"Scandalous Speech and Slanderous Libelles": Robert Peterson, Claudio Tolomei, and the Translation of Free Speech in Early Modern England

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"Scandalous Speech and Slanderous Libelles": Robert Peterson, Claudio Tolomei, and the Translation of Free Speech in Early Modern England

by John-Mark Philo

At the turn of the seventeenth century, Robert Peterson, an attorney working at the heart of Elizabethan government, translated one of the most detailed works on free speech to have emerged from the early modern era: Claudio Tolomei's treatise on "la libertà del parlare." Drawing on sources ancient and contemporary, Tolomei puts forward a rich and wide-ranging account of free speech and its implications for the prince and the smooth operation of government. This article offers the first analysis of Peterson's manuscript translation of Tolomei, locating it among the most important legislative trends concerning free speech in late Elizabethan England.

In around 1600, Robert Peterson (fl. 1562–1606), attorney to the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, completed a translation of Claudio Tolomei's discourse on "freedom of speech" ("la libertà del parlare").[1] The manuscript, preserved at Lambeth Palace Library (MS 518) and hitherto unstudied, constitutes one of the most detailed engagements with free speech to have survived from early modern England.[2] The full title reads:

[1] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei* (Venice, 1565), 207v.

[2] Lambeth Palace Library MS 518, 1. The manuscript can now be accessed online via Lambeth Palace Library's Luna Catalogue: https://images.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/luna/servlet/detail/LPLIBLPL~17~17~179967~127855?qvq=q:tolomei&mi=0&trs=1. This manuscript (hereafter LP MS 518) will be cited throughout for Peterson's translation. Unless otherwise noted, translations of foreign-language materials are my own.

A Letter of Claudio Tolomei towching Scandalous Speech and Slanderous Libelles spredd by lewd Persons against their Prince. And wheather it be more convenient for a Prince to Inflict punishment uppon them that so do; Or to leave a Libertie to all men to speake or write their pleasure. First written in Italion and now done into Englishe by Robert Peterson gent and one of the Attorneys attending on her M*ajes*tes Ho*nourable* Court of her hignes Duchie of Lancester.

Peterson's translation has been copied across 36 pages in a fair secretary hand on ruled paper, with italic preserved for proper nouns and marginal glosses (see figure 1). There are two notes on pages 11 and 17 written in an italic which does not match the scribal hand responsible for the presentation copy.[3] This is perhaps the hand of Peterson himself, or that of the translation's dedicatee, Thomas Hesketh (1548–1605), attorney to the Court of Wards and Liveries.

Appealing to a wide range of sources, both ancient and contemporary, Tolomei asks, as Peterson translates it, "Whether Princes should punishe them sharpely, that speake or write amisse of them or their doings: Or whether it be better for them to suffer and allow men to speake and write their pleasure."[4] As this suggests, the discourse is most obviously concerned with how free speech affects the prince. Tolomei was interested less in the freedom of the individual to speak his mind than he was in the consequences of such behavior for the monarch and, by extension, for the stability of the state. He deliberately focuses on principalities, not republics, explaining that slander and libel are far more dangerous to the authority of a prince than to that of magistrates.[5] This was an attractive choice of subject matter for an attorney working at the heart of English government. As this article explores, Peterson's translation is a testament not only to the intense interest that Italian political philosophy inspired in Tudor England but also to the enduring preoccupation of the Elizabethan state with the regulation of free speech.

To date, scholarship on free speech in early modern England has explored its function and definition as a rhetorical trope, its importance in contemporary discussions of good counsel, and its status as a parliamentary privilege. Diane Parkin-Speer and David Colclough have

[3] On page 11, this hand has underlined "temples" in the main text of the translation and in the margin has written "Times. Tempi," correcting a slip that was perhaps made by the scribe when transcribing from a rough copy or perhaps by Peterson himself. The same hand appears again on page 17, beside an argument in favor of free speech, where it has underlined "plauges" in the main text and has added in the margin "Lancings, or Incisions. Piaghe" (LP MS 518, 11 and 17).

[4] LP MS 518, 2; cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 205v.

[5] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 206r.

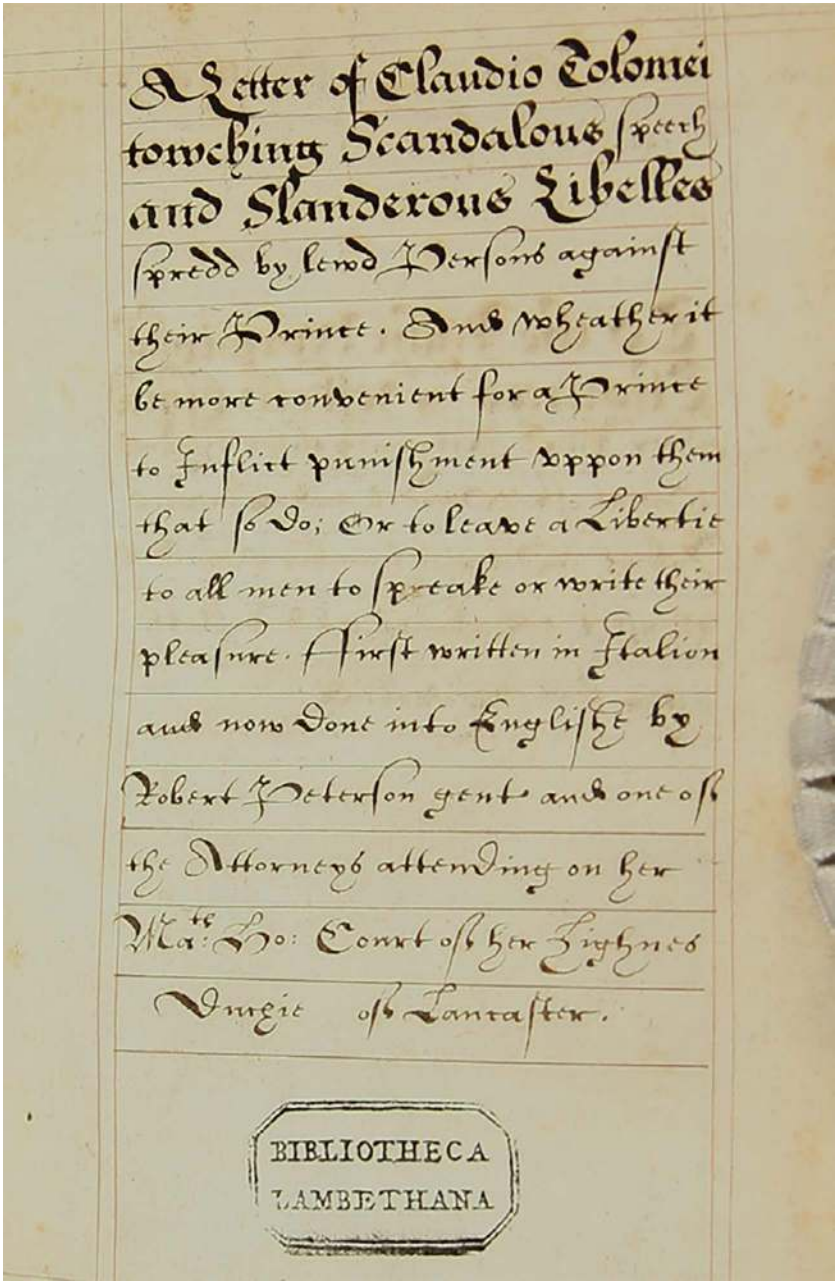

Figure 1. *Lambeth Palace Library MS 518. Reproduced with the generous permission of LPL.*

shown how ancient definitions of free speech as a rhetorical figure (*parrhesia* in the Greek tradition, *licentia* in the Roman) came to be translated and modified in sixteenth-century England in works concerning rhetoric and eloquence, including Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), Henry Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence* (1557), Angel Day's *The English Secretary* (1586), and George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589).[6] Colclough examines the importance placed on offering honest counsel in arguments concerning free speech, noting that "belief in counsel as a central and indispensable component of the political process was the foundation of early modern discussions of and demands for freedom of speech."[7] In her chapter on the diplomat and humanist Thomas Elyot (ca. 1490–1546) and "freeing speech," Joanne Paul has explored the early Tudor understanding of "parrhesia" with an eye to another Greek concept—namely, "kairos," suggesting the proper or opportune moment in which honest counsel might be offered.[8] Focusing on Elyot's works concerning honest counsel, Paul observes that in at least some quarters of Tudor England, free speech was understood "as a duty, requiring deep reflection, education and self-sacrifice."[9] In his contribution to the same volume, Peter Lake similarly discusses the importance of counsel and parrhesia to the understanding of free speech in the period, examining religious controversy and polemic from this perspective. The "Catholic ripostes" to official depictions of Mary Stuart and Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, in which Lake includes *The Treatise of Treasons* (early 1570s), *Leicester's Commonwealth* (1584), and a collection of tracts known as *Cecil's Commonwealth* (early 1590s), "constituted," Lake argues, "complex acts of *parrhesia*."[10]

There are two initial contrasts to be drawn between discussions of free speech in the English tradition, as highlighted above, and Tolomei's treatise on the same. First, the Italian discourse shows little interest in the conceptualization of free speech as a rhetorical figure, and, despite the many examples which Tolomei includes from ancient sources,

[6] Parkin-Speer, "Freedom of Speech in Sixteenth-Century English Rhetorics," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12 (1981): 65–72; and Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 12–76.

[7] Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England*, 62.

[8] Paul, "Thomas Elyot on Counsel, *Kairos,* and Freeing Speech in Tudor England," in *Freedom of Speech, 1500–1850*, ed. Robert G. Ingram, Jason Peacey, and Alex W. Barber (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 28–46.

[9] Ibid., 40.

[10] Peter Lake, "'Free Speech' in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England," in Ingram, Peacey, and Barber, *Freedom of Speech,* 67–68.

he at no point refers to parrhesia/licentia or its treatment at the hands of Isocrates, Demosthenes, Cicero, Quintilian, or the *Ad Herennium*. As explored below, in contrast with those moments highlighted by Parkin-Speer and Colclough, the examples collected by Tolomei more typically have their origins in Roman history as opposed to Greek rhetoric, as well as in vernacular Italian literature, most especially Giovanni Boccaccio and Niccolò Machiavelli. Second, though Tolomei briefly addresses freedom of expression in relation to good counsel, for the most part he emphasizes what the citizen is permitted to say about, rather than to, the prince. As Tolomei explains toward the beginning of his discourse, he seeks to examine "quel che in vergogna si dice de' Principi," or, as Peterson translates it, "the schamefull speech and slanderouse talke that men use of Princes."[11]

If Tolomei showed less interest in the rhetorical dimensions of free speech than his English counterparts, then his focus on the slander of the prince and its impact on the state very much chimed with the late Elizabethan context of Peterson's translation. Between 1597 and 1603, at least two proclamations were published targeting slanderous speech used against the queen and her counselors. In 1600, the queen's printer, Robert Barker (ca. 1568–1646) published a proclamation concerning the punishment of those "which have falsely slandered her Maiesties proceedings and her Ministers, by spreading vile and odious Libels, and brutes to stirre discontentment among her people."[12] During a period of economic hardship for England, rumors had grown concerning the "immoderate transportation of Graine" abroad, despite limited supplies at home, thereby creating "great dearth . . . amongst her people."[13] The proclamation draws attention to verbal disparagements of majesty, highlighting in particular "slanderous speeches" and "slanderous speech and rumour."[14] In 1601, Barker published at the queen's behest a proclamation with a comparable emphasis on "traiterous and slanderous Libels" spread "by some lewde and ungodly persons, tending to the slander of our Royal person and State."[15] Intriguingly, the phrasing here bears a close resonance with the title Peterson chose for his translation, where "slanderous Libels" and "lewde . . . persons"

[11] LP MS 518, 2. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette Libri Delle Lettere*, 205v.
[12] Elizabeth I, *A Proclamation Conteyning her Maiesties Pleasure* (London, 1600), 1r.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., 1v.
[15] Elizabeth I, *By the Queene. Whereas diuers traiterous and slanderous libels haue of late beene dispersed in diuers parts of our citie of London* (London, 1601), 1r.

complement Peterson's "Slanderous Libelles spredd by lewd Persons." Without suggesting that Peterson had this particular proclamation in mind when he undertook his version of Tolomei, it is not unreasonable to assume that he was translating the treatise with an eye to the official governmental responses to slander and libel more generally. The proclamations of 1600 and 1601 were after all only the most recent in a long line of edicts that attempted to curb and control the ways in which English citizens spoke of the queen and her counselors. Indeed, the summer of 1599 had witnessed what Debora Shuger describes as "the single most sweeping act of censorship during the entire period of 1558 to 1641."[16] The Bishops' Ban, as it is now commonly known, was issued to the Stationers' Company by John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, and Richard Bancroft, bishop of London, and prohibited the publication of satires, epigrams, and unlicensed plays and histories. In addition, the ban called for certain works already published to be gathered and "broughte to the Bishop of London to be burnte."[17] As explored below, the subject of satirical verse and its apparent toleration by the Roman Church was very much of interest to Tolomei, offering another link, albeit contrasting, between the Italian treatise and contemporary trends in English legislation.

Whereas the Elizabethan proclamations concerning slander were addressed to the populace at large, the queen also took a special interest in regulating speech within her parliaments, where liberty of speech was understood as a key privilege enjoyed by its members.[18] In the second half of the century, the queen made a series of attempts to limit the definition and application of this privilege.[19] As Elizabeth's reign progressed, and the questions over the unsettled succession and the issue of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587), became more pressing, so too the "admonitions and cautions" with which this privilege was granted became yet more exacting.[20] Elizabeth's attempts to curb discussion

[16] Shuger, *Censorship and Cultural Sensibility: The Regulation of Language in Tudor-Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 76.

[17] The text of the Ban is reproduced in William R. Jones, "The Bishops' Ban of 1599 and the Ideology of English Satire," *Literature Compass* 7 (2010): 332–33. See also Richard A. McCabe, "Elizabethan Satire and the Bishops' Ban of 1599," *Yearbook of English Studies* 11 (1981): 188–93.

[18] For the meeting of politics and rhetorical tropes in Parliament, see Peter Mack, "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 64 (2001): 23–61.

[19] Michael Graves, *Elizabethan Parliaments, 1559–1601*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1996), 47.

[20] T. E. Hartley, ed., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, 3 vols. (London: University of Leicester Press, 1981–95), 1:43.

of matters concerning the church and state in Parliament led to protest from members of the Commons, most notably from the brothers Paul and Peter Wentworth. On February 8, 1576, Peter Wentworth (1524–1597) delivered his celebrated oration on the preservation of free speech, for which he spent the remainder of the session in the Tower. Here Wentworth spoke of "libertye of free speech" as "the only salve to heal all the sores of this common wealth," declaring that "in this House which is tearmed a place of free Speech, there is nothing soe necessary for the preservacion of the prince and state as free speech."[21] Peterson, in his position as attorney for the Duchy of Lancaster, was most probably familiar with the discussions of free speech in the Commons and perhaps more specifically with the legal protections underpinning parliamentary privilege. As Wentworth notes in the same address, "free speech and consience in this place are granted by a speciall law as that without the which the prince and state cannot be preserved or mayntayned."[22] It does not seem unreasonable to assume that while Paul and Peter Wentworth were raising their concerns in Parliament, comparable discussions surrounding liberty of expression were also taking place in the Inns of Court.

About Peterson's early life little is known, save that he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on April 14th, 1562.[23] As the title of the translation notes, he was an attorney for the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, a role defined in John Cowell's glossary of legal terms, *The Interpreter* (1607), as "the second officer in that court . . . chosen rather for some especiall trust reposed in him to deale betweene the king and his tenants, then for any great learning."[24] Cowell's emphasis on "trust" over "learning" notwithstanding, Peterson boasted a keen knowledge of Italian literature and language. Besides the manuscript translation of Tolomei, he published two substantial translations of Italian works in 1576 and 1606 respectively. The first of these was the *Galateo*, Giovanni della Casa's (1503–1556) courtesy book, published together with the *Rime* in 1558. This was apparently the first major translation Peterson had undertaken—he describes it as the "firste fruites of my toile"—and in 1578 it would be republished as an appendix to Walter Darell's *A*

[21] Ibid., 1:425–26.

[22] Ibid., 1:429.

[23] L. G. Kelly, "Peterson, Robert (fl.1562–1606), translator," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[24] Cowell, *The Interpreter: or, Booke Containing the Signification of Words* (Cambridge, 1607), G2v.

Short Discourse of the Life of Servingmen.[25] The *Galateo*, with its instruction in the behavior befitting polite society, served as a complement to Baldassare Castiglione's (1478–1529) *Cortegiano* (1528), which sets out the qualities necessary in the ideal courtier. As Peterson explains in the dedication to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588), the two subjects went hand in hand: "Courtesie and Courtiership, be like Hippocrates twines, that laughe together, and grow together: and are so one affected, that who so divorceth them, destroieth them."[26] With Dudley, Peterson deliberately chose as dedicatee for the translation of the *Galateo* a nobleman who enjoyed close links with the Inns of Court.[27] Some thirty years later, in 1606, Peterson dedicated his second published translation—Giovanni Botero's (1540–1617) *Delle cause della grandezza della città* (1588)—to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton (1540–1617), a key figure in the judiciary and legal networks of Elizabethan England. Admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1560, Egerton was appointed as solicitor general in June 1581, in which role he served as prosecutor in some of the most high-profile trials of the period, including that of Mary, Queen of Scots. Peterson thus dedicated both of his published translations to figures with strong ties to the Inns of Court and to the English judiciary.

In a similar vein, Peterson dedicated the translation of Tolomei's discourse on free speech to a fellow lawyer, "the Right Worshipful Thomas Hesketh Esqui*re*, Her Maj*esti*es Attorney of her Hignes Court of Wardes and Liveries."[28] Having completed his studies at Oxford, Hesketh was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1572. The staunchly anti-Catholic William Perkins dedicated two tracts to Hesketh, and Hesketh himself advocated harsh measures against Catholic priests. In 1597, he was appointed as attorney to the Court of Wards and Liveries, in which role he would have been responsible, as Cowell explains, for "any mater or cause, that

[25] Peterson, *Galateo of Maister Iohn della Casa, Archebishop of Beneventa. Or rather, A Treatise of the Manners and Behaviours, It Behoveth a Man to Use and Eschewe, in His Familiar Conversation* (London, 1576), Aiiv. There have been two more recent editions of Peterson's *Galateo* published della Casa, *Galateo, of Manners and Behaviours in familiar Conversation*, ed. H. J. Reid (London, 1892); and della Casa, *A Renaissance Courtesy-Book: Galateo of Manners and Behaviours*, ed. J. E. Spingarn (Boston: Merrymount Press, 1914).

[26] Peterson, *Galateo*, Aiir–v.

[27] As Marie Axton notes, the parliament and governors of the Inner Temple were indebted to Dudley for his intercession in a dispute with the Middle Temple over Lyons Inn, which had historically fallen under the jurisdiction of the Inner Temple. See Axton, "Robert Dudley and the Inner Temple Revels," *Historical Journal* 13 (1970): 365.

[28] LP MS 518, [iv].

toucheth the possessions and hereditaments limited to the survey and government of this court" and was expected "to councell the king, and the Master of the Court, in all things concerning the same."[29] Hesketh answered directly to William Cecil, who served as Master of the Court from 1561 until his death in 1598, and subsequently to his son, Robert Cecil, who succeeded his father in this office in 1599. In 1598, Hesketh was chosen as one of the justices for the Council of the North, before being knighted in 1603. As the Lambeth Catalog notes, the fact that Peterson addresses Hesketh in his capacity as attorney to the Court of Wards and Liveries (1597 onward), and as "Esquire," as opposed to "Sir" (1603 onward), places the Tolomei translation between 1597 and 1603.[30] The title's reference to Peterson's duties within "her M*ajes*tes Ho*nourable* Court" offers the more specific terminus post quem of March 1603, that is, before the death of the queen. It is not implausible to imagine that Peterson, as with his translations of Botero and della Casa, also intended his translation of Tolomei to be published, though evidence of a printed version has yet to be found.

Claudio Tolomei had himself enjoyed a successful legal career. He studied law at the University of Bologna before becoming a lecturer of civil law at Siena, in which post he served between 1516 and 1518. It was during this period that he produced *De Corruptis Verbis Iuris Civilis*, a legal treatise in which two speakers, the poet Angelo Poliziano and the jurist Giasone del Maino, discuss the current state of Roman law and debate the merits of two rival approaches to jurisprudence, namely the scholastic and the humanist.[31] Banished from Siena in 1516 for his Medician sympathies, Tolomei successfully ingratiated himself at the Papal Court, where he came into the service of Ippolito de' Medici and subsequently Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Parma. In 1545, Tolomei was appointed by Farnese to the *presidenza del supremo consiglio di giustizia* of Parma and Piacenza and in 1549 was elected as bishop of Korčula. Following a successful legal and ecclesiastical career, he was ultimately recalled to Siena in 1551 and subsequently served as ambassador to Henry II of France.

In 1547, Tolomei's *Lettere* were published for the first time at Venice by Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari (d. 1578), boasting seven books of

[29] Cowell, *Interpreter*, G2r.

[30] Lambeth Palace Library, Database of Manuscripts and Archives, https://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=MSS%2f518&pos=4.

[31] See P. Rossi, "Claudio Tolomei e il latino dei giuristi," *Studi senesi* 29 (1913): 356–72.

correspondence, including the discourse on free speech. Tolomei was thus following in the footsteps of his friend Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), whose own *Lettere* had appeared almost a decade before in 1538, "the first vernacular letter collection ever to be printed."[32] Tolomei addressed his discourse on free speech to Gabriel Cesano of Pisa (1490–1569), to whom he also dedicated the *Cesano* (1555), "la prima battiglia," as Luigi Sbaragli puts it, "affrontata e vinta dal Tolomei contro i sostenitori dell'uso della lingua latina e contro i detrattori del volgare."[33]

When Peterson undertook his translation, Tolomei was already familiar to English scholars of Italian language and literature. As John Gallagher notes, Sir Thomas Hoby (1533–1566), whose celebrated translation of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* was published in 1561, had attended the lectures of "Claudius Tolomeus a senest in the Italian tung" during his sojourn in Padua, while John Florio (1553–1625) cited Tolomei's *Lettere* in the "Necessary Rules" of the Italian language, which was appended to his dictionary of 1611.[34] Two copies of a discourse by Tolomei, dated to 1544, on the capacity of Pope Paul III (1534–1549) to offer judgment in favor of either France or the Empire during the Thirty Years' War, survive among the Yelverton manuscripts at the British Library.[35] Heledd Hayes has also explored the influence of Tolomei on the Welsh grammarian and exile Gruffydd Robert, tracing the echoes of Tolomei's work on the vernacular, especially the *Cesano*, in Robert's *Gramadeg cymraeg* (1567).[36] In 1580, Humphrey Gifford translated two letters from books 1 and 5 of Tolomei's *Lettere* for his *Gilloflowers*, a collection of short works and poems, some of which he translated from French and Italian sources.[37] Peterson's translation of the discourse, however, constitutes the most extensive engagement with the works of Tolomei to have emerged from Elizabethan England.

[32] William T. Rossiter, "'Lingua Eius Loquetur Mendacium': Pietro Aretino and the Margins of Renaissance Diplomacy," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 82 (2020): 524.

[33] Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei: Umanista senese del cinquecento* (Siena: Accademia per le arti e per le lettere, 1939), 27.

[34] Hoby, *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, 1547–1564*, ed. Edgar Powell (London: Camden Society, 1902), 9; and Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (London, 1611), 618. See Gallagher, "'Ungrateful Tuscans': Teaching Italian in Early Modern England," *Italianist* 36 (2016): 402–3.

[35] British Library, Add. MS 4810 (formerly Yelverton MS 135), 2r–68v and 70r–100r. There is another copy of the same discourse in British Library, Add. MS 8278, 30r–119r.

[36] Hayes, "Claudio Tolomei: A Major Influence on Gruffydd Robert," *Modern Language Review* 83 (1988): 56–66.

[37] Gifford, *A Posie of Gilloflowers* (London, 1580), 1r–20v. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 161v–79v and 30v–38r.

The first section of this article examines Peterson's style and method of translation, including his predilection for doublets and idiomatic turns of phrase, as well as his harnessing of a French intermediary. Section 2 considers the arguments set out by Tolomei for and against free speech and how these, in Peterson's translation, relate to a constellation of comparable texts, published in London between 1597 and 1603, that actively engaged with the question of free speech. From English translations of Italian political philosophy to edicts published by the crown that sought to regulate and punish "Scandalous Speech and Slanderous Libelles," this section considers how Peterson's translation spoke to the late Elizabethan understanding of free speech and its regulation. My initial study of Peterson's translation will, I hope, add to our understanding not only of English engagements with Italian culture and political thought at the turn of the sixteenth century but also of the keen interest in free speech and its application in the final years of Elizabeth's reign.

1. STYLE AND METHOD OF TRANSLATION

Between 1547 and 1607, no fewer than twenty-three editions of Tolomei's *Lettere* were published at Venice, most frequently from the Giolito press. That Peterson was relying on a subsequent edition, as opposed to the editio princeps, is suggested by the presence of later textual variants that he reproduces in his own translation.[38] For the most part, Peterson is a confident translator. As so often in translations of the period, Peterson uses doublets, giving two words where one appears in the original, a reflex that Douglas Bush referred to as one of "the common sins of the Elizabethan translator."[39] Thus, for Tolomei's "piu sottile," Peterson gives "of more grave and more deep," and for "ammazzi," he gives "slay and kill," while "soportarli" becomes "to

[38] In the 1547 edition, for example, Tolomei explains that "i Principi savii hanno fatto, e fanno infinite cose a satisfazzione de la credulità del vulgo" ("wise princes have done, and do, an infinite number of things to satisfy the credulity of the common people"). From as early as 1565, however, editions of the *Lettere* replace "credulità del vulgo" with "crudeltà del vulgo" ("cruelty of the common people"), and it is this version that Peterson reproduces in his translation: "wise Princes have done and do, a nomber of things with Crueltie, to still & Quiet the rage of the common people" (Tolomei, *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei lib. sette* [Venice, 1547], 170r; Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 213r; and LP MS 518, 25). Direct translations from *De la lettere* are my own.

[39] Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 59.

suffer and allow men," where "men" has been inferred from the pronoun.[40] At another moment, Peterson gives "greately greeved" for Tolomei's "dolendosi," where "greately" appears to have been added for its alliterative quality.[41] Similar examples of Peterson's alliterative doublets can be found throughout the translation: for Tolomei's "dir mal," he gives "to tattell and to talke"; for "la licenza," "leave and libertie"; for "riprese," "chekt and chidd"; and for "non ne far conto," "to make no cownte nor care."[42]

Despite the contemporary trend for foreign loanwords in translation, Peterson draws for the most part on English word-stock and colloquial turns of phrase. Listing those rulers who patiently suffered free speech, Tolomei lights on Hiero I, tyrant of Syracuse, who refused to punish, as Peterson translates it, those "lewde and Sawcey fellowes that spake opprobriously unto him, even to tell him *to* his teeth, his breath did smell unsavourly."[43] Here Peterson has expanded Tolomei's "gli disseno parole vituperose" ("they spoke shameful words to him") with the idiomatic "to tell him to his teeth," a phrase used in early modern English of frank or direct speech (we might compare George Pettie's "[she] tolde her husbande to his teeth," or Matthew Sutcliffe's "This I will speak to his teeth"), thereby bringing the reader yet closer to the origin of the tyrant's halitosis.[44] At another moment, Peterson offers the idiomatic "laboureth toothe and nayle" for Tolomei's more formal "si sforza con ogni industria" ("he strives with every effort").[45] Similar examples mays be produced. Among those arguments that Tolomei gathers against free speech, he includes the example of the emperor Caracalla and his punishment of the young men of Alexandria, whom he describes as "ridendosi, che uno homiccivolo di si piccola statura come era Antonino, volesse assimigliarsi ad Alessandro, e Achille" ("laughing that a little man of such small stature as was Antonino wished to compare himself to Alexander and Achilles").[46] Peterson translates the key phrase here, "uno homiccivolo di si piccolo statura," with idiomatic flair, giving "a

[40] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 205v; LP MS 518, 1; and LP MS 518, 1–2.
[41] LP MS 518, 10; and Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 208r.
[42] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 209r and 207v; LP MS 518, 8 and 14.
[43] LP MS 518, 8.
[44] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 207v; LP MS 518, 8; Pettie, *A Petite Palace of Pettie his Pleasure* (London, 1576), 169; and Sutcliffe, *A Ful and Round Answer* (London, 1604), 94.
[45] LP MS 518, 14; and Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 204v.
[46] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 212r.

dwarfe so highe as three horse loves."[47] To be as high as a horse loaf, that is, as tall as the bread loaf used for horse-feed, was used sardonically of diminutive stature. Thus, for example, the anonymous romance *The History of the Famous Eurodanus* (1605) describes "an ill favoured withered face fellow, something heigher then three horse loaves," while Nicholas Breton in *Wits Trenchmour* (1597) has his scholar remark that "I have seene one no higher than a horse-loaf, wider than a world of wormes-meat."[48] Intriguingly, there are also examples of regional lexis in Peterson's translation. Thus, for example, Tolomei's "gran paura . . . de fatti" ("great fear of deeds") Peterson reworks with "afraid and Dawde with Deedes," where *dawde*, a word more typically found in northern English and Scots, suggests "struck with a heavy blow."[49]

In his edition of Peterson's translation of the *Galateo*, J. E. Spingarn argued that "Peterson's rendering is based almost entirely on the anonymous French translation of 1573."[50] Though the two examples cited by Spingarn highlight Peterson's familiarity with the French translation, this need not suggest complete dependence. It was not uncommon for translators of the period to consult alternative translations alongside the original, and, as is explored below, Peterson became acquainted with Italian literature both in the original language and in translation.[51] When translating Tolomei, Peterson appears to have been reading the Italian alongside the French version by Pierre Vidal, who had published a selection of Tolomei's letters at Paris in 1572 as *Les epistres argentees*.[52] In the first half of the discourse, devoted to arguments in favor of free speech, an addition in the French translation can also be heard in Peterson's English version. Tolomei's original reads:

> Tra gran conforti c'habbia l'animo nostro è il poter liberamente dir male di coloro, che ci offendono.[53]

[47] LP MS 518, 23.

[48] *The First and Second Part of the History of the Famous Eurodanus Prince of Denmark* (London, 1605), Iiv; and Breton, *Wits Trenchmour* (London, 1597), C4v.

[49] *OED Online*, s.v. "daud, v." def. 1; and *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, s.v. "dad, v.," in *Dictionaries of the Scots Language Online*.

[50] Della Casa, *A Renaissance Courtesy-Book*, ed. Spingarn, 122.

[51] The prolific translator Philemon Holland, for example, consulted various translations for his own versions of Livy and Plutarch. See my *"An Ocean Untouched and Untried": The Tudor Translations of Livy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 34.

[52] For details of the French translations of Tolomei, see *Les traductions de l'italien en français au XVIème siècle*, ed. Jean Balsamo, Vito Castiglione Minischetti, and Giovanni Dotoli (Paris: Hermann, 2009), 391–92.

[53] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere*, 206r.

[Among the great comforts that our spirit enjoys is being able to speak ill freely of those who wrong us.]

For which Vidal offers:

Entre les grandes consolations que nous pouvo*n*s recevoir aux variables perturbations de ce mo*n*de, est de pouuoir librement dire mal de ceux, qui nous offensent.[54]

[Among the great consolations which we can receive for the variable perturbations of this world is being able to speak ill freely of those who wrong us.]

And Peterson:

Amongst the greatest comfortes the mynd of man receiveth in this world, yt is not the lest, when it may freelie speake sharpe of them that shall offend us.[55]

Peterson reproduces Tolomei's "animo nostro" with "the mynd of man," while Vidal reworks the phrase in periphrasis as "nous pouvo*n*s recevoir." Peterson's "in this world," however, has no equivalent in the Italian and appears to have been prompted by Vidal's "de ce mo*n*de." So too Peterson's "receiveth" more obviously chimes with Vidal's "recevoir" than it does with Tolomei's "habbia." We might compare a similar example later in the discourse, where Peterson follows Vidal's "corps humains" ("human bodies") with "mens boddies" rather than Tolomei's "cuori humani" ("human hearts").[56] Of the Emperor Augustus's patience in the face of slander, Tolomei remarks, "e molte altre volte fu con pungenti motti trafitto" ("and many times besides he was with stinging quips pierced"), where Vidal brings the verb to the front and delays "many times": "mais lon le pincea encores par plusieurs fois fort aigrement" ("but they pinched him again many times very bitterly").[57] Peterson expands this in translation, giving over twice as many words as the original Italian: "And at many times else besides, he hath byn spightfully pyncht to the quycke, w*i*th bitter Tauntes & Nyppes."[58] Here Peterson has reproduced Tolomei's word order more closely than has Vidal, but it seems plausible that "spightfully pyncht" has been suggested by Vidal's "pincea . . . aigrement." Curiously, during Tolomei's

[54] Vidal, *Les epistres argentees ou Recueil des principalles lettres des sept livres de messer Claude Tolomeï, gentilhomme sienois* (Paris, 1572), 130r; direct translations from *Les epistres argentees* are my own.

[55] LP MS 518, 4.

[56] Vidal, *Les epistres argentees*, 131r; LP MS 518; and Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere*, 206v.

[57] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere*, 209r; and Vidal, *Les epistres argentees*, 133v.

[58] LP MS 518, 12.

opening address, both translators omit the term "riscotitore" (tax collector), and the sense seems to have been unfamiliar to Vidal and Peterson alike (we might note that there is no entry for *riscotitore* in Florio's Italian dictionary of 1598, the *Worlde of Wordes*).[59]

At times, Peterson goes to greater pains than does Vidal to reproduce culturally specific and specialist vocabulary in his translation. Drawing on Suetonius's *Life of Nero*, Tolomei highlights the emperor's patience toward parodies of his character in "le favole Atellane," a kind of farce originating in Atella, Campania, which became popular at Rome around the third century BCE.[60] Vidal makes no mention of Atella, referring simply to "fables," while Peterson expands the phrase in periphrasis, giving "the Jeste and Scoffes they made of him at *Attella.*"[61] Peterson also includes, however, two marginal notes on the same subject: "Attella, is a Towne in Italy, where ther was a greate famous Theater"; and "Atellanæ Fabulæ, wer com*m*edies w*hi*ch wer only in Jests and mery Scoffes and bourdinges" (see figure 2).[62] Peterson has thus gone to a greater effort to capture the nuances of the Italian original and to convey these to his English readership.

On at least one occasion, Peterson avoids translating verse quoted by Tolomei. In his discussion of Nero and his indifference toward slander, Tolomei continues to follow Suetonius, who explains that the emperor was lenient in this regard, "either through contempt of all disrepute, or lest by admitting his indignation, he might provoke their wits" ("vel contemptu omnis infamiae vel ne fatendo dolorem irritaret ingenia").[63] Tolomei expands on this sentiment with an appeal to Petrarch's *Canzoniere*:

> Ma se'l Principe mostra di non se ne curare, l'huomo s'impedisce, e si raffredda da se stesso, conoscendo, (come ad altro proposito disse il Petrarca) percossa di suo strale non passare oltra la gonna; e piu facilmente si resta: mostrando il Principe di non ne far conto, ne se ne avvedere, che sdegnandosene fieramente, e sforzandosi di castigarli.[64]
>
> [But if the prince shows that he does not care about it, the man prevents himself and cools off by himself, recognizing (as Petrarch said of another matter) that

[59] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 205v; and Florio, *A Worlde of Words* (London, 1598).
[60] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 209r.
[61] Vidal, *Les epistres argentees,* 134r; and LP MS 518, 13.
[62] LP MS 518, 13.
[63] Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, 39. Unless otherwise noted, references to classical works are from The Latin Library, http://thelatlinlibrary.com..
[64] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 209v.

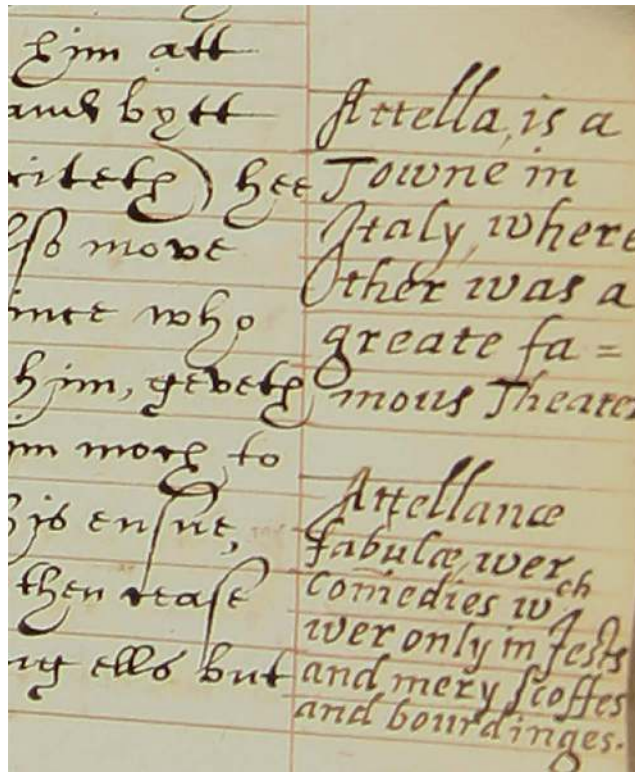

Figure 2. *Lambeth Palace Library MS 518, 13. Reproduced with the generous permission of LPL.*

"the blow from his arrow does not pass beyond the robe," and it more readily ceases, the prince showing that he has taken no heed or notice of it, than by taking offense thereof through pride, and striving to punish them.]

For which Peterson offers an unusually condensed version:

But, if a Prince seeme to make no reconyng of yt, a man is then at a fault by and by, & waxeth could of himself. And the matter is moch sooner at a stop, when the Prince seemeth to make no cownte nor Care of yt, nor yet to marke or heede yt; Then when he stormes or greeves thereat, and goes abowght to punish yt.[65]

[65] LP MS 518, 14. Once again, Peterson appears to be following a later edition of Tolomei, reproducing the emendation, "più facilmente si resta" ("it more readily ceases"), with "the matter is moch sooner at a stop," whereas the editio princeps has the plural "si restano" ("they cease"). Cf. Tolomei, *De le lettere,* 167v.

Originally, Petrarch had used the image of Cupid's arrow, which had hitherto failed to pierce the speaker's heart, in *Canzoniere* 23: "ché sentendo il crudel di ch'io ragiono / infin allor percossa di suo strale / non essermi passato oltra la gonna" ("the cruel one of whom I treat, perceiving at last that the blow from his arrow had not passed beyond my robe").[66] Peterson, however, has omitted Tolomei's nod to Petrarch altogether; Vidal, in contrast, reproduces the complete quotation in French.[67] This in fact complements Peterson's approach elsewhere. In his translation of della Casa, Peterson had left some Italian words and phrases untouched, while excluding others entirely. Thus, for example, beside a section dealing with punning and jests—"And if you doe aske them, *Dove e il signore?* they answer againe, *Doue egli ha i piedi"*—he adds the following note in the margin: "Bycause these speaches have no grace in our English tou*n*gue, I leave them in the Italian."[68] Later, in a section concerning manners of speech, he explains that he has removed a passage from the original, citing what we might today refer to as untranslatables:

> There be some woordes more in this place to like effect, which I meane not to stande uppon now: bycause our English tou*n*ge cannot hansomely deliver their perfect meaning. For the Italians have (as we have, and all other Countreis ells as well as wee) certaine peculiar wordes and termes, so naturally and properly their owne, as it is not possible to expresse them aptly and perfectly in any other language.[69]

Though Peterson was obviously confident in Italian, there were nonetheless certain turns of phrase and expression that defied translation. In omitting three lines of verse from the *Canzoniere*, he was thus following a precedent set by his translation of della Casa.

Peterson apparently felt more at home with Boccaccio's prose than with Petrarch's verse. Later in the discourse, he not only reproduces Tolomei's allusion to the *Decameron* but also directs the reader through a marginal comment to the relevant moment in the source text.[70] Peterson was evidently familiar with the *Decameron,* and he includes similar marginal references to the same work throughout his translation

[66] Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere: Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini (Torino: Einaudi, 2005), 23.32–34, p. 102.

[67] "[A]insi que le petraque à dict sur un autre propos qu'un coup de sa fleche ne passe point oultre la robe" (Vidal, *Les epistres argentees,* 134r).

[68] Peterson, *Galateo,* 69.

[69] Ibid., 77

[70] Boccaccio, *Decameron* 1.9, in Brown University's Decameron Web; and LP MS 518, 19.

of della Casa.[71] So too Peterson expresses a similar sensitivity to Tolomei's Latin sources. At one moment, he quotes the original source for a maxim included in the Italian—namely, that "chi patisce una ingiuria vecchia, invita altrui a fargliene una nuova," or as Peterson translates it, "he that suffereth and putteth up and old wronge, intreateth a man to do him a newe."[72] In the margin, Peterson quotes the original Latin that Tolomei appears to be channelling, as found in the *Saturnalia*: "veterem ferendo iniuriam invitas nova*m*" ("by bearing an old injury, you invite a new one").[73] Beyond teasing out Tolomei's sources, Peterson also introduces literary parallels in the margins where they are not explicit in the text. Thus, beside Tolomei's observation that "naturally man doth extreamely long after thoase thinges that ar denyed him," Peterson quotes a comparable sentiment from Ovid's *Amores* in the margin: "Nitimur in Vetitu*m*, semper cupimus*ue* negata" ("we strive after the forbidden, and always desire what is denied").[74] With the exception of Petrarch, then, Peterson approached Tolomei's Italian and Latin sources with care, referring the reader to the original and even drawing out allusions implicit in Tolomei's work.

When Peterson came to translate the discourse on free speech, he appears to have done so with recourse to Vidal's French translation of 1572, from which he took occasional turns of phrase as well as additions that have no equivalent in the Italian original. Both translators appeal to doublets, making two words of one, and both appeal to cognates, although Vidal, the French translator, was able to do so with greater frequency. Comparing the two translations, however, suggests that Peterson followed Tolomei first and foremost, preserving his word order with more consistency than did Vidal, going to some considerable effort to convey the nuances of the original. This same attention, however, appears not to have extended to the quotation of verse, which Peterson avoided translating, thereby complementing his approach when translating della Casa.

The section that follows considers the case Tolomei establishes for and against free speech, as well as the classical and contemporary sources from which he drew to illustrate these arguments. By locating

[71] Thus, for example, where the main text refers to "y*e* heat wherwith Master Iohn Boccase burned in desire," Peterson directs the reader to the relevant source: "Looke in the beginning of Corbaccio" (*Galateo,* 8).

[72] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 211r; and LP MS 518, 20.

[73] LP MS 518, 20. Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*; and Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 17.14.11. Both are available on LacusCurtius, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.html.

[74] LP MS 518, 14; and Ovid, *Amores*, 3.4. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 209v.

Peterson's translation among a constellation of English translations of political philosophy and statecraft, as well as contemporary legislation that attempted to regulate speech, I will explore the significance of Peterson's translation in its new Elizabethan context.

2. THE DISCOURSE: ARGUMENT AND SOURCES

This section examines the arguments presented by Tolomei for and against free speech, from allowing the venting of private grudges and ill humors as a necessary tool of government to the potential dangers of flattery for the prince. By presenting these arguments, I plan to illustrate the wide range of sources, classical and vernacular, from which Tolomei drew for his discourse, as well as to examine how these were reworked at the hands of Peterson in his English translation. So too I will consider the significance of Tolomei's examples in their new English context, from resonances with parliamentary debate to the contrast between Tolomei's call for tolerance and Elizabethan censure. By exploring the presence of Suetonius, Ovid, Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Machiavelli in Tolomei's discourse, and how these authors and their *exempla* were reflected and refracted in Peterson's translation, I will offer a sense of the breadth and scope of free speech directives as they were deployed across early modern venues.

Tolomei's primary argument in favor of free speech describes speaking uninhibitedly as a kind of "vent" or "duct" ("sfogatoio") for the frustrations and malaise of the populace:

> Imperoche sempre un Principe savio dee lassare aperti certi sfogatoi a' mali humori, che nascono ne' cittadini, o ne' sudditi suoi; perche se non havesseno ove sfogarsi, e come sempre interviene ogni di multiplicasseno, senza dubbio partorirebbono poi assai peggiori, e piu pericolosi effetti per il Signore: percioche chi è ingiuriato dal Principe, o per qualunche rispetto ha qualche odio contra di lui, s'egli ne puo dir male, ne dice volontieri, e in quel dire sfoga l'animo suo.[75]

> [Therefore a wise prince must always leave open certain vents to ill humours, which grow among his citizens or subjects, because if they did not have somewhere to vent themselves, and (as always happens) these were to multiply on a daily basis, without a doubt they would bring forth rather worse and more dangerous effects for the prince: therefore, he who is injured by the prince, or for whatever reason holds him in some contempt, if he can speak ill thereof, does so gladly, and in so saying vents his mind.]

For which Peterson gives:

[75] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 206r.

For, a wise Prince must ever leave certayne Poares oapen for yll Humors to vent and breake forth that breede in their Vassales and Subiects myndes and Stomackes. For, if they should have no vent but increase, as they woold daily throwgh restraint, w*i*thout doubte they woolde breede and bring foorth the worse & more daungerous effects a great deale for the Prince. for, he that is Iniured by the Prince or beareth him yll will, for any respect or cause; yf he know any evill by him, he spareth not to speak it of him; And in this verrie speeche, he uttereth his mynd and Stomache.[76]

Once again, Peterson turns to doublets to capture the sense of the original. For "partorirebbono" he gives "they would breede and bring foorth"; for "animo suo," "his mynd and Stomache"; and he expands on "sfogatoi" ("vents") with the verbal phrase "to vent and breake forth." Besides the physiognomic suggestions of "mali humori" ("ill humours"), there is perhaps also a resonance between Tolomei's "sfogatoi" ("vents") and the anger of Elihu, who, notwithstanding the reverence he owes his elders, is driven in the book of Job to speak the truth: "My heart is indeed like wine that has no vent; like new wineskins, it is ready to burst. I must speak, so that I may find relief."[77]

In support of such vents or "sfogatoi," Tolomei appeals to the performance of farce. As Peterson translates it: "the Kyng of France suffereth in his Kingdome to be made, I cannot tell how I showld terme theme otherwise then *Farse*; where, under certayne Clowdes, they speake their pleasure of the King, and of his Chiefest Mynysters about him: And yett, the King shewes himself nothing agreeved w*i*th yt."[78] Peterson includes a marginal gloss here for the benefit of his English reader: "Farse: be Playes Enterludes and Maskes used in France with greate Liberty for men to noate to the people in them the faults of the Prince or any Noble ma*n* or other Officer in the Realme."[79] Farce, in the theatrical sense, made a surprisingly late entry into southern English (in Scots, by contrast, the term had been in use since at least 1511).[80] Excluding French dictionaries and texts explicitly dealing with the French language, the first instance of the word appears in 1629 in Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) *History of Henry the Seventh*: "Fortune commonly doth not bring in a Comedie or Farce after a Tragedy."[81] Understandably, then, Peterson felt compelled to provide more detail for his English readers.

[76] LP MS 518, 3–4.
[77] Job 32:21–22 (NRSV). For comment, see Parkin-Speer, "Freedom of Speech," 68–70.
[78] LP MS 518, 5; and Tolomei, *De le lettere*, 165v.
[79] LP MS 518, 5.
[80] *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, s.v. "farce, fars, fairs, n.," def. a.
[81] Bacon, *The Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh* (London, 1629), 36.

The English queen was equally adept when it came to seeing through "velami," that is, "veils" or "coverings" (translated by Peterson in the above as "Clowdes"); such allusions on the English stage, however, were not suffered with a like patience. Following the Essex rebellion in 1601, the state interrogated a troop of players who had been commissioned by Essex's steward, Sir Gelli Meyrick, to stage a production of *Richard II* on February 7, the day before the earl and his men called the City of London to arms. As Bacon records it in the *Declaration* (1601), Meyrick, along with other servants of Essex, "had procured to be played before them the play of deposing King Richard the second. . . . So earnest hee was to satisfie his eyes with the sight of that Tragedie, which he thought soone after his Lord should bring from the Stage to the State."[82] In August of the same year, the queen herself remarked to William Lambard, lawyer and antiquary, "I am Richard II. know ye not that?," suggesting that Elizabeth was alert to historical parallels of this kind.[83] Tolomei's appeal to farce and the apparent tolerance it enjoyed among the French court, when reproduced in the English context at the turn of the century, jars with a government and monarch that were acutely sensitive to such representations on the stage.

Tolomei appeals to a series of examples from antiquity, the first of which concerns the emperor Tiberius, who, he explains, paid little attention to defamations of his character. As Peterson translates it:

> Althowgh he wer often tymes stong with slanderous speeches, and that many men spake to sharply, and wrot to lewdly of him; yet woold he never consent, that any man showld be corrected for it: Saying always, that in a Free Cittie such as Rome was, he woold mens Thowghte and Tonges showld still be free. And albeit the Senat, did earnestly once desire him, that he woold be content they might procede against them, that had slanderously talkt their pleasure of him; yet woold he never assent unto yt, Saying, He had not so much leisure as he woold troble himself with such a busines. Yea further, he said unto them yf yow leave not thease wyndowes oapen, yow take the way to suffer all men, under this pretence and Coolor to woorke their particular & privat malice one against another, Accusing now this man, and then another. And so under this vayle, many shallbe Revenged of their private Quarells.[84]

Tolomei has modeled his account of the emperor closely on Suetonius's description in *The Life of Tiberius*, where he replies to the senate: "we do not have so much leisure that we should entangle ourselves in yet more work: if you open this window, you will allow no business to

[82] Bacon, *A Declaration of the Practises and Treasons Attempted and Committed by Robert Late Earl of Essex* (London, 1601), K2v–K3r.
[83] John Nichols, ed., *Bibliotecha Topographica Britannica*, 8 vols. (London, 1780–90), 1.525.
[84] LP MS 518, 6–7. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere*, 206v–207r.

be conducted other than people bringing their private enmities before you under this pretext" ("Non tantum," inquit, "otii habemus, ut implicare nos pluribus negotiis debeamus; si hanc fenestram aperueritis, nihil aliud agi sinetis: omnium inimicitiae hoc praetexto ad vos deferentur").[85] Suetonius's portrait of the emperor as "firmus ac patiens" ("steadfast and patient") in the face of opprobrious speech contrasts with that found in Tacitus, who, in the first book of the *Annales*, describes both Augustus and Tiberius as widening the definition of treason under the *lex maiestatis* to encompass charges of slander against the prince.[86] Tolomei, however, in preferring Suetonius's version, presents a more positive account of Roman tolerance.

Such tolerance could be traced from ancient Rome to the present day. Tolomei presents contemporary Rome—both as a city and as home of the Catholic Church—as a bastion of free speech, appealing to the tradition of satirical verse that had developed around the *Festa di Pasquino*. As it appears in Peterson's translation:

> In our tyme in Rome (as everie man dooth know) there is greater libertie of speech, then any where ells was ev*er* hard, to speake their pleasure of the Popes, the Cardinalls, and of the whole Court besides; and specially the day of San' Marco a Pasquino: W*hi*ch thing, is attributed to nothing els, then to the libertie of Rome, and the Church; w*hi*ch wold, that eu*er*ie man showld be free, to speake or write what he listeth.[87]

In 1501, a mutilated statue, which came to be identified as "Pasquino," was unearthed at Rome and erected by Cardinal Carafa at the corner of his palace near the Piazza Navona. Gradually it became customary to affix Latin verse, typically satirical, to the base of the statue on the feast day of San Marco (April 25th). These *pasquinate* or pasquinades were gathered in printed collections from 1509 and soon gained international renown.[88] Thus, in 1533, Thomas Elyot published his *Pasquil the Playne*, a "mery treatise / wher in plainness and flateri do come in trial," in which the eponymous Pasquil makes the case for frank and honest speech.[89]

[85] Suetonius, *Life of Tiberius*, 28.

[86] Ibid. See Tacitus, *Annales*, 1.72. For Elizabeth I's reading and translation of this moment in Tacitus and its wider significance for Tudor censorship, see my "An Historian fit for a Queen? Elizabeth I's Translation of the *Annales* and the Tacitean Turn," *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 13 (2022): para. 38–42.

[87] LP MS 518, 8. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere*, 207v.

[88] The first of these was the *Carmina Quae ad Pasquillum Fuerunt Posita in Anno MCCCCIX* (Rome, 1509).

[89] Elyot, *Pasquil the Playne* (London, 1533), 1v. For analysis of this dialogue, see Paul, "Thomas Elyot on Counsel," 35–38; and Arthur Walzer, "Rhetoric of Counsel in Thomas Elyot's *Pasquil the Playne*," *Rhetorica* 30 (2005): 1–21.

Whether Tolomei was glancing back to "la libertà di Roma" with somewhat generous nostalgia, or whether his description of the Curia's laissez-faire attitude to speech was true to his own experience, the pasquinate and their authors were by no means always met with toleration. In a chapter of the *Considerationi civili* (1582), for instance, entitled "Ch'i Principi debbon gastigar i maledicenti" ("That princes ought to punish slanderers"), the Dominican friar Remigio Nannini (ca. 1521–81) cites the example of Pius V (1504–72), who imprisoned a doctor of law specifically for a pasquinade lampooning the pope.[90] It is no small irony that Tolomei's *Lettere*, including the discourse on free speech, would themselves eventually fall foul of papal censorship, being placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in the second half of the sixteenth century.[91] Nonetheless, the feast of San Marco is cited by Tolomei as one of many examples of free speech that is not merely tolerated but celebrated as a cultural and social necessity, another sfogatoio for the successful maintaining of the peace. What Peterson and his dedicatee, Hesketh, made of Tolomei's depiction of the church as fostering "greater libertie of speech, then any where ells was ev*er* hard," is, without their commentary, difficult to say. It is intriguing, however, that Peterson was engaging in such detail with a work that presented the Italian city states as tolerant of free speech and, as with the example of Florence, explored below, actively hostile toward attempts to restrain such speech.

By tolerating liberty of expression and even slander, Tolomei explains, princes not only douse the flames of rumor but also avoid the damaging effects of flattery (the passage concerning flattery has been marked by a reader of Peterson's translation as of special interest). As Peterson translates it, "by reason of the nomber of Flatterers that alwaies swarme about them, they never heere their faults: And being Droncke as it wer, w*i*th the glavering glee they give them; They never mend their vices."[92] Reworking Tolomei's "adulatori, ch'essi hanno intorno" with "Flatterers, that alwaies swarme about them," Peterson suggests something of the courtier "fly" or parasite (we might compare James Bell's description of the "great store of flatterers [that] swarme

[90] Nannini, *Considerationi civili sopra l'historie di Francesco Guicciardini* (Venice, 1582), 116v.

[91] Gigliola Fragnito, "The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship," in *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Fragnito, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 32.

[92] LP MS 518, 16–17. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere*, 210r.

in princes courtes").[93] The dangers of court *adulatori* were acknowledged in the English and Italian traditions alike. Machiavelli had devoted a chapter of *The Prince* to the dangers of flattery, noting that the prince risks his reputation by allowing the other extreme—that is, a liberty of speech—to gain purchase: "there is no other way to protect oneself from flattery, except that men understand that they do not offend you by speaking the truth to you: but when everyone can speak the truth to you, you lack respect" ("non ci è altro modo a guadarsi dalle adulationi; se non che gli huomini intendino, che non t'offendono a dirti il vero: ma quando ciascuno può dirti il vero, ti manca la riverenza").[94] For Machiavelli, it seemed more prudent to restrict free speech to a select group of counselors, who would advise the prince frankly without fear of repercussion and without risk to his reputation: "therefore a wise prince should follow a third way, choosing wise men in his state, to whom alone he ought to grant the freedom of speaking the truth, and only about those things which he himself asks, and not about anything else" ("Per tanto un Principe prudente deve tenere un terzo modo, elegendo nel suo stato huomini savii: & solo a quelli deve dare, libero arbitrio a parlargli la verità, & di quelle cose sole, che lui domanda, & non d'altro").[95] The prince could thereby avoid both extremes: misleading flattery and a gradual and pernicious diminishing of respect. Intriguingly, the model that Machiavelli sets out here was precisely that which Elizabeth attempted to implement in Parliament. An anonymous journal covering proceedings for April 1571 records the queen's response to the Speaker's petition for free speech: "they shoulde do well to meddle with noe matters of state but such as should be propounded unto them, and to occupy themselves in other matters concerning the commen wealth."[96] Much like the ideal counselors of Machiavelli, then, who were expected to speak "only about those things which he himself asks, and not about anything else," the members of Elizabeth's Parliament were expected to speak freely, but only concerning those issues "propounded unto them" by the crown. Without suggesting that the queen or her privy counselors had a copy of *The Prince* open before them during their dealings with Parliament,

[93] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 210r; and Walter Haddon, *Against Jerome Osorius*, trans. Bell (London, 1581), 72v. Cf. *OED Online*, s.v. "fly, n.1.," def. 5c.

[94] Machiavelli, *Il principe* (Florence, 1532), 37r.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Hartley, *Proceedings*, 1:199.

it is nonetheless intriguing to note the proximity between Florentine theory and Tudor practice.[97]

It was precisely in response to the queen's attempts to limit the privilege of free speech that Peter Wentworth had set liberty of speech and flattery in opposition in his address to Parliament of 1576. Here he combined the motif of the Judas kiss with the "wounds of a friend" from Proverbs: "he that dissembleth to her Majestie's peril is to be counted as an hatefull enemy for that he giveth unto her Majestie a detestable Judas his kisse. And he that contraryeth her minde to her preservacion, yea, though her Majestie would be much offended with him, is to be adjudged an approved lover."[98] Later in the same speech, Wentworth prayed to God "to endue her Majestie with his wisedome wherby she may discerne faithfull advice from trayterous sugred speeches."[99] The dangers of flattery to the prince were frequently expressed in the English tradition more generally. Thomas Wilson, in *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), similarly set flattery in opposition to "freenesse of speache" in his definition of the latter: "Diogenes herein did excel, and feared no man when he sawe just cause to saie his mynde, This worlde wanteth suche as he was, and hath ouer many suche, as never honest ma*n* was, that is to say, flatterers, fawners, and southers of mennes sayinges."[100] The perils of flattery were also played out on the English stage. In Shakespeare's *Richard II* (ca. 1595, published 1597), which, as we saw above, was restaged in 1601, the perils of flattery feature to no small degree. Thus, John of Gaunt warns Richard that "A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown," while Northumberland laments in the same scene that "The king is not himself, but basely led / By flatterers."[101]

Tolomei's answer to the problem of flattery was not the honest counselor, however, but rather allowing free and uninhibited speech among the populace at large: "All w*hi*ch [i.e., the prince's" faults] they here

[97] Machiavelli appears to have enjoyed a royal readership. Preserved at Firestone Library, Princeton, are two copies of the Blado editions of the *Principe* and *Discorsi*, bound together as a single volume and embossed with a Tudor rose. The back flyleaf includes the note: "This book was Queen Elizabeth's." See Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books, (Ex) 7510.606.1532. In his capacity as royal tutor, William Thomas (d. 1554) wrote for the young Edward VI a series of *Discourses* that, as Peter S. Donaldson observes, derived much of their material from Machiavelli (Donaldson, *Machiavelli and Mystery of State* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], 41–44).

[98] Hartley, *Proceedings*, 1:428. Cf. Matt. 26:49 and Prov. 27:6.

[99] Hartley, *Proceedings*, 1:431.

[100] Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London, 1553), 106v.

[101] Shakespeare, *Richard II*, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Modern Critical Edition*, ed. Gary Taylor et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 2.1.100 and 2.1.242–43.

and ar tould, and may know if they list, by those matters that ar spreed abroade against them."[102] Tolomei points to the example of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, who was wont to express his gratitude to the people of Athens, "For, by their Taunts and evell speeches and writings of him; They made him better advised and reformed in speech and manner."[103] Tolomei's nuancing of Machiavelli here chimes with the response developed by Innocent Gentillet in his vast critique of Machiavelli, the *Discours sur les moyens de bien gouverner* (1574), in which he too suggests that free speech is the duty of honest subjects in general, not only that of the chosen few. As Simon Patrick puts it in his translation of 1602, "as it is very requisite and nesessarie, that wise men which are nigh the Prince, should use a free libertie, to tell him the truth of all things which concerne him: so must they do it with all modestie, accompanied with the honour and reverence that God hath commanded us bear unto Princes."[104] In contrast with the frankness advocated by Tolomei, however, the advisor should avoid "that Cynicke libertie of some Philosophers, which knew not how to reprehend and shew mens faults, but by taunts and bitter biting speeches."[105]

The problem of flattery at court was then as much a concern to the English tradition as it was to the French and Italian. While Machiavelli had suggested a select group of honest advisors to whom the prince would allow limited freedom of speech, and while Wentworth urged the queen to embrace frank, if not entirely welcome, counsel from her Parliament, for Tolomei, it was the common talk of the people that allowed the prince to see matters as they are.

Tolomei appears to have had an eye to Machiavelli at other moments in the discourse, and there are some compelling parallels between Tolomei's understanding of statecraft and that developed in *The Prince* (1513, published 1532). Tolomei draws, for instance, on Machiavelli when he underlines the importance of the prince's being both loved and feared by his subjects:

Finalmente dico, che i Principi deveno, se posson farlo, guadagnarsi de' popoli loro l'amore e'l timore; far in tal modo che siano amati e temuti; pur

[102] LP MS 518, 16–17.
[103] Ibid., 17.
[104] Gentillet, *A Discourse upon the Meanes of Wel Governing and Maintaining in Good Peace, a Kingdome, or Other Principalitie*, trans. Simon Patrick (London, 1602), 35.
[105] Ibid.

se non posson far l'uno e l'altro, deveno sforzarsi d'haver l'un de' due, o l'amore de' popoli, o'l timore, e senza l'un di questi, non si puo nissuno stato mantenere[.][106]

[Finally, I say that Princes must, if they can do so, gain the love and fear of their people, in such a way that they are loved and feared; or if they cannot do both, they must strive to have one of the two, either the love of the people, or their fear, for without one of these, no state can sustain itself.]

Though the question of whether those in positions of power should aspire to be loved or feared by the populace has its origins in Cicero's *Philippics*, Tolomei's phrasing here most closely resembles that of Machiavelli in *The Prince*, in a chapter concerning "whether it is better to be loved, or feared" ("se gli è meglio esser' amato, o temuto").[107] The prince, he suggests, "should wish to be both, but because it is difficult that they should exist together, it is far safer to be feared than loved, when he has to go without one or the other" ("si vorebbe essere l'uno et l'altro: ma per che gli è difficile, che gli stiano insieme; è molto piu sicuro l'esser temuto, che amato; quando s'habbi à mancare de l'un de duoi").[108] As Machiavelli explains, the prince has no control over his subjects' affections or how they bestow their love. He can, however, influence the subject through fear: "I conclude then . . . that since men love of their own accord, and fear at that of the prince, a wise Prince must ground himself on that which is his own, and not on that which belongs to others" ("Conchiudo adunque . . . che amando gli huomini a posto loro, et temendo a posto del Principe; deve un Principe savio fondarsi in su quello, che è suo; non in su quello, che è d'altri").[109] According to both Machiavelli and Tolomei, the prince should inspire both love and fear in his subjects—albeit, for Machiavelli, fear was the more important and readily accessible tool of government.

Intriguingly, Peterson himself appears to have been reading Tolomei alongside Machiavelli. In a marginal note beside a section dealing with Walter VI of Brienne (ca. 1304–1356), Peterson refers directly to Machiavelli's *Istorie fiorentine* (1532). In 1342, Walter had taken the *signoria* of Florence at the request of the city's merchant class, heralding ten months of despotic rule and exorbitant taxation. The death of a certain

[106] Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere*, 214r.
[107] Machiavelli, *Il principe*, 25r. Cf. Cicero, *Philippics*, 1.33–34.
[108] Machiavelli, *Il principe*, 25v.
[109] Ibid., 26v.

Betton Cini, who, having openly criticized the duke's conduct, had his tongue cut out, serves as a catalyst for the duke's expulsion. As Peterson translates it:

> The w*hi*ch Act of his, sett the whole City in such a heate and rage against him, to see their libertie clean taken away boath of deede and ~~de~~ speech; That w*i*th in a while they raised seuerall Commocons at ons against him, w*hi*ch wer the Cause of his utter Decay and Ruyne.[110]

A marginal comment points the reader to an account in Machiavelli's *Istorie*, both in the Italian original and in English translation by Thomas Bedingfield: "Historico fiorentino libr. 2. f. 6[0] Bedingfeild f.54."[111] The first reference corresponds with the pagination of the editio princeps, published in Florence in 1532, and the second with that of Bedingfield's translation of the same, *The Florentine Historie* (1595). In Machiavelli's original we find a similar account of Cini's severed tongue and the subsequent rebellion, with a shared emphasis on the restraint of both deeds and words. As Bedingfield puts it in his translation: "These cruelties encreased offence in the people with their hatred of the Duke, because that citie which was accustomed freely to do and speake all things, could not endure to have their hands tied, and their mouths closed."[112] The second note to appear on this page of Peterson's translation—"Grandi. populari. artefici."—quotes directly from Machiavelli's explanation that the duke's misconduct inspired revolution amongst citizens "di ogni qualità" ("of every quality"): "many citizens of all estates resolved, with the losse of their lives to recover their libertie lost. Then practised they three sorts of conspiracies, the one among the Nobilitie, the second among the people, the third among the artificers ['i Grandi, Populari, & Artefici']."[113] It seems plausible that Tolomei's example here, as well as the lesson he derives from it—namely, that a populace will grow to resent the restraint of both their actions and their words—have their origins in Machiavelli's discussion of the same. By flagging up the relevant passage in the *Florentine History*, Peterson not only directs the reader to a comparable historical account but perhaps also acknowledges Tolomei's unspoken debt to Machiavelli.

[110] LP MS 518, 10.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Machiavelli, *The Florentine Historie*, trans. Thomas Bedingfield (London, 1595), 54.
[113] Machiavelli, *Florentine Historie,* 54; and Machiavelli, *Historie fiorentine* (Florence, 1532), 60.

The second half of the treatise, which Tolomei devotes to arguments against free speech, begins with the assumption that, as Peterson translates it, "a Prince owght not in any wise, to suffer this libertie of speeche to ronne to farr."[114] The foremost of Tolomei's arguments in favor of regulating speech concerns the preservation of the prince's reputation: "trewly in all things reputacon is it, that uphouldeth all; But in states, it is the first, and the trewe foundacon and grownd that must mayntayne them; without the w*hi*ch, nothing is able to last long tyme."[115] Nannini placed a similar emphasis on the prince's reputation in the *Considerationi civili*. As it appears in the English translation of 1601, "The prince which doth not punish slaunderers and evill speakers, hazerdeth his reputation: for so soone as men heare the Prince ill spoken of, and see that he regardeth it not, they beleeve that which was written or spoken of him was true, and in this manner he is ill thought of, little respected, and in the end contemned."[116] This "contempt" for the prince and his reputation is, as Peterson translates it, "the very poyson of eu*er*ie state and kingdome," where "poyson" ("veleno") picks up Tolomei's description of slander at the beginning of the discourse as "the seede and beginning of a poyson [veleno], that breedeth and bringeth foorth thereby in tyme, mischevous effects and chances."[117] We might compare Tolomei's "veleno" ("venom" or "poison") with the official Elizabethan response to slander. The proclamation of 1600, for instance, referred to the queen's detractors as "unnatural Vipers" and "vipers [that] will repine both at all earthly power and at Almighty God himself."[118] For Tolomei, the effects of slanderous speech are thus cumulative and can be felt over time, gradually corroding the respect the prince commands over his, or indeed her, subjects.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given his extensive legal career, Tolomei also emphasizes the importance of the law in regulating speech. As Peterson translates it,

> If a man cannot with the perfeccon and goodnes of his lyefe, nor with his honnest and vertuous disposicon of mynd and manners, attayne or reache unto yt [i.e., the restraining of his own speech]; yt is meete he seeke to gett it by the sevearnes & sharpnes of the lawes, and w*i*th the feare of payne & punishm*en*t.[119]

[114] LP MS 518, 18–19. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 210v.
[115] LP MS 518, 19.
[116] Nannini, *Civill Considerations upon Many and Sundrie Histories* (London, 1601), 222.
[117] LP MS 518, 19 and 2. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 205v.
[118] Elizabeth I, *Proclamation Conteyning her Maiesties Pleasure*, 1v.
[119] LP MS 518, 29. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 214r.

Tolomei appeals in particular to those princes "who haue byn sharpe and seuere Correctors of it [i.e., slander] and yet have byne the more Renowned and Reputed for it," among whom he includes the emperor Caracalla and Dionysius of Syracuse.[120] Both Peterson and Hesketh alike would have been familiar with "the sevearnes & sharpnes of the lawes" when it came to the punishment of slander in Elizabethan England. Reflecting on the reign of Elizabeth I in his work on Roman historiography, the antiquary Edmund Bolton (1574/5–ca. 1634) recalled that "some verbal disparagements of Majestie were by publick authoritie made more terriblie punishable under her, then they were under Tiberius, the paines, and forfeitures for high treason, beeing laid upon them."[121] Indeed, the proclamation of 1600, having characterized the authors of gossip and slander as "malicious and wicked spirits that do lie in wait to sow sedition in the hearts of her Subjects," stated that offenders would be charged not merely with defamation but with insurrection: "All those that shall presume to publish any such slanderous brutes by word or writing maliciously, shall be held in case of persons that are authors of Sedition, and so guilty of the heavy paines due for the same."[122] In a comparable vein, the state had decreed in 1588 that "Jesuites and Seminarie Priests" responsible for spreading "sundry false, slanderous, and seditious rumors and reports" would be punishable not through civil law but through martial: "euery such offender shall with all seueritie bee proceeded against, and punished according to the Martiall Law by her Maiesties Lieutenants."[123] The same proclamation even included a clause safeguarding the said officers from any future charge brought against them in the civil courts "for anything to be done or executed in the punishing of such offenders."[124] For Peterson's contemporary readership, Tolomei's depiction of the law's role in the pursuit of "extreame obedyence" and the restraining of speech would thus have rung true to their own experience of legislation under Elizabeth.

The range of sources and historical exempla at work in Tolomei and subsequently in Peterson's translation make the discourse one of the

[120] LP MS 518, 22–23. Cf. Tolomei, *Sette libri delle lettere,* 212r.

[121] Bolton, *Averrunci, or The Skowrers,* ed. Patricia J. Osmond and Robert W. Ulery Jr. (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2017), 146.

[122] Elizabeth I, *Proclamation Conteyning her Maiesties Pleasure,* 1v.

[123] Elizabeth I, *A Proclamation Against the Bringing In, Dispersing, Uttering and Keeping of Bulles from the Sea of Rome, and other Traiterous and Sedicious Libels, Bookes, and Pamphlets* (London, 1588), 1r.

[124] Ibid., 1v.

most detailed discussions of free speech to have emerged from the early modern period. If, as Parkin-Speer suggests, "in sixteenth century England freedom of speech came to mean the right to express the truth as the speaker or writer perceived it, not to say anything one pleased," then the varied examples of "Scandalous Speech and Slanderous Libelles" that Peterson found in Tolomei may have gone against the grain of traditional Tudor understandings of free speech.[125] Nevertheless, Tolomei's ultimate conclusion that such speech should be restrained for the sake of the prince's standing very much complements the official Tudor response to slander and libel. As Peterson translates it, "There is no dowbte then, but ther groweth greater harme, to suffer this libertie to ronne aboute in men, to speake and write lewdly of the Prince; then cometh by the restraint thereof."[126] It was perhaps for this reason that Peterson chose to translate the discourse, providing, as it did, a rich new layer of argument and exempla to reinforce the legislative and governmental status quo.

CONCLUSION

But unto one fault, is all the common people of this Kingdome subject, as well burgh as land; which is, to judge and speake rashlie of their Prince. . . . For remedie whereof (beside the execution of the lawes to be used against unreverent speakers) I know no better meane, th*e*n so to rule, as may justly stop their mouthes[.][127]

First published in 1599 in Edinburgh and subsequently reprinted in 1603 in London and Edinburgh alike, James VI/I's *Basilikon Doron* shares the same liminal space at the turn of the century as Peterson's translation. Here, the king explains to the young prince that the monarch need only provide an outstanding example in his government of the commonwealth to "stop [the] mouthes" of those who might slander him. As the parenthetical appeal to "the execution of the lawes" suggests, however, the Scottish successor to the English throne was as much concerned with the law's power to restrain "unreverent speakers" as Elizabeth had been. Just as Peterson's translation of Tolomei spoke to the legislative preoccupations of Elizabeth's reign, its themes

[125] Parkin-Speer, "Freedom of Speech in Sixteenth-Century English Rhetorics," 65.
[126] LP MS 518, 32.
[127] James VI/I, Βασιλικον Δωρον. *Or His Maiesties Instructions to his Dearest Son, Henry the Prince* (Edinburgh, 1603), 52.

also glanced ahead to the censorship and regulation of speech under James.[128]

When Peterson came to translate Tolomei's discourse, free speech had long been a topic of intense discussion by Tudor scholars, diplomats, and members of Parliament, from depictions of the perfect counselor to speeches delivered in the Commons defending parliamentary privilege. The period from 1597 to 1603 was of particular importance in terms of the regulation and monitoring of speech, witnessing the Bishop's Ban of 1599, the proclamations of 1600 and 1601 targeting "slanderous speeches," and the increased scrutiny with which histories and stage plays were treated by the state in the wake of the Essex rebellion. The translation was thus completed in a wider context of bold legislative responses to "Scandalous Speech and Slanderous Libelles," a contemporary trend that evidently spoke to Peterson's interests as an attorney working at the heart of Elizabethan government.

By turning to Tolomei, Peterson was able to access a rich store of arguments and examples gathered from the Italian vernacular and antiquity alike, with a special emphasis on slander and its implications for government. As we might expect from a champion of the Tuscan language, Tolomei drew his examples not only from classical history and legal digests but also from works in the vernacular, including Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Machiavelli's *Principe* and *Istorie fiorentine*. For the most part, Peterson carefully reproduced these sources, even pointing the reader to the Italian or Latin original when it was not explicitly cited by Tolomei. To help navigate Tolomei's Italian, Peterson harnessed Pierre Vidal's French version of 1572, incorporating certain turns of phrase and lexes. The two translators share a similar enthusiasm for doublets, giving two words where one appears in the Italian, and for appealing, though with differing levels of frequency, to cognates. There are moments, however, where the two translations clearly diverge in their treatment of the original, and the comparison with Vidal underlines the effort Peterson took to reproduce specialist vocabulary in his translation, including detailed marginal notes for his English reader.

Peterson's translation shines new light not only on engagements with Italian political philosophy in late Elizabethan England but also on the English conceptualization of free speech at the turn of the seventeenth

[128] For censorship and book burning under James, see Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

century. The manuscript thus contributes a specific but nonetheless important case study to the history of free speech in early modern England and its regulation at the hands of the government. This initial examination shares something, it is hoped, of the importance of Peterson's translation and its place within the wider early modern discussion of free speech and its relationship with the state.[129]

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