

CONCLUSION

Although many editions and translations of the *Book of the Courtier* were available in England, Wolfe's edition establishes a different relation between the English and the prior-foreign texts: not appropriative (as most translation had been in England), and neither prophylactic nor substitutive (as Hoby's had been for at least some influential readers). Although his *Courtier* merely reprints three of the available versions together with paratexts that were twenty-seven years old, it is a 'translation' in the same sense that every edition is a 'translation': it transforms, by textual action, the meaning of the prior text(s) for a new readership having needs unmet in existing versions. These trilingual columns specifically enact and empower a point of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* in ways that previous editions could not do: that the good courtier must move fluently among not just languages but among cultural styles. English courtiers, English letters, and indeed England itself, could indeed compete in an increasingly sophisticated, internationalizing context. English could take its place alongside the other major-culture vernaculars, at least in the conceptual and visual equality of Wolfe's parallel columns. A style-fluent, polyglot courtiership was the kind England needed in 1588; his edition encouraged it. The printer's material 'translation' of existing texts creates a special attention to the foreign, activates the work's heuristic energies along a newly transnational path, and implicitly repositions England as an equal alongside its most important vernacular neighbours.

What Hoby had told his readers was an appropriated, substitute, 'Englished' *Courtyer*, and what Ascham had praised as a prophylactic against the foreign, Wolfe awarded a new transnational engagement and equality. His *Courtier* reimagined the *Courtyer's* position relative to the continent, giving a new answer to the old English predicament of both wanting and not wanting what the continent had to offer. Although Wolfe left largely untouched both the content and prose form of the work's three versions, he did much more than simply multiply by three the Hoby translation's appropriative impulses. Wolfe's new-old, English-with-foreign pages, together with his pruned paratexts, inculcate an immediacy, an openness to differences, and an ease with alterity. Here was a new vision of the 'English[ed]': not protected by substitution or armchair appropriation, and textually, at least, fully present, equal, and engaged *in* the world.