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Italianate Books of John Wolfe:
His Furtive Publication of Machiavelli and Aretino in the 1580s [*]

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In the second half of the sixteenth century, when book publishing marked a dramatic growth to become the most important medium of text transmission in England, the publication of Italian books seems to have borne a special meaning. It was Roger Ascham, an English scholar known as a tutor to Elizabeth I, who explicitly showed a remarkable attitude towards them in his educative treatise, *The Schoolmaster*, issued in 1570: [1]

> these books made in Italy and translated in England… open, not fond and common ways to vice, but such subtle, cunning, new, and divers shifts, to carry young wills to vanity, and young wits to mischief, to teach old bawds new school points, as the simple head of an Englishman is not able to invent, nor never was heard of in England before. [2]

After displaying anxiety about an adverse influence which Italian books would exercise on the English, he continues thus:

> there be more of these ungracious books set out in print within these few months, than have been seen in England many score years before. …therefore these Italian books are made English, to bring mischief enough openly and boldly to all states, great and mean, young and old, every where. [3]

Although the author does not name specific works he bears in mind, his remarks clearly

indicate how Italian books were novel and stimulating, and often regarded as dangerous, in early modern England.[4]

Despite Ascham's serious uneasiness at the increasing, harmful effect of immoral Italian publications, the number of printed books concerning Italy grew further for the rest of the Elizabethan era stirring up greater interest in Italian culture and literature.[5] One of the triggers for the spread of Italian printings would have been the publishing undertaking launched by John Wolfe, a printer who pioneered in the publication of Italian text in London.[6] What should be noted here is, however, that this new attempt was completely unusual because Wolfe utilized his skill in Italian printing to publish prohibited books by Machiavelli and Aretino surreptitiously. In order to disguise his books as those published in Italy, the printer appears to have adopted various devices scarcely observed in books issued in contemporary England. Although Wolfe started up this enterprise aiming mainly at the foreign market, it consequently provided Elizabethans with the sensational political and literary works which must have been hardly available in England at that time. For the purpose of investigating Wolfe's pioneering venture, this essay examines his furtively published Italian books chiefly through bibliographical analysis, and then surveys their influence on contemporaries focusing on several noteworthy descriptions in English literary works of the time.[7]

It is obvious that the professional career of John Wolfe was unique among other Elizabethan printers.[8] Despite his membership in the Fishmongers' Company, Wolfe started the profession of publishing as an apprentice to John Day, a London printer, in 1562. After working under Day for seven years, he went to Italy to learn printing technique at some time between 1569 and 1579. Although almost nothing is known about his stay in Italy, due to several appearances of his name on the imprint stamped in Florence, the young publisher almost certainly worked in the city at least in 1576.[9] After returning to England, Wolfe started his own business in London in 1581.[10] It was in that very year that Wolfe released *La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore* advertising it as the first Italian book issued in London.[11] Since not only being a man well-versed in Italian but also working with Italian émigrés in the capital such as Giovanni Battista Castiglione, a tutor to Elizabeth I, and Petruccio Ubaldini, a writer and courtier of the Queen, the printer seems to have succeeded in the experimental attempt at printing books in Italian.

Three years later, in 1584, Wolfe embarked on a further challenging venture: publica-

tion of books prohibited on the Continent. In the Catholic countries, book publishing had been strictly regulated by the Church since *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, a list of volumes considered to be immoral, heretical or lecherous, was announced by the Pope Paul IV in 1559. Wolfe, who should have been familiar with the ban through his experience in Italy, seems to have hit upon the publication of works on the *Index* which must have been hard to obtain throughout Europe at that time. Among numerous proscribed books, it was writings of two fairly popular Italian authors, namely Niccolò Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino, that the printer chose for his business.

Issuing these famous Italian writers' books appears to have been Wolfe's ingenious idea for survival in the publishing market in London. As Woodfield argues introducing a remark of Christopher Barker, the Queen's printer of the time, there were '22 printing howses in London where 8 or 10 at the most would suffice for all England, yea and Scotland too',[12] London was overcrowded with printing offices in the second half of the sixteenth century. Since popular copies were already possessed and published by several privileged leading printers, it appears that minor publishers often faced a shortage of English materials worth issuing. In fact, probably in order to resolve such a serious situation, Wolfe, who just had established his own press, started the illegal publication of texts which belonged to his rivals in 1581. The reckless venture was soon revealed and resulted in failure, but it seems that the very incident led him to print major Italian texts which had been scarcely issued in England.

What is notable here is, however, that Wolfe aimed to publish those Italian books not only for the domestic trade but rather for the Continental market. Noticing a large demand for the forbidden books on the Continent again from his experience in Italy, Wolfe presumably brought copies he printed in England to the Frankfurt Book Fair, the most significant book market in Europe in the sixteenth century. According to Woodfield's survey of the catalogues of the book fair, at least five of Wolfe's issues of Machiavelli and Aretino were sold there.[13] As the fact that the printer regularly sent his books to the annual market until 1591 implies, he seems to have achieved good sales on the Continent.

Although such a bold attempt apparently looks unlawful, it was not in contravention of any contemporary regulations because there was no international law against violation of the copyright by a foreign printer, and justifiably because England was excluded from the rule

of the Catholic Church at that time. Hence, Wolfe even entered almost all of the prohibited Italian books he issued to the Stationers' Register.[14] What should be noted here is, however, that he never left an imprint which refers to his name and location on these publications. Woodfield explains that the reason Wolfe concealed his identity resulted from the poor reputation contemporary English printers held.[15] In fact, Giordano Bruno, who stayed in England for two years from 1585, speaks on his books published in London as follows:

> tutti quelli che dicono nella impression loro, che sono stampati in Venetia, sono stati stampati in Inghilterra et fu il stampator, che volse metterve che erano stampati in Venetia per venderli più facilmnente, et acciò havessero maggior esito, perché quando s'havesse detto, che fossero starmpati, in Inghilterra più difficilmente se haveriano venduti in quelle parti, et quasi tutti li altri ancora sono stampati in Inghilterra, ancor che dicano a Parisi, o altrove.[16]

> [All those which set forth on the title-page that they were printed at Venice were really printed in London. The printer wished it to appear that they were printed in Venice to secure a better sale and get them abroad better; for if had been indicated that they were printed in England their sale would have been more difficult. They were all printed in England although they bear the mark of Paris and elsewhere.][17]

As is suggested by this remark, in order to succeed in selling his books abroad, Wolfe could not reveal himself as an English printer.

In this way, Wolfe published twelve surreptitious issues including four reprints between 1584 and 1589.[18] What each of the surviving copies clearly indicates is that the printer not only concealed, or sometimes disguised, his identity but also used various devices so as to make his books Italianate and attractive to consumers. First of all, the most remarkable feature of Wolfe's furtive Italian copies would be their cunning imprints on the title-page. In order to conceal the English origin of his publications, in fact, he anonymously released two out of twelve printings of Machiavelli and Aretino (STC 17163.5 and 19911), while using various counterfeit Italian printer's names and Italianate locations in the others.[19] For example, four issues of Machiavelli printed in 1584 and 1587 (STC 17159, 17159.5,

17167 and 17163) bear the same imprint 'In Palermo: Appresso gli heredi d'Antonello degli Antonegli', with which Wolfe disguises himself as the successor of an imaginary printer in Palermo.

In addition, in the first and second parts of Aretino's *Ragionamenti* (STC 19911.5, 19912 and 19912a), Wolfe claims the place of publication to be 'la nobil citta di Bengodi', a fictitious utopian Italianate city described in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.[20] What seems further noteworthy here is that, as for these two issues, it is difficult to discern the location at a glance because the reference appears not on the title-page but at the end of the printer's preface and in the colophon. Moreover, Wolfe utilizes the colophon as a warranty of the book stating that 'Stampata, con buona licenza…nella nobil citta di Bengodi, nel'Italia'.[21] It is highly doubtful whether such false information successfully cheated contemporary consumers, but this instance plainly shows Wolfe's commercial use of forged imprints.

While inventing these fictional imprints, Wolfe borrows a real Italian printer's name in one of the issues; he announces himself as the successor of 'Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari' in Machiavelli's *Historie Fiorentine* in 1587 (STC 17161). Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari is a leading Venetian printer famous for the publication of Italian literature. Since the fame of Giolito de Ferrari still endured after his death in 1578, it seems that Wolfe utilized the Italian publisher's name, again with the aim of increasing sales on the Continent.

Besides their imprints, frontispieces of Wolfe's surreptitiously published copies also appear to play an important role in his attempt to produce Italianate books. For instance, as McKerrow points out, the rectangular woodcut of a palm tree observed in four issues of Machiavelli which share the same fictive imprint (STC 17159, 17159.5, 17167 and 17163) is thought to have been cut specifically for these volumes.[22] Since printers of the time usually employed the same woodcut in a number of books due to its costliness, it is remarkable that Wolfe introduced the brand-new device for the works of Machiavelli. The large frontispiece scarcely observed in contemporary English printings should have been useful for the publisher to make the title-page look Italianate.

In order to achieve high credibility of his book, furthermore, Wolfe provides one of the issues with a special frontispiece: an imitation of a device actually used by an Italian publisher. One of issues of Machiavelli (STC 17161) also borrows its frontispiece from the Italian printer's publication. The woodcut on its title-page, which closely resembles

the device of Giolito de Ferrari, is regarded as its faithful copy also cut exclusively for this volume.[23] These instances strongly suggest the English printer's considerable attention to frontispieces in his furtive Italian printing.

In the colophon of the books concerned, there can be also found some devices Wolfe specially introduced for his surreptitious Italian publication. One of them is the record of collation called 'Registro' which appears in six out of twelve volumes in question. The note which usually appears in a blank space left on the final page of the main text tells the order of signatures on each sheet and the format of the issue. Since it was frequently observed in contemporary books printed in Italy but hardly inserted in publications issued in Elizabethan England, this bibliographical description should be another element Wolfe added to his publications so as to disguise them.

In addition to the register, most of Wolfe's copies of Machiavelli and Aretino contain errata at their very end. It seems that the publisher earnestly created corrigenda for his copies because books with errata were regarded as up-to-date and credible, and therefore, preferred by customers. Due to his great eagerness for corrections, however, Wolfe's errata sometimes appear to be excessive. For instance, one extant copy of *Il Principe* (STC 17167) has two different errata at the beginning and the end of the volume.[24] Furthermore, in Machiavelli's *L'asino d'oro* (STC 17158), the errata is printed on the reverse side of the final page of the main text before the record of the collation. This probably means that Wolfe completed the errata no later than the composition of the last sheet, and moreover, he might have prepared the corrigenda previously as a part of the first draft.

Another notable errata is found in the second edition of Machiavelli's *Discorsi* (STC 17159.5). Bearing the fictitious imprint that declares its publishing location to be Palermo, this volume is supplemented with a corrigenda which carries the following appeal by Wolfe to readers under the list of corrections:

> L'aueduto, & discrete lettore ammendera da se gli altri minori errori…perdonan-dogli a compositori, i quali per essere eglino Siciliani, & per non saper la fauella toscana, con tutta le loro diligenza non gli hanno potuti schifare.

> [The sensible and discrete reader will amend other minor errors by himself…

pardoning the compositors who could not avoid the errors even with their full diligence because being Sicilian and not understanding the Tuscan language.][25]

The printer here makes an apology for the poor quality of his Italian text set by English compositors falsely claiming that it was done by Sicilians not well acquainted with the Florentine's elaborate Italian language. This remark, by which Wolfe eagerly conceals the book's English origin, strongly suggests the arbitrariness of his choice of Palermo, whose cultural prestige could not match that of other principal Italian city states at that time. It can be argued, therefore, that these examples of errata as well as other remarkable traits of Wolfe's furtive publications overall demonstrate how Wolfe was keen on making his publications internationally competitive.[26]

As these bibliographical features show, Wolfe disguised his copies of Machiavelli and Aretino mainly assuming the Continental book market. However, his Italianate publications must have also been popular in contemporary England where imported foreign books were highly valued.[27] It was only those who had Italian literacy that could read these authors' works,[28] but the notorious images of the Italian writers seem to have spread to the public mainly through writings of contemporary Englishmen who probably read Wolfe's editions.[29] In fact, as if reacting to their publication in London in the 1580s, a number of English writers started referring to Machiavelli and Aretino in their own literary works in the next decade. For instance, composed about 1590, Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* depicts a character called 'Machevil' who delivers the prologue:

> MACHEVIL　To some perhaps my name is odious,
> But such as love me guard me from their tongues;
> And let them know that I am Machevil,
> And weigh not men, and therefore not men's words.
> Admired I am of those that hate me most:
> Though some speak openly against my books,
> Yet will they read me, and thereby attain
> To Peter's chair; and when they cast me off
> Are poisoned by my climbing followers.[30]

Although the character seems to be fairly vulgarized for the general audience, this passage indicates how common the notion of Machiavellian guile was, which originated in his notorious political treatises typified by *Il Principe*. As the fact that Machiavelli is referred to not only in political discourses but also in popular literature suggests, his recognition in England steadily grew after Wolfe's publication.

Furthermore, the other Italian writer, Aretino also made a strong impact on English authors in the 1590s. Above all, Thomas Nashe would be the one who most eagerly adopted Aretino's provocative works at that time. Nashe, who expresses his deep devotion to Aretino in writing that 'of all stiles I most affect & striue to imitate *Aretines*'[31] in the preface to the reader of *Nashe's Lenten Stuff* in 1599, also mentions him in *The Unfortunate Traveller* published in 1594. In the picaresque fiction which describes an imaginary journey to Italy, Nashe enthusiastically praises the notorious author, interrupting the main plot:

> let me speake a word or two of this *Aretine*. It was one of the wittiest knaues that euer God made. If out of so base a thing as inke there may bee extracted a spirite, hee writ with nought but the spirite of inke, and his stile was the spiritualitie of artes, and nothing else; whereas all others of his age were but the lay temporaltie of inkehorne tearmes. For indeede they were meere temporizers, and no better. His pen was sharp pointed lyke a poinyard; no leafe he wrote on but was lyke a burning glasse to set on fire all his readers. With more than musket shot did he charge his quill, where he meant to inueigh. No houre but hee sent a whole legion of deuils into some heard of swine or other.[32]

As these instances show, Machiavelli and Aretino were sensationally received by the English in the 1590s. Although it is difficult to prove the direct impact of Wolfe's publication on Elizabethan literature, in light of the fact that literary references to the Italian authors began to be conspicuous almost concurrently with Wolfe's undertaking, it seems plausible that the furtively published Italian books played a part at least in heightening recognition of Machiavelli and Aretino and diffusing their unethical and wicked image in England. Thus, ironically, the situation in the 1590s where dangerous and immoral ideas and thoughts derived from

Italian books became widely known was coincident with the very picture Ascham feared several decades ago.

It appears that, however, the sensation these Italian authors caused in England did not last long supposedly because of their rapid spread to the public. As if reflecting the change of the general attitude towards the writer, a reference to Aretino that appears in Ben Jonson's *Volpone, or the Fox* premiered in 1606, displays an obvious difference from those written in the previous decade. Set in Venice, the comedy depicts an English gentlewoman called Lady Would-be, who visits there with her husband. Within the play Lady Would-be repeatedly displays her immense knowledge of Italy which she has acquired through books in England:

> LADY WOULD-BE   Which o'your poets? Petrarch? or Tasso? or Dante?
>
> Guarini? Ariosto? Aretine?
>
> Cieco di Hadria? I have read them all.[33]

When showing off her familiarity with Italian literature by enumerating famous writers, she mingles Aretino with highly honourable literary figures including Dante and Petrarch. This passage may be interpreted as an evidence of her knowledge of Italian authors so superficial that she cannot distinguish Aretino from prestigious Italian poets, but it also seems to imply that by that time the notorious writer was no longer seen as stimulating and dangerous but became merely one of many Italian writers. Direct and easy accessibility to their works achieved by Wolfe's innovative publication in the 1580s eventually brought the situation in the early seventeenth century where the detrimental Italian authors were considerably popularized losing their former shocking impact on Englishmen.[34]

In conclusion, Wolfe's ambitious attempt at issuing forbidden Italian writings was carried out with unique publishing skill and knowledge the printer acquired in Italy, and his volumes disguised as Italian books were widely sold both on the Continent and in England. However, it is noteworthy here that, although the venture seems to have been successful, he finished it in 1589, only after five years from the start.[35] Moreover, in 1591 Wolfe also ceased non-anonymous publication of Italian texts, and never released any issue in Italian again.[36] It seems that, having grown into one of the principal printers in London, he preferred dealing in political pamphlets or English literary works instead of Italian books in the latter half of his

career. This might not have been irrelevant to the fact that Italy began to lose its popularity as a cultural cutting-edge both in England and on the Continent in the seventeenth-century. Although Wolfe's surreptitious Italian publication was a short-term enterprise conducted entirely for commercial purposes, it still appears certain that his adventurous business greatly affected contemporary English authors, and even changed the image of Italy in the late Elizabethan era.

Appendix[37]

Year	STC	Author	Short Title	Imprint
1584	17159	Machiavelli, N.	*Discorsi*	Palermo: Appresso gli heredi d'Antoniello degli Antonielli
	17159.5	Machiavelli, N.	*Discorsi* (Another issue)	Palermo: Appresso gli heredi d'Antoniello degli Antonielli
	17167	Machiavelli, N.	*Il Principe*	Palermo: Appresso gli heredi d'Antoniello degli Antonielli
	19911.5	Aretino, P.	*Ragionamenti* [Part I-II]	la nobil citta di Bengodi
	19912	Aretino, P.	*Ragionamenti* [Part I-II] (Another issue)	la nobil citta di Bengodi
	19912a	Aretino, P.	*Ragionamenti* [Part I-II] (Another issue)	la nobil citta di Bengodi
1587	17161	Machiavelli, N.	*Historie Fiorentine*	Piacenza: Appresso gli heredi di Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari
	17163	Machiavelli, N.	*Arte della Guerra*	Palermo: Appresso Antonello degli Antonelli
	17163.5	Machiavelli, N.	*Arte della Guerra* (Another issue)	None
1588	17158	Machiavelli, N.	*L'asino d'oro*	Roma
	19911	Aretino, P.	*Quattro Comedie*	None
1589	19913	Aretino, P.	*Ragionamenti* [Part III]	Appresso Gio. Andrea del Melagrano

Notes

1   This work was published posthumously in 1570. It seems worthwhile to indicate here that its sole existing holograph (London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B xxiv, Article 2), thought to have been composed in the mid- or late 1560s, does not include the reference to the rise of Italian books in London which appears in the printed text. This probably suggests that a considerable number of Italian books began to be supplied in London at around the time, and it urged Ascham to express his concern over their negative impact on his countrymen's morality. For further argument on the manuscript of *The Schoolmaster,* see George B. Parks, 'The First Draft of Ascham's "Scholemaster"', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 1 (1938), 313-27.

2   *The Scholemaster,* in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham: Now First Collected and Revised, with a Life of the Author,* rev. by John Allen Giles, Library of Old Authors, 3 vols (London: J.R. Smith, 1864-1865), III, pp. 64-276 (pp. 159-60).

3   Ibid., p. 160.

4   It should be noted that Ascham was not hostile to all Italian books. In spite of his antipathy toward 'ungracious' Italian books, the educationalist well versed in Italian literature and culture praises several Italian writings such as *Il Cortegiano* by Baldassare Castiglione recommending them to young gentlemen (Ibid., p. 141).

5   According to the bibliography compiled by Tomita, in fact, the number of books written in Italian or by Italian authors printed in Elizabethan England increased significantly between 1584 and 1600. Refer to the chart in Soko Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558-1603* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 33.

6   Due to Wolfe's introduction of Italian printing, Italian became the third popular foreign language used in books published in England in the sixteenth century after Latin and Law French. See the table in *Foreign-Language Printing in London 1500-1900,* ed. by Barry Taylor (Boston Spa: British Library, 2002), p. 264.

7   In addition to the studies to which this article will make specific reference, there are other preceding researches concerning the publisher: A. Gerber, 'All of the Five Fictitious Italian Editions of Writings of Machiavelli and Three of those of Pietro Aretino Printed by John Wolfe of London (1584-1589)', *Modern Language Notes,* 22 (1907), pp. 201-6, Peter S. Donaldson, 'John Wolfe, Machiavelli, and the Republican Arcana in Sixteenth-Century England' in Peter S. Donaldson, *Machiavelli and Mystery of State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 86-110, and Sonia Massai, 'John Wolfe and the Impact of Exemplary Go-Betweens on Early Modern Print Culture' in *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels,

Spectrum Literature (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 104-18.

8   Wolfe's biographical information in this essay is largely based on his entry by Ian Gadd in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

9   Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550-1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973), p. 6.

10   Although books with his imprint have already appeared in 1579, they are generally regarded not as Wolfe's own products. See, Woodfield, p. 8.

11   Its Italian author, Petruccio Ubaldini writes in the preface that 'l'opere Italiane non men si possono stampar felicemente in Londra, che le si stampino altroue (essendo questa la prima) per studio, & diligenza di Giouanni Wolfio suo cittadino: per la commodità del quale altre opere potere hauer nella medesima lingua di giorno in giorno [Italian works can be printed no less easily in London than they are printed elesewhere (this being the first), through the skill and diligence of John Wolfe her own citizen, by whose efforts you could have other works in the same language day by day]' (Petruccio Ubaldini, *La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore* [London: John Wolfe, 1581], A2v; English translation in Jason Lawrence, '*Who the Devil Taught Thee So Much Italian?: Italian Language Learning and Literary Imitation in Early Modern England* [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005], p. 187)' However, this was actually not the first Italian book published in England. See Tomita, pp. 235-36.

12   *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.*, ed. by Edward Arber, 5 vols (London, 1875-94), I, 144. In addition, see Woodfield, p. 8.

13   For further detail, see Appendix H in Woodfield, pp. 187-88.

14   Wolfe entered six out of eight titles into the Stationers' Register except Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra* published in 1587 (STC 17163 and 17163.5). See Appendix of Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York: AMS Press, 1988), pp. 133-61.

15   Woodfield, p. 9.

16   Domenico Berti, *Giordano Bruno da Nola: sua vita e sua dottarina*, 2nd edn (Torino: G.B. Paravia, 1889), p. 399. This testimony of Bruno is cited from the record of the Inquisition held in Venice in 1592.

17   The English translation is taken from William Boulting, *Giordano Bruno: His Life, Thought and Martyrdom* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1914), p. 100.

18   For their bibliographical details, refer to Appendix.

19   It is notable that the year of publication is mentioned in all of the issues including the two anonymous ones. Despite his use of false printer's names and locations, Wolfe did not misrepresent the date of publication possibly because he was well aware that books with the latest date tended to be preferred by purchasers.

20   The reference to Bengodi appears in the third story of the eighth day of *Decameron*. It is

briefly depicted as a Basque town filled up with fine foods and wine (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Tutte le Opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. by Vittore Branca, I Classici Mondadori, 10 vols [Milano: Mondadori, 1964-99], IV [1976], p. 682). The word 'Bengodi', composed of *bene*, 'well', and *godi*, the imperative mode of *godere*, 'to enjoy', is a coinage of Boccaccio, though nowadays being used as a common noun which signifies a utopia.

21 Pietro Aretino, *La Prima Parte de Ragionamenti* (London: John Wolfe, 1584); STC 19911.5, fleuron 6r.

22 Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640* (London: Chiswick Press, 1913), p. 86.

23 Ibid., p. 97.

24 I investigated a copy owned by the Harvard University Library on *Early English Books Online*.

25 *I Discorsi di Nicolo Machiavelli* (London: John Wolfe, 1584); STC 17159.5, Cc8v. The English translation is mine.

26 It may be also worth noting that *Il Principe* Wolfe printed in the same year as the second issue of *Discorsi* is supplemented with the very errata of *Discorsi* at least in the copy of the Harvard University published on *EEBO*. This would be the publisher's careless mistake, but it is also possible that he intentionally inserted it in order to pretend the revise of text, though of course the corrigenda is completely useless for the very volume.

27 See Woodfield, p. 9.

28 Most of the English translations of the works by the Italian authors were not available in print until the middle of the seventeenth century. In fact, the first English version of Aretino appeared in 1635 followed by those in 1660 and 1661. As for Machiavelli, while some of his books regarded as less harmless were issued in translation in the sixteenth century (*Dell'Arte della Guerra* and *Istorie Fiorentine* were printed in 1562 and 1595, respectively), the translation of *Il Principe*, his most notorious writing, was not available in English until 1640.

29 There is no evidence that the English writers this essay focuses on possessed Wolfe's copies and composed their works referring to them. It is known that, however, several Elizabethan courtiers and intellectuals certainly learnt Machiavelli and Aretino from the publisher's products. In fact, according to a catalogue, William Cecil appears to have owned two Machiavelli's and two Aretino's editions released by Wolfe in his library. Moreover, Gabriel Harvey, a close friend to the printer, also perused Wolfe's version of Machiavelli. For further discussion on the dissemination of Wolfe's publications in England, see John L. Lievsay, *The Englishman's Italian Books, 1550-1700* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969), pp. 19-23. As for Harvey's collection of books, refer to Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: A Study of His Life, Marginalia, and Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

30 Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. by N. W. Bawcutt, The Revels Plays (Manchester:

Manchester University Press, 1978), Prologue, 5-13.

31 *Nashe's Lenten Stuff* in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 2nd edn, ed. by Ronald B. McKerrow, rev. by F. P. Wilson, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), III, pp. 147-226 (p. 152).

32 *The Unfortunate Traveller* in Ibid., II, pp. 201-328 (p. 264).

33 *Volpone, or the Fox* in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), III, pp. 25-187 (3. 4. 79-81).

34 As for Machiavelli, the scheming impression of the Florentine politician survived in English literature mainly as a stereotype of stage villains such as Lorenzo in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Barabas in *The Jew of Malta*, Iago in *Othello* and Flamineo in *The White Devil*. However, this does not necessarily indicate that the impact of Machiavelli lasted long because his image seems to have remained just as an abstract concept inseparable from other knavish characters. The reception of Machiavelli in early modern England is fully discussed in 'The Politic Brain: Machiavelli and the Elizabethans' in Mario Praz, *The Flaming Heart: Essays on Crashaw, Machiavelli, and Other Studies in the Relations between Italian and English Literature from Chaucer to T.S. Eliot* (New York: Doubleday, 1958), pp. 90-145.

35 Although Wolfe's undertaking of surreptitious printing is thought to have been succeeded by his corroborator, Richard Field, the inheritor did not issue any of Machiavelli's and Aretino's volumes but instead furtively published literary works or pamphlets written in various foreign vernaculars. For further argument on Field's enterprise, see 'Richard Field (1588-1624): the Successor' in Woodfield, pp. 34-45.

36 Wolfe's last Italian publications are Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* and Ubaldini's *Le Vite delle Donne Illustri*, both released in 1591. After them, he never worked on Italian text again until his death in 1601. It is interesting to point out here that in 1591 Wolfe also printed an anti-Italian pamphlet entitled *A Discouery of the Great Subtiltie and Wonderful Wisedome of the Italians*, which bitterly criticizes Roman Catholicism and Machiavellian cunning nature of the Italian.

37 This list gives brief bibliographical information on books by Machiavelli and Aretino printed by John Wolfe. It is based on *The English Short Title Catalogue*, the bibliographical catalogues of Tomita and Appendix of Huffman's study (Huffman, pp. 133-61).