

*John Florio*  
(1553-1625)

and

*Michel de Montaigne*  
(1533-1592)

The son of a former Franciscan friar later turned Protestant reformist and minister of the Italian Protestant church in England's capital, John Florio was born in London. However, he spent much of his early life on the Continent, to which his family retreated during the reign of the Catholic Mary I; Florio would only return in 1558 with the accession of Elizabeth. Educated at the University of Tübingen (1563) and Magdalen College (Oxford), it was at Oxford that he began to cultivate the political, social, and literary connections that he relied upon throughout his career as a translator, tutor, servant of the English Crown and French embassy employee. Although his Italian-English dictionary *A World of Words* (1598) was and is acknowledged as a major contribution to English lexicography, it is his translation of Montaigne's *Essays* (1603) for which he is still remembered. Of the translation, Frances Yates has memorably commented that "Montaigne ... might have shuddered could he have returned from the grave endowed with the capacity to read English. For the Italian applied his own methods to Montaigne's matter. He stopped over nearly every statement, embroidering it with repetition, decorating it with sound-pattern, so that the periods should advance in the balanced, musically adorned manner that he knew and loved. He made, in fact, such a bad translation that it is nearly an original work, not Montaigne but Florio's *Montaigne*." Where Montaigne's language is "apt, adequate, economical," Florio's is "decorative," "rhetorical," ornate.<sup>1</sup> Florio's translation, however, influenced writers from Shakespeare to Jonson to Burton, Browne, and Cowley.<sup>2</sup>

Michel de Montaigne (1533-92), French magistrate, scholar and courtier, is widely credited today as the inventor of the modern essay. He published the first two volumes of his *Essais* in 1580, with a third volume following in 1588.

EDITION: *The essayes, or morall, politike and millitarie discourses of Lo[r]d Michaell de Montaigne*. Printed at London By Val[entine] Sims for Edward Blount, 1603. STC 18041.



---

<sup>1</sup> *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 227-28.

<sup>2</sup> K. Eisenbichler, "John Florio [1553?-1625]," *DLB* 172.

[*Montaigne's Essays*]

from *The Essays or Moral, Politic and Military Discourses of Lord Michel de Montaigne, Knight of the Noble Order of St. Michael, and One of the Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French King, Henry the Third His Chamber.*

First Written by Him in French. And Now Done into English by Him That Hath Inviolably Vowed His Labours to the Eternity of Their Honours, Whose Names He Hath Severally Inscribed on These His Consecrated Altars.<sup>1</sup>

## To the Courteous Reader

Shall I apologize<sup>2</sup> translation? Why,<sup>3</sup> but some hold (as for their freehold<sup>4</sup>) that such conversion

<sup>1</sup> Following are engravings of three altars, each bearing the name of two of Florio's dedicatees. In order from top to bottom: The first book is dedicated to Lucy, countess of Bedford and Lady Anne Harrington (her mother)—the former encouraged his translation of the *Essais* and the latter had welcomed him into her home when he found himself isolated by the arrest of his patron, the earl of Southampton; the second to Elizabeth, countess of Rutland and Lady Penelope Rich (Sidney's "Stella" and Essex's sister); the third to his pupils Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, and Lady Mary Neville, daughter of Sir Thomas Sackville, author of the early Elizabethan tragedy, *Gorboduc* (c. 1560) as well as parts of the 1563 edition of *The Mirror for Magistrates*. Florio completed a large portion of his translation while residing in Sackville's house. In general, Florio's patrons were members of the Essex faction (those who had aligned themselves with Elizabeth's ill-fated favourite, Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex). The earls of Southampton and Rutland were among those who supported Essex's attempted coup d'état (1601). Although Essex was swiftly executed for treason, Southampton escaped the death penalty, but he was imprisoned in the Tower for two years (F. Yates, *John Florio*, p. 220; and F.O. Matthiessen, *Translation: An Elizabethan Art* [New York, 1965], pp. 115-17).

<sup>2</sup> *apologize* i.e., apologize for.

<sup>3</sup> *Why* Used here and throughout this preface interjectionally, "why" is an expression of surprise (here, often involving protest), either in reply to a remark or question, or on perceiving something unexpected; occasionally, in the preface, "why" also emphasizes or calls attention to the statement following, in opposition to a possible doubt or objection.

<sup>4</sup> *some bold (as for their freehold)* i.e., some believe (and this belief is as inviolable to them as land held by freehold). Freehold was a type of land tenure where the land could be held for life, and rights to land treated as something which could be inherited and passed down the generations.

is the subversion of universities.<sup>5</sup> God hold with them, and withhold them from impeach<sup>6</sup> or impair. It were an ill turn, the turning<sup>7</sup> of books should be the overturning of libraries. Yea, but my old fellow Nolano<sup>8</sup> told me, and taught publicly, that from translation all science had its offspring. Likely, since even philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, and all the mathematics yet hold their name of the Greeks; and the Greeks drew their baptizing water from the conduit-pipes of the Egyptians, and they from the well-springs of the Hebrews or Chaldees.<sup>9</sup> And can the well-springs be so sweet and deep, and will the well-drawn water be so sour and smell? And were their countries so ennobled, advantaged, and embellished by such deriving; and doth it drive our noblest colonies upon the rocks of ruin? And did they well? And proved they well? And must we prove ill that do so?

<sup>5</sup> Yates notes that this opposition to translation was "connected with the medievalism still firmly entrenched at the universities." It was feared that providing English translations of pagan classical and contemporary European writers would undermine Christian values. However, English translators were largely "firm Protestants" and found protection and patronage among "the new liberal Protestant nobility" (Yates, *John Florio*, p. 223). On the opposition to translation in the period, see L.B. Wright, "Translations for the Elizabethan Middle Class," *The Library* (December 1932). In his "Mathematical Preface" to *Euclid's Elements*, John Dee notes a similar anxiety about translation's ability to undermine the universities' monopoly on higher education (see "Online Texts," pp. 9-10, ll.421-89).

<sup>6</sup> *God bold with them, and withhold them from impeach* God support them, and keep them from injury.

<sup>7</sup> *ill turn* a harmful act; *turning* translating.

<sup>8</sup> *Nolano* Giordano Bruno, the Nolan (so-called because he was born at Nola in Campagna) [1548-1600], Dominican priest and Neoplatonic philosopher, author of several influential books dealing with natural magic, memory, Neoplatonism, atomism, and rational mysticism. The reference here seems to be to a comment Bruno made either in disputations in which he participated or lectures which he gave at Oxford in 1583 (Yates, *John Florio*, p. 89). Accusations of heresy dictated Bruno's flight from Italy in 1576, but he found sanctuary in France, and spent two years in England (1583-85), where he wrote some of his most important books. His return to Italy in 1591 was followed shortly by his arrest for heresy. Eight years imprisonment did not persuade him to recant, and he was burned as a heretic in 1600.

<sup>9</sup> *Chaldees* Chaldeans.

Why, but learning would not be made common. Yea, but learning cannot be too common, and the commoner the better. Why, but who is not jealous his mistress should be so prostitute? Yea, but this mistress is like air, fire, water: the more breathed, the clearer; the more extended, the warmer; the more drawn, the sweeter. It were inhumanity to coop her up, and worthy forfeiture close<sup>1</sup> to conceal her.

Why, but scholars should have some privilege of pre-eminence. So have they: they only are worthy translators.

Why, but the vulgar should not know all. No, they cannot for all this, nor even scholars for much more; I would both could and knew much more than either doth or can.

Why, but all would not be known of all. No, nor can: much more we know not than we know. All know something; none know all. Would all know all? They must break ere they be so big. God only: men far from God.

Why, but pearls should not be cast to swine.<sup>2</sup> Yet are rings put in their noses;<sup>3</sup> and a swine should know his sty, and will know his meat and his medicine, and as much beside, as any swine doth suppose it to be marjoram.<sup>4</sup>

Why, but it is not well divinity<sup>5</sup> should be a child's or old wives', a cobbler's or clothier's tale or table-talk. There is use, and abuse. Use none too much: abuse none too little.

Why, but let learning be wrapped in a learned mantle. Yea, but to be unwrapped by a learned

nurse. Yea, to be lapped up<sup>6</sup> again; yea, and unlapped again. Else, hold we ignorance the mother of devotion, praying and preaching in an unknown tongue: as sorry a mother, as a seely daughter;<sup>7</sup> a good mind perhaps, but surely an ill manner. If the best be mete<sup>8</sup> for us, why should the best be barred?

Why, but the best wrote best in a tongue more unknown. Nay, in a tongue more known to them that wrote, and not unknown of them to whom they wrote.

Why, but more honour to him that speaks more learned. Yea, such perhaps as Quintilian's orator:<sup>9</sup> a learned man, I warrant him, for I understand him never a word.

Why, but let men write for the most honour of the writer. Nay, for most profit of the reader, and so haply,<sup>10</sup> most honour. If to write obscurely be perplexedly offensive, as Augustus well judged, for our own not to write in our own<sup>11</sup> but unintelligible is haply to fewer and more critical, but surely without honour, without profit, if he go not or send not an interpreter; who else, what is he but a translator? Obscure be he that loves obscurity. And therefore willingly I take his word, though wittingly I do mistake it: *Translata proficit*.<sup>12</sup>

Why, but who ever did well in it? Nay, who did ever well without it? If nothing can be now said but hath been said before—as he said well, if there be no new thing under the sun, what is that that hath been? That that shall be (as he said that was wisest)<sup>13</sup>—what do the best then but glean after

<sup>1</sup> *close* secretly; but, perhaps, also, “strictly.”

<sup>2</sup> As part of the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus instructs his listeners, “Do not give dogs what is holy; and do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under foot and turn to attack you” (Matthew 7:6).

<sup>3</sup> Rings were put in pigs' noses to help tame their rooting behaviour, which could lead to damaged pastures.

<sup>4</sup> *as any swine doth suppose it to be marjoram* Proverb, “A pig has nothing to do with marjoram,” referring to people who by inclination, occupation, or talent are able to do nothing with a particular object (Erasmus, *Adages*, 1.4.38, *The Adages of Erasmus*, selected and ed. W. Barker [Toronto, 2001], p. 73). Cf. the injunction against casting pearls before swine (see p. 3, note 2).

<sup>5</sup> *divinity* theology.

<sup>6</sup> *lapped up* folded up, rolled up in successive layers.

<sup>7</sup> *as sorry a mother, as a seely daughter* Proverb, “Like mother like daughter” (Tilley M1199); *sorry* wretched, poor; *seely* pitiable, miserable.

<sup>8</sup> *mete* suitable, fit, proper.

<sup>9</sup> *Quintilian's orator* Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (c. 35-c. 100 CE), famed Roman writer and rhetorician, was the author of *Institutio Oratoria* (*Education of an Orator*).

<sup>10</sup> *haply* perchance, perhaps.

<sup>11</sup> *in our own* i.e., in our own language.

<sup>12</sup> *Translata proficit* Latin, “Translation is useful.” Part of a popular sixteenth-century Latin motto, *Translata proficit arbor* (“A tree makes progress when transplanted”).

<sup>13</sup> “What has been is what will be, and what has been done is what will be done; and there is nothing new under the sun” (Ecclesiastes 1:9).

others' harvest, borrow their colours, inherit their possessions? What do they but translate, perhaps usurp, at least collect? If with acknowledgment, it is well; if by stealth, it is too bad. In this, our conscience is our accuser, posterity our judge; in that, our study is our advocate, and you readers our jury.

Why, but whom can I name that bore a great name for it? Nay, who great else, but either in part—as Plato and Aristotle out of many; Tully, Plutarch, Pliny<sup>1</sup> out of Plato, Aristotle and many—or of purpose,<sup>2</sup> as all that since have made most<sup>3</sup> know the Greek, and almost the Latin, even translated their whole treatises?

Why, Cardan<sup>4</sup> maintaineth, neither Homer's verse can be well expressed in Latin, nor Virgil's in

Greek, nor Petrarch's in either. Suppose Homer took nothing out of any, for we hear of none good before him, and there must be a first; yet Homer by Virgil is often so translated as, Scaliger<sup>5</sup> conceives, there is the armour of Hercules most puissant put on the back of Bacchus most delicate; and Petrarch, if well-tracked, would be found in their footsteps whose very garbage less poets are noted to have gathered. Why, but that Scaliger thinks that Ficinus<sup>6</sup> by his rustical simplicity translated Plato as if an owl should represent an eagle, or some tara-rag player should act the princely Telephus with a voice as ragged as his clothes, a grace as bad as his voice.<sup>7</sup> If the famous Ficinus were so faulty, who may hope to 'scape scot-free? But for him and us all, let me confess, as he here censureth, and let confession make half amends,

<sup>1</sup> *Tully* Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE), Roman orator, politician and writer on topics ranging from rhetoric and oratory to moral philosophy; he held Plato and Aristotle in high esteem (*OCD*, p. 1562); *Plutarch* (before 50-after 120 CE), teacher, philosopher, and prolific author, famous for his essays, biographies, and works of moral philosophy; in terms of style and genre, his dialogues are in the Aristotelian tradition, but he was himself a committed Platonist (*OCD*, pp. 1200-01); *Pliny [the Elder]* Gaius Plinius Secundus (23/24-79 CE), most famous in the Renaissance as the author of *Naturalis Historia* (*The History of the World, Commonly called The Natural History of C. Plinius Secundus*, trans. P. Holland, 1601), an encyclopaedic compendium of all ancient and contemporary knowledge—botanical, zoological, medical, geological, etc.; *Naturalis Historia* relies on more than 2,000 works, and there are numerous marginal acknowledgments, including many to works by Aristotle and Plato (*OCD*, p. 1197).

<sup>2</sup> *of purpose* purposely, designedly (as opposed to the more casual use “in part” of other writers by Plato, Aristotle, Tully, Plutarch, and Pliny).

<sup>3</sup> *made most* produced the most books.

<sup>4</sup> *Cardan* Girolamo Cardano (1501-76), Italian mathematician and medical doctor, chair of medicine (University of Pavia, 1543-59, with a seven year interruption; and University of Bologna, 1562-70), who in addition to many medical treatises published works on arithmetic, algebra, astronomy, gambling, and music. These comments are probably contained in a 1543 Italian treatise comparing the Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish languages (H. Morley, *The Life of Girolamo Cardano of Milan, Physician*, 2 vols., London, 1854, 1.281-82). A search through the standard edition of Cardano's works (that does not contain this Italian treatise on language) failed to turn up this specific comparison between Homer, Virgil, and Petrarch. See *Opera Omnia: The 1662 Lugudni Edition*, ed. A. Buck, 10 Vols., New York, 1967. Thanks to Anthony Grafton (Princeton) and M.J.B. Allen (UCLA) for their assistance with this note.

<sup>5</sup> *Scaliger* Julius Caesar Scaliger, also Giulio Cesare Scaligero (1484-1558), French physician, humanist, and classical scholar, author of an influential Latin grammar (1540) as well as works on botany and zoology. Published posthumously, his *Poetics* (1561) includes a famous comparison of Virgil and Homer, where Virgil is proclaimed the greater poet, even though Homer has the claim of precedence and antiquity. Through a detailed analysis of passages from Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* which Virgil has imitated in his *Aeneid*, Scaliger concludes “that Virgil seems not so much to have imitated Homer as to have taught us how Homer should have written” (p. 81). Specifically, Scaliger faults Homer's epithets as “cold, puerile, or pointless,” while Virgil's expressions are “chaste, noble,” and “simple” (p. 75). For Scaliger, Virgil's “distinctive excellence” is “always to be august [i.e., majestic, stately, sublime]” (p. 80). Hercules was a demigod, famous for his strength; Bacchus was the god of wine and revelry. See *Select Translations From Scaliger's Poetics* by F.M. Padelford (New York, 1905). Thanks to A. Grafton and M.J.B. Allen for their assistance with this note.

<sup>6</sup> *Ficinus* Marsilio Ficino (1433-99), humanist and indefatigable translator of the classics, published a Latin translation of Plato's works in 1484. This translation, which remained in wide use into the eighteenth century, and its accompanying commentary on the *Symposium*, which informed Renaissance Neoplatonism, were enormously influential and highly lauded.

<sup>7</sup> *or some tara-rag player ... voice* In *Ars Poetica*, Horace describes the language, meter, and tone appropriate to different dramatic genres: “If you would have me weep you must first feel grief yourself: then, O Telephus or Peleus, will your misfortunes hurt me: if the words you utter are ill suited, I shall laugh or fall asleep” (95-96). Telephus, king of Mysia and son of Hercules, married one of the daughters of King Priam of Troy. Wounded and later miraculously cured by the Greek warrior Achilles, Telephus in return fought on the Greek side in the Trojan War, against his father-in-law (*Classical Dict.*, p. 662).

120 that every language hath its genius and inseparable  
form;<sup>1</sup> without, Pythagoras his “metempsychosis”  
it cannot rightly be translated.<sup>2</sup> The Tuscan altilo-  
quance,<sup>3</sup> the Venus<sup>4</sup> of the French, the sharp state<sup>5</sup>  
of the Spanish, the strong significancy<sup>6</sup> of the  
125 Dutch cannot from here be drawn to life. The sense  
may keep form; the sentence is disfigured, the fine-  
ness, fitness, featness<sup>7</sup> diminished, as much as art’s  
nature is short of nature’s art, a picture of a body, a  
130 shadow of a substance. Why, then, belike I have  
done by Montaigne as Terence by Menander,<sup>8</sup> made  
of good French no good English. If I have done  
no worse, and it be no worse taken, it is well. As he,  
if no poet, yet am I no thief, since I say of whom I  
135 had it, rather to imitate his and his authors’ negli-  
gence than any backbiter’s obscure diligence. His  
horse I set before you, perhaps without his trap-  
pings,<sup>9</sup> and his meat without sauce. Indeed in this

<sup>1</sup> *genius* indwelling, distinctive character, or spirit; *form* presumably, the formal aspects of a language, such as its grammar, syntax, and vocabulary.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., without taking into consideration the “genius and inseparable form” of the original language of Pythagoras’ philosophical speculations about metempsychosis, this concept cannot be properly translated. Metempsychosis is a cycle of reincarnation, where after death the human soul would transmigrate into the body of another human, an animal, or even a plant; only through purification could a person escape this cycle and achieve immortality.

<sup>3</sup> *Tuscan altiloquence* the Italian language’s favouring of high or lofty expressions (the *OED online* dates the first use of this word to 1731; unlike in this later usage, the word does not have negative connotations here).

<sup>4</sup> *Venus* The *OED online* records no usage such as this; Florio refers perhaps to the French language’s general beauty or “charm”; perhaps, also, there is the implication that it is the “language of love.”

<sup>5</sup> *sharp state* precise formality or simply the “precise nature” of.

<sup>6</sup> *significancy* expressiveness.

<sup>7</sup> *featness* elegance.

<sup>8</sup> as *Terence by Menander* Terence (Publius Terentius Afer, fl. 160 BCE) translated the Greek plays of Menander (344/43-292/91 BCE) into Latin. Florio is being somewhat disingenuous here, since Terence’s translations (or more correctly “adaptations”) of Menander were “widely read and performed both in the original [Latin] and in translation throughout the Renaissance and later into the eighteenth century, and [were] used as a textbook in the schools for the purity of [their] Latin” (*Who’s Who*, p. 234). In addition, Menander’s original Greek plays were lost in the seventh and eighth centuries ( *OCD*, pp. 956-57) and thus were unavailable for the kind of comparative evaluation Florio suggests here.

<sup>9</sup> *trappings* decorated accoutrements (ornamented bridle, saddle, etc.).

140 specially find I fault with my master, that as Crassus  
and Antonius in Tully, the one seemed to  
contemn,<sup>10</sup> the other not to know the Greeks;<sup>11</sup>  
whereas the one so spoke Greek as he seemed to  
145 know no other tongue, the other in his travels to  
Athens and Rhodes had long conversed with the  
learned Grecians: so he,<sup>12</sup> most writing of himself,  
and the worst rather than the best, disclaimeth all  
memory, authorities, or borrowing of the ancient or  
150 modern; whereas in course of his discourse he  
seems acquainted not only with all, but no other but  
authors, and could out of question like Cyrus or  
Caesar call any of his army by his name and condi-  
155 tion.<sup>13</sup> And I would for us all he had in this whole  
body done as much, as in most of that of other lan-  
guages my peerless, dear-dearest and never-suffi-  
ciently-commended friend hath done for mine and  
your ease and intelligence.<sup>14</sup> Why then again, as  
Terence, I have had help. Yea, and thank them for  
it, and think you need not be displeased by them  
that may please you in a better matter.

Why, but essays are but men’s school-themes  
160 pieced together. You might as well say, several  
texts. All is in the choice and handling.

<sup>10</sup> *contemn* despise.

<sup>11</sup> In Cicero’s dialogue *De Oratore* (“On the Ideal Orator”), two of the main interlocutors are the famous orators Lucius Licinius Crassus (140-91 BCE) and Marcus Antonius (143-87 BCE). Cicero compares in these terms their attitudes towards the Greeks from whom they had both learned much concerning oratory, rhetoric, and philosophy (*On the Ideal Orator*, trans. and ed., J.M. May and J. Wisse [New York, 2001], 2.2-5, pp. 14-15; 125-26).

<sup>12</sup> *he* i.e., Montaigne.

<sup>13</sup> Julius Caesar’s personal relationship with his soldiers was well-known (see Suetonius, “Julius Caesar,” *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. R. Graves [London, rev. ed., 1979], pp. 65-70); Cyrus’ father, Cambyses, also recommends to his son a similarly intimate relationship with his soldiers, which characterized all of Cyrus’ dealings with them (*The School of Cyrus: William Barker’s 1567 Translation of Xenophon’s Cyropaedia [The Education of Cyrus]*, ed. J. Tatum [New York, 1987], pp. 36-37, 47-49).

<sup>14</sup> Florio refers here to his friend and colleague Matthew Gwinne (?1558-1627), doctor and professor of medicine at Gresham College (London), who undertook the massive task of tracing all of Montaigne’s unacknowledged quotations to their original classical sources. In his work’s dedicatory epistle, Florio calls Gwinne “in this bundle of riddles an understanding Oedipus, in this perilous-crooked passage a monster-quelling Theseus or Hercules” (A3r).

Yea, marry, but Montaigne had he wit, it was but a French wit: *ferdillant*, *legier*, and *extravagant*.<sup>1</sup> Now say you, English wits, by the staidest censure of as learned a wit as is among you.<sup>2</sup> The counsel of that judicious worthy counsellor (honourable Sir Edward Wotton<sup>3</sup>) would not have embarked me to this discovery had not his wisdom known it worth my pains and your perusing. And should or would any dog-toothed critic or adder-tongued satirist scoff or find fault that in the course of his discourses, or web of his essays, or entitling of his chapters, he holdeth a disjointed, broken and gadding style; and that many times they answer not his titles,<sup>4</sup> and have no coherence together: to such I will say little, for they deserve but little. But if they list,<sup>5</sup> else let them choose, I send them to the ninth chapter of the third book (folio 596), where himself preventeth their carping, and foreseeing their criticism answereth them for me at full. Yet are there herein errors. If of matter, the author's; if of omission, the printer's. *Him*<sup>6</sup> I would not amend, but send him to you as I found him; *this*<sup>7</sup> I could not attend. But where I now find faults, let me pray and entreat you for your own sake to correct as you read, to amend as you list. But some errors are mine, and mine are by more than translation. Are they in grammar or orthography? As easy for you to right, as me to be wrong. Or in construction, as mis-attributing "him," "her," or "it" to things alive, or dead, or neuter? You may soon know my

meaning, and *eftsoons*<sup>8</sup> use your mending. Or are they in some uncouth<sup>9</sup> terms, as "entrain,"<sup>10</sup> "conscientious," "endear," "tarnish," "comport," "efface," "facilitate," "amusing," "debauching," "regret," "effort," "emotion," and such like?<sup>11</sup> If you like them not, take others most commonly set by them to expound them, since there they were set to make such likely French words familiar with our English, which well may bear them. If any be capital in sense mistaking, be I admonished, and they shall be recanted. Howsoever, the falseness of the French prints, the diversities of copies, editions and volumes—some whereof have more or less than others—and I in London having followed some, and in the country others—now those in folio, now those in octavo—yet in this last survey reconciled all: therefore, or blame not rashly, or condemn not fondly the multitude of them, set for your further ease in a table (at the end of the book), which ere you begin to read, I entreat you to peruse. This printer's wanting a diligent corrector,<sup>12</sup> my many employments, and the distance between me and my friends I should confer with may extenuate, if not excuse, even more errors. In sum, if any think he could do better, let him try; then will he better think of what is done. Seven or eight of great wit and worth have assayed, but found these essays no attempt for French apprentices or Littletonians.<sup>13</sup> If this done it may please you, as I wish it may, and

<sup>1</sup> *ferdillant* French, "fertile, rich"; *legier* French, "léger": flighty, frivolous; *extravagant* excessive, wild.

<sup>2</sup> *Now say ... among you* i.e., Now speak you, English wits, in accordance with the most sober or steady judgement of as learned a wit as is among you.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir Edward Wotton* Sir Edward Wotton (1548-1626) was a well-known scholar and diplomat, skilled in French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as Florio's friend and patron, whose request that Florio translate a single chapter of Montaigne was the genesis of the entire work (Yates, *John Florio*, p. 220).

<sup>4</sup> *they answer not his titles* i.e., the subject matter of the essays are not reflected in their titles.

<sup>5</sup> *list* wish.

<sup>6</sup> *Him* i.e., the author.

<sup>7</sup> *this* i.e., the printing.

<sup>8</sup> *eftsoons* again, likewise.

<sup>9</sup> *uncouth* foreign, alien.

<sup>10</sup> *entrain* [French, *entraîner*, -er, f. en- (L. *inde*) away + *trainer* to drag], to draw away with or after oneself; in early use, figuratively, "to bring on a consequence" (the *OED* dates its earliest use to 1568).

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix, at the conclusion of this text.

<sup>12</sup> *wanting* lacking; *corrector* proofreader.

<sup>13</sup> *Littletonians* A reference to Claudius Hollyband's elementary French grammar, *The French Littleton*. Yates suggests that Florio may be referring here specifically to a certain Edward Aggas who had a work (no longer extant) called *The Essays of Michael Lord Mountene* entered in the Stationers' Register in October of 1595 and who published in the same year a French and English grammar; appended were dialogues from *French Littleton* (*John Florio*, p. 215). Obviously, Florio suggests that previous translators of Montaigne were hampered by their poor French.

I hope it shall, I with you shall be pleased. Though  
not, yet still I am

the same resolute

225

JOHN FLORIO.

[...]

The Author to the Reader.

Reader, lo<sup>1</sup> here a well-meaning book. It doth at  
the first entrance forewarn thee that, in contriving  
the same, I have proposed unto myself no other  
than a familiar and private end. I have had no  
5 respect or consideration at all, either to thy  
service, or to my glory; my forces are not capable  
of any such design. I have vowed the same to the  
particular commodity<sup>2</sup> of my kinsfolks and  
friends; to the end that, losing me (which they are  
10 likely to do ere long), they may therein find some  
lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by  
that means reserve more whole and more lively  
foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have  
had of me. Had my intention been to forestall and  
15 purchase the world's opinion and favour, I would  
surely have adorned myself more quaintly,<sup>3</sup> or  
kept a more grave and solemn march. I desire  
therein to be delineated in mine own genuine,  
simple and ordinary fashion, without contention,  
20 art or study, for it is myself I portray. My imper-  
fections shall therein be read to the life, and my  
natural form discerned, so far-forth<sup>4</sup> as public re-  
verence hath permitted me. For, if my fortune had  
been to have lived among those nations which yet  
25 are said to live under the sweet liberty of nature's  
first and uncorrupted laws, I assure thee I would  
most willingly have portrayed myself fully and  
naked. Thus, gentle reader, myself am the ground-  
work of my book; it is then no reason thou  
30 shouldest employ thy time about so frivolous and  
vain a subject. Therefore farewell,

From *Montaigne*, the first of March. 1580.

<sup>1</sup> *lo* interjection, "behold," "see."

<sup>2</sup> *commodity* benefit.

<sup>3</sup> *quaintly* elaborately.

<sup>4</sup> *so far-forth* to the specified extent and no more.

[...]

The Thirtieth Chapter.  
*Of the Cannibals.*

At what time King Pyrrhus came into Italy, after  
he had surveyed the marshalling of the army  
which the Romans sent against him: "I wot<sup>5</sup> not,"  
said he, "what barbarous men these are" (for so  
5 were the Grecians wont to call all strange nations),  
"but the disposition of this army, which I see, is  
nothing barbarous."<sup>6</sup> So said the Grecians of that  
which Flaminius<sup>7</sup> sent into their country; and  
Philip viewing from a tower the order and distri-  
10 bution of the Roman camp, in his kingdom under  
Publius Sulpitius Galba.<sup>8</sup> Lo how a man ought to  
take heed, lest he overweeningly follow vulgar  
opinions, which should be measured by the rule of  
reason, and not by the common report.

15 I have had long time dwelling with me a man  
who for the space of ten or twelve years had dwelt  
in that other world, which in our age was lately dis-  
covered in those parts where Villegaignon<sup>9</sup> first  
landed, and surnamed Antarctic France. This dis-  
covery of so infinite and vast a country seemeth

<sup>5</sup> *wot* know.

<sup>6</sup> Pyrrhus of Epirus (319-272 BCE) invaded Italy and won a decisive victory against the Romans at Heraclea in 280 and at Ausculum in 279. Although he left behind a garrison at Tarentum, it was finally overrun by the Romans in 272. The details Montaigne cites are from Plutarch's "The Life of Pyrrhus." See *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. B. Perrin, 11 vols. (London, 1914-26), 9.16.4-5.

<sup>7</sup> *Flaminius* Titus Quinctius Flaminius (c. 229-174 BCE), Roman consul (elected, 198), who in 197 defeated Philip V of Macedon in the Second Macedonian War. The subsequent details Montaigne cites are from Plutarch's "The Life of Titus Flaminius." See *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. B. Perrin, 10.5.4-6.

<sup>8</sup> *Publius Sulpitius Galba* Publius Sulpicius Galba Maximus (fl. 211-193 BCE), Roman commander, elected consul in 211 (when he protected Rome against Hannibal) and 200 BCE. He helped defeat Philip V in battle in 200 (*Dict. Ancient History*, p. 274).

<sup>9</sup> *Villegaignon* Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon (1510-72), French soldier and explorer, spearheaded the French colonization of Brazil, founding a colony of Protestant refugees near Guanabara Bay in 1557. He named the colony La France Antarctique. See P. Bonnichon, "Villegaignon, Nicolas Durand de," in *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, gen. ed., B.A. Tenenbaum (New York, 1996), 5.423.

worthy great consideration. I wot not whether I  
 can warrant myself that some other be not dis-  
 covered hereafter, sithence<sup>1</sup> so many worthy men,  
 and better learned than we are, have so many ages  
 25 been deceived in this. I fear me our eyes be greater  
 than our bellies, and that we have more curiosity  
 than capacity. We embrace all, but we fasten  
 nothing but wind.

Plato maketh Solon to report that he had learnt  
 30 of the priests of the city of Sais in Egypt that  
 whilom,<sup>2</sup> and before the general deluge,<sup>3</sup> there was  
 a great island called Atlantis, situated at the mouth  
 of the strait of Gibraltar, which contained more  
 firm land than Africa and Asia together. And that  
 35 the kings of that country, who did not only  
 possess that island, but had so far entered into the  
 mainland that of the breadth of Africa they held  
 as far as Egypt, and of Europe's length as far as  
 Tuscany; and that they undertook to invade Asia  
 40 and to subdue all the nations that compass the  
 Mediterranean sea, to the gulf of Mare-Maggiore,  
 and to that end they traversed all Spain, France  
 and Italy so far as Greece, where the Athenians  
 made head against them; but that awhile after,  
 45 both the Athenians themselves and that great  
 island were swallowed up by the deluge.<sup>4</sup> It is very  
 likely this extreme ruin of waters wrought strange  
 alterations in the habitations of the earth, as some  
 hold that the sea hath divided Sicily from Italy—

50 Men say, sometimes this land by that forsaken,  
 And that by this, were split, and ruin-shaken,  
 Whereas till then both lands as one were  
 taken.<sup>5</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> *sithence* since.

<sup>2</sup> *whilom* at some past time; long ago.

<sup>3</sup> *general deluge* the great flood in the time of Noah, recounted in Genesis 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> See Plato, *Timaens* in *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. B. Jowett, 2 vols. [New York, 1920], 2.21-25.

<sup>5</sup> <\*> Virg. *Aen.* lib. 3, 414.416 [Florio's note]. The reference is to Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book 3, ll. 414-16. Throughout the essay, Montaigne offers first the Latin text of his quotations, then a French translation. I have dropped the Latin originals and retained Florio's English translation of Montaigne's French versions.

Cyprus from Syria, the island of Negroponte  
 from the mainland of Boeotia,<sup>6</sup> and in other  
 55 places joined lands that were sundered by the sea,  
 filling with mud and sand the channels between  
 them:

The fen long barren, to be rowed in, now  
 Both feeds the neighbour towns, and feels  
 the plow.<sup>7</sup>

60 But there is no great appearance<sup>8</sup> the said  
 island<sup>9</sup> should be the new world we have lately dis-  
 covered, for it well-nigh touched Spain, and it  
 were an incredible effect of inundation to have  
 removed the same more than twelve hundred  
 65 leagues, as we see it is. Besides, our modern navi-  
 gations have now almost discovered that it is not  
 an island, but rather firm land and a continent,  
 with the East Indies on one side and the countries  
 lying under the two poles on the other; from  
 70 which if it be divided, it is with so narrow a strait  
 and interval that it no way deserveth to be named  
 an island. For, it seemeth there are certain motions  
 in these vast bodies, some natural and other some  
 febricitant,<sup>10</sup> as well as in ours. When I consider  
 75 the impression my river of Dordogne worketh in  
 my time, toward the right shore of her descent,  
 and how much it hath gained in twenty years, and  
 how many foundations of diverse houses it hath  
 overwhelmed and violently carried away, I confess  
 80 it to be an extraordinary agitation; for, should it  
 always keep one course, or had it ever kept the  
 same, the figure of the world had ere this been  
 overthrown. But they are subject to changes and  
 alterations. Sometimes they overflow and spread  
 85 themselves on one side, sometimes on another;  
 and other times they contain themselves in their  
 natural beds or channels. I speak not of sudden

<sup>6</sup> *Boeotia* i.e., the island of Negroponte (once Euboea, now Chalki) in the channel of Egeiros off the Greek mainland in what was once the district of Boeotia.

<sup>7</sup> <\*> Hor. *Art. Poet.* 65 [Florio's note]. The reference is to Horace, *Ars Poetica* (*The Art of Poetry*), 65.

<sup>8</sup> *appearance* likelihood, probability.

<sup>9</sup> *the said island* i.e., Atlantis.

<sup>10</sup> *febricitant* feverish.



inundations, whereof we now treat the causes. In  
 90 Medoc alongst the sea-coast, my brother, the lord  
 of Arsac, may see a town of his buried under the  
 sands which the sea casteth up before it; the tops  
 of some buildings are yet to be discerned. His  
 rents and domains<sup>1</sup> have been changed into barren  
 95 pastures. The inhabitants thereabouts affirm, that  
 some years since the sea encroacheth so much  
 upon them, that they have lost four leagues of  
 firm land. These sands are her forerunners, and  
 100 we see great hillocks of gravel moving, which  
 march half a league before it, and usurp on the  
 firm land.

The other testimony of antiquity to which  
 some will refer this discovery is in Aristotle (if at  
 least that little book of unheard-of wonders be  
 his<sup>2</sup>), where he reporteth that certain Carthagini-  
 105 ans having sailed athwart the Atlantic sea without  
 the strait of Gibraltar, after long time they at last  
 discovered a great fertile island, all replenished  
 with goodly woods and watered with great and  
 deep rivers, far distant from all land; and that both  
 110 they and others, allured by the goodness and fer-  
 tility of the soil, went thither with their wives, chil-  
 dren, and household, and there began to habituate  
 and settle themselves. The lords of Carthage,  
 seeing their country by little and little to be dis-  
 115 peopled, made a law and express inhibition that  
 upon pain of death no more men should go  
 thither, and banished all that were gone thither to  
 dwell; fearing (as they said) that in success of time  
 they would so multiply as they might one day sup-  
 120 plant them, and overthrow their own estate. This  
 narration of Aristotle hath no reference unto our  
 new-found countries.

This servant I had was a simple and rough-  
 hewn fellow, a condition fit to yield a true testi-  
 125 mony. For subtle people may indeed mark more

curiously, and observe things more exactly, but  
 they amplify and gloss them; and the better to per-  
 suade, and make their interpretations of more  
 validity, they cannot choose but somewhat alter  
 130 the story. They never represent things truly, but  
 fashion and mask them according to the visage  
 they saw them in; and to purchase credit to their  
 judgment, and draw you on to believe them, they  
 commonly adorn, enlarge, yea, and hyperbolize  
 135 the matter. Wherein is required either a most  
 sincere reporter, or a man so simple that he may  
 have no invention to build upon, and to give a true  
 likelihood unto false devices, and be not wedded  
 to his own will. Such a one was my man, who,  
 140 besides his own report, hath many times showed  
 me diverse mariners and merchants whom he had  
 known in that voyage. So am I pleased with his  
 information that I never enquire what cosmogra-  
 phers<sup>3</sup> say of it.

We had need of topographers<sup>4</sup> to make us par-  
 ticular narrations of the places they have been in.  
 For some of them, if they have the advantage of  
 us that they have seen Palestine, will challenge<sup>5</sup> a  
 privilege to tell us news of all the world besides. I  
 would have every man write what he knows and  
 no more, not only in that, but in all other subjects.  
 For one may have particular knowledge of the  
 nature of one river, and experience of the quality  
 of one fountain, that in other things knows no  
 150 more than another man; who, nevertheless, to  
 publish this little scantling, will undertake to write  
 of all the physics.<sup>6</sup> From which vice proceed  
 diverse great inconveniences.<sup>7</sup>

Now, to return to my purpose, I find (as far as  
 160 I have been informed) there is nothing in that  
 nation that is either barbarous or savage, unless  
 men call that barbarism which is not common to  
 them; as, indeed, we have no other aim of truth

<sup>1</sup> *rents and domains* Montaigne refers to different types of land, here, both the land which Montaigne's brother leased or rented to others, and that which he himself occupied (his demesne or estate lands).

<sup>2</sup> *Aristotle ... be his* The pseudo-Aristotelian "On Marvellous Things Heard" was included in six major collections of Aristotle's *Complete Works* between 1495-98 and 1619 (W. Wallace, "Aristotle and Aristotelianism," in *Encycl. Renaissance*, 1.110).

<sup>3</sup> *cosmographers* those who map the celestial and terrestrial worlds (i.e., geographers).

<sup>4</sup> *topographers* those who are skilled in describing or delineating a particular locality.

<sup>5</sup> *challenge* lay claim to (as a right).

<sup>6</sup> *physics* natural sciences; knowledge of the natural world.

<sup>7</sup> *inconveniences* incongruities, absurdities.

and reason than the example and idea of the opinions and customs of the country we live in. [T]here is ever perfect religion, perfect policy, perfect and complete use of all things. They are even savage,<sup>1</sup> as we call those fruits wild which nature of herself and of her ordinary progress hath produced; whereas, indeed, they are those which ourselves have altered by our artificial devices, and diverted from their common order, we should rather term savage. In those are the true and most profitable virtues and natural properties most lively and vigorous, which in these we have bastardized, applying them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. And if, notwithstanding, in diverse fruits of those countries that were never tilled we shall find that in respect of ours they are most excellent, and as delicate unto our taste, there is no reason art should gain the point of honour of our great and puissant mother Nature. We have so much by our inventions surcharged<sup>2</sup> the beauties and riches of her works that we have altogether over-choked her. Yet, wherever her purity shineth she makes our vain and frivolous enterprises wonderfully ashamed:

Ivies spring better of their own accord;  
 Unhaunted plots much fairer trees afford.  
 Birds by no art much sweeter notes record.<sup>3</sup>

All our endeavour or wit cannot so much as reach to represent the nest of the least birdlet, its contexture,<sup>4</sup> beauty, profit and use; no, nor the web of a silly<sup>5</sup> spider. “All things,” sayeth Plato, “are produced either by nature, by fortune, or by art. The greatest and fairest by one or other of the two first, the least and imperfect by the last.”<sup>6</sup>

Those nations seem, therefore, so barbarous unto me because they have received very little

<sup>1</sup> *They are even savage* i.e., they are savage in that very same way.

<sup>2</sup> *surcharged* burdened, over-taxed; perhaps, “overwhelmed.”

<sup>3</sup> <\*> Propert. i. *El.* ii.10 [Florio’s note]. The reference is to Propertius, *Elegies*, 1.2.10.

<sup>4</sup> *contexture* weaving together.

<sup>5</sup> *silly* frail, weak; small, insignificant.

<sup>6</sup> See *Laws* in *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. B. Jowett, 2.10.889.

fashion from human wit, and are yet near their original naturality. The laws of nature do yet command them—which are but little bastardized by ours—and that with such purity as I am sometimes grieved, the knowledge of it came no sooner to light, at what time there were men that better than we could have judged of it. I am sorry Lycurgus<sup>7</sup> and Plato had it not; for me seemeth that what in those nations we see by experience doth not only exceed all the pictures wherewith licentious poesy hath proudly embellished the golden age,<sup>8</sup> and all her quaint inventions to feign a happy condition of man, but also the conception and desire of philosophy. They could not imagine a genuity<sup>9</sup> so pure and simple, as we see it by experience, nor ever believe our society might be maintained with so little art and human combination. It is a nation, would I answer Plato,<sup>10</sup> that hath no kind of traffic,<sup>11</sup> no knowledge of letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politic superiority; no use of service, of riches, or of poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividends;<sup>12</sup> no occupation, but idle; no respect of kindred, but common; no apparel but natural; no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corn, or metal.

<sup>7</sup> *Lycurgus* legendary founder of Sparta’s political, social, educational, and legal institutions, famed in Plutarch’s account for his wisdom, honesty and dedication to the well-being of the state and its people. See “The Life of Lycurgus” in *Plutarch’s Lives*, trans. B. Perrin, vol. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *the golden age* In classical literature, the age of original human and natural perfection. For two poetic representations of the golden age, see Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 109-20; and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.89-103.

<sup>9</sup> *genuity* simplicity (a word coined by Florio; the *OED* cites this sentence as containing the only known use of the word in English).

<sup>10</sup> *would I answer Plato* In his *Republic*, Plato describes the correct social and political hierarchy for the well-ordered state, as well as the proper constitution and use of institutions relating to justice, war, education, the arts and sciences, the family and private property, the economy and trade, labour and occupations. Although Montaigne is right to suggest that Plato’s state is generally the opposite of the one depicted here, Plato does state that both wealth and poverty should be banned in order to increase the state’s internal unity (*The Republic of Plato*, trans., F.M. Cornford [Oxford, 1944], ch. 11). He recommends as well a limited commonality of goods and the family for the ideal state’s Guardian class (ch. 10 and 16).

<sup>11</sup> *traffic* trade, commerce.

<sup>12</sup> *dividences* divisions, partitions.

225 The very words that import lying, falsehood,  
 treason, dissimulation, covetousness, envy, detrac-  
 tion, and pardon were never heard of amongst  
 them.<sup>1</sup> How dissonant would he find his imagi-  
 nary commonwealth from this perfection?

230 Nature at first uprising,  
 These manners did devise.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, they live in a country of so ex-  
 ceeding pleasant and temperate situation that, as  
 my testimonies<sup>3</sup> have told me, it is very rare to see  
 235 a sick body amongst them; and they have further  
 assured me they never saw any man there either  
 shaking with the palsy, toothless, with eyes drop-  
 ping, or crooked and stooping through age. They  
 are seated alongst the sea-coast, encompassed  
 240 toward the land with huge and steepy mountains,  
 having between both a hundred leagues or there-  
 abouts of open and champaign<sup>4</sup> ground. They  
 have great abundance of fish and flesh, that have  
 no resemblance at all with ours, and eat them  
 245 without any sauces or skill of cookery, but plain  
 boiled or broiled. The first man that brought a  
 horse thither, although he had in many other  
 voyages conversed with them, bred so great a  
 horror in the land that, before they could take  
 250 notice of him, they slew him with arrows.

Their buildings are very long, and able to con-  
 tain two or three hundred souls, covered with  
 barks of great trees, fastened in the ground at one  
 end, interlaced and joined close together by the  
 255 tops, after the manner of some of our granges;<sup>5</sup>  
 the covering whereof hangs down to the ground  
 and steadeth them as a flank.<sup>6</sup> They have a kind of  
 wood so hard that, riving and cleaving the same,  
 they make blades, swords, and grid-irons to broil

<sup>1</sup> *It is a nation ... amongst them* This passage is the source of Gonzalo's description of the ideal commonwealth in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (2.1.152-73).

<sup>2</sup> Virgil, *Georgics*, 2.20. ("These are the modes Nature first ordained." Trans. H.R. Fairclough, 2 vols. [Cambridge, MA, 1947], 1.117).

<sup>3</sup> *testimonies* witnesses (not a usage cited in the *OED*).

<sup>4</sup> *champaign* flat, level.

<sup>5</sup> *granges* granaries, barns.

<sup>6</sup> *steadeth them as a flank* serves them as a covering.

260 their meat with. Their beds are of a kind of cotton  
 cloth, fastened to the house-roof, as our ship-  
 cabins; every one hath his severall<sup>7</sup> couch, for the  
 women lie from their husbands.

They rise with the sun, and feed for all day as  
 265 soon as they are up, and make no more meals after  
 that. They drink not at meat (as Suidas<sup>8</sup> reporteth  
 of some other people of the East, which drank  
 after meals), but drink many times a day, and are  
 much given to pledge carouses.<sup>9</sup> Their drink is  
 270 made of a certain root, and of the colour of our  
 claret wines, which lasteth but two or three days;  
 they drink it warm. It hath somewhat a sharp taste,  
 wholesome for the stomach, nothing heady, but  
 laxative for such as are not used unto it, yet very  
 275 pleasing to such as are accustomed unto it. Instead  
 of bread, they use a certain white composition,  
 like unto corianders confected.<sup>10</sup> I have eaten  
 some, the taste whereof is somewhat sweet and  
 wallowish.<sup>11</sup>

They spend the whole day in dancing. Their  
 young men go a-hunting after wild beasts with  
 bows and arrows. Their women busy themselves  
 therewithst with warming of their drink, which is  
 their chiefest office.<sup>12</sup> Some of their old men, in  
 280 the morning before they go to eating, preach in  
 common to all the household, walking from one  
 end of the house to the other; repeating one self-  
 same sentence many times, till he have ended his  
 285 turn (for their buildings are a hundred paces in  
 length), he commends but two things unto his  
 auditory: first, valour against their enemies; then,  
 lovingness unto their wives. They never miss (for  
 their restraint) to put men in mind of this duty,  
 that it is their wives which keep their drink luke-  
 290 warm and well-seasoned.

The form of their beds, cords, swords, blades,  
 and wooden bracelets—wherewith they cover

<sup>7</sup> *several* separate.

<sup>8</sup> *Suidas* traditionally the name of both a massive tenth-century CE lexicon-encyclopaedia and its compiler (*Catholic Enycl.*).

<sup>9</sup> *pledge carouses* drink toasts to.

<sup>10</sup> *confected* mixed together, compounded; perhaps (given the bread's sweetness) made into a comfit or confection.

<sup>11</sup> *wallowish* insipid, tasteless, flat.

<sup>12</sup> *chiefest office* most important duty.

their hand-wrists when they fight—and great  
 canes open at one end—by the sound of which  
 300 they keep time and cadence in their dancing—are  
 in many places to be seen, and namely in mine  
 own house. They are shaven all over, much more  
 close and cleaner than we are, with no other razors  
 than of wood or stone.

305 They believe their souls to be eternal, and those  
 that have deserved well of their gods to be placed  
 in that part of heaven where the sun riseth, and  
 the cursed toward the west in opposition. They  
 have certain prophets and priests, which com-  
 310 monly abide in the mountains, and very seldom  
 show themselves unto the people; but when they  
 come down there is a great feast prepared, and a  
 solemn assembly of many townships together  
 (each grange, as I have described, maketh a village,  
 315 and they are about a French league one from  
 another). The prophet speaks to the people in  
 public, exhorting them to embrace virtue and  
 follow their duty. All their moral discipline con-  
 taineth but these two articles: first, an undismayed  
 320 resolution to war; then, an inviolable affection to  
 their wives. He doth also prognosticate of things  
 to come, and what success they shall hope for in  
 their enterprises. He either persuadeth or dis-  
 suadeth them from war; but if he chance to miss  
 325 of his divination, and that it succeed<sup>1</sup> otherwise  
 than he foretold them, if he be taken he is hewn  
 in a thousand pieces, and condemned for a false  
 prophet. And therefore he that hath once mis-  
 reckoned himself is never seen again.

330 Divination is the gift of God, the abusing  
 whereof should be a punishable imposture. When  
 the divines amongst the Scythians had foretold an  
 untruth, they were couched along upon hurdles<sup>2</sup>  
 full of heath or brushwood, drawn by oxen, and  
 335 so, manacled hand and foot, burned to death.<sup>3</sup>  
 Those which manage matters subject to the

conduct of man's sufficiency are excusable,  
 although they show the utmost of their skill. But  
 those that gull and cony-catch<sup>4</sup> us with the assur-  
 340 ance of an extraordinary faculty, and which is  
 beyond our knowledge, ought to be double pun-  
 ished: first, because they perform not the effect of  
 their promise; then, for the rashness of their  
 imposture and unadvisedness of their fraud.

345 They war against the nations that lie beyond  
 their mountains, to which they go naked, having  
 no other weapons than bows, or wooden swords  
 sharp at one end as our broaches<sup>5</sup> are. It is an  
 admirable thing to see the constant resolution of  
 350 their combats, which never end but by effusion of  
 blood and murder, for they know not what fear or  
 routs<sup>6</sup> are. Every victor brings home the head of  
 the enemy he hath slain as a trophy of his victory,  
 and fasteneth the same at the entrance of his  
 dwelling place. After they have long time used and  
 355 entreated<sup>7</sup> their prisoners well, and with all com-  
 modities they can devise, he that is the master of  
 them, summoning a great assembly of his  
 acquaintance, tieth a cord to one of the prisoner's  
 arms by the end whereof he holds him fast, with  
 360 some distance from him for fear he might offend  
 him, and giveth the other arm, bound in like  
 manner, to the dearest friend he hath, and both in  
 the presence of all the assembly kill him with  
 365 swords; which done, they roast and then eat him in  
 common, and send some slices of him to such of  
 their friends as are absent. It is not, as some  
 imagine, to nourish themselves with it (as  
 370 anciently the Scythians wont<sup>8</sup> to do), but to repre-  
 sent an extreme and inexpiable revenge. Which we  
 prove thus: some of them perceiving the Portu-  
 gales,<sup>9</sup> who had confederated themselves with  
 their adversaries to use another kind of death  
 when they took them prisoners—which was, to

<sup>1</sup> *succeed* turn out, happen.

<sup>2</sup> *couched along upon hurdles* lain upon a frame or sledge (on which traitors in Renaissance Europe were often drawn through the streets on the way to their execution).

<sup>3</sup> See Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. R. Waterfield (Oxford, 1998), 4.68-69.

<sup>4</sup> *cony-catch* trick, deceive.

<sup>5</sup> *broaches* pointed rods of wood or iron, such as lances, spears, skewers, or awls.

<sup>6</sup> *routs* disorderly retreats.

<sup>7</sup> *entreated* treated or handled.

<sup>8</sup> *wont* were accustomed.

<sup>9</sup> *Portugales* i.e., Portuguese.

375 bury them up to the middle, and against the upper  
part of the body to shoot arrows, and then, being  
almost dead, to hang them up—they supposed  
that these people of the other world (as they who  
had sowed the knowledge of many vices amongst  
380 their neighbours, and were much more cunning in  
all kinds of evils and mischief than they) under-  
took not this manner of revenge without cause;  
and that consequently it was more smartful and  
cruel than theirs, and thereupon began to leave  
385 their old fashion to follow this.

I am not sorry we note the barbarous horror of  
such an action, but grieved that prying so nar-  
rowly into their faults we are so blinded in ours.<sup>1</sup>  
I think there is more barbarism in eating men  
390 alive than to feed upon them being dead; to  
mangle by tortures and torments a body full of  
lively sense, to roast him in pieces, to make dogs  
and swine to gnaw and tear him in mammocks<sup>2</sup>  
(as we have not only read, but seen very lately, yea,  
395 and in our own memory, not amongst ancient  
enemies, but our neighbours and fellow-citizens;  
and which is worse, under pretence of piety and  
religion) than to roast and eat him after he is  
dead.<sup>3</sup> Chrysippus and Zeno, arch-pillars of the  
400 stoic sect, have supposed that it was no hurt at all  
in time of need, and to what end soever, to make  
use of our carrion bodies and to feed upon  
them;<sup>4</sup> as did our forefathers who, being besieged  
by Caesar in the city of Alexia, resolved to sustain  
405 the famine of the siege with the bodies of old

men, women, and other persons unserviceable  
and unfit to fight.<sup>5</sup>

Gascoignes (as fame reports)  
Lived with meats of such sorts.<sup>6</sup>

410 And physicians fear not, in all kinds of compo-  
sitions availful to our health, to make use of it, be  
it for outward or inward applications.<sup>7</sup> But there  
was never any opinion found so unnatural and  
immodest that would excuse treason, treachery,  
415 disloyalty, tyranny, cruelty, and such like, which are  
our ordinary faults. We may, then, well call them  
barbarous in regard of reason's rules, but not in  
respect of us that exceed them in all kind of bar-  
barism. Their wars are noble and generous, and  
420 have as much excuse and beauty as this human  
infirmity may admit; they aim at nought so much,  
and have no other foundation amongst them, but  
the mere jealousy of virtue.<sup>8</sup> They contend not for  
the gaining of new lands; for to this day they yet  
425 enjoy that natural uberty<sup>9</sup> and fruitfulness which,  
without labouring-toil, doth in such plenteous  
abundance furnish them with all necessary things  
that they need not enlarge their limits. They are yet  
in that happy estate as they desire no more than  
430 what their natural necessities direct them; whatso-  
ever is beyond it is to them superfluous.

Those that are much about one age do gener-  
ally inter-call one another brethren, and such as  
are younger they call children; and the aged are es-  
teemed as fathers to all the rest. These leave this  
full possession of goods in common, and without  
435 division, to their heirs, without other claim or title

<sup>1</sup> *but grieved ... so blinded in ours* Proverb, "You can see a mote in another man's eye but you cannot see a beam in your own" (Tilley M1191; Matthew 7:3).

<sup>2</sup> *mammocks* pieces, shreds.

<sup>3</sup> *I think there is more barbarism ... after he is dead* The French Wars of Religion (March 1562-April 1598) featured particularly brutal acts on both sides, such as the massacre of a Huguenot congregation in 1562 and the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Protestants in Paris in 1572. See F. Lestringant, *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne*, (Berkeley, 1997), esp. ch. 8 and p. 213, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> Diogenes Laertius's "Life of Chrysippus" (7.7.188ff) and his "Life of Zeno," (7.1.121ff) both attribute this position on cannibalism to these early Stoic philosophers (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. R.D. Hicks, 2 vols. [Cambridge, MA, 1965], vol. 2).

<sup>5</sup> *forefathers ... unfit to fight* Recommended by the Gaulish leader Critognatus during the Roman siege of Alesia, this advice had precedent in earlier wars and was accepted by the soldiers and inhabitants of the town (Julius Caesar, *Caesar's Gallic War* [Philadelphia, 1941], 7.77-78).

<sup>6</sup> <\*> Juve.sat.15.93 [Florio's note]. The reference is to Juvenal, *Satires*, 15.93. *Gascoignes* natives of Gascony, a former province in SW France.

<sup>7</sup> *outward or inward applications* a reference to "mummy" (human flesh used in medicines).

<sup>8</sup> *mere jealousy of virtue* absolute or complete devotion to virtue.

<sup>9</sup> *uberty* fertility, abundance.

but that which nature doth plainly impart unto all creatures, even as she brings them into the world.  
 440 If their neighbours chance to come over the mountains to assail or invade them, and that they get the victory over them, the victors' conquest is glory, and the advantage to be and remain superior in valour and virtue; else have they nothing to do  
 445 with the goods and spoils of the vanquished, and so return into their country, where they neither want<sup>1</sup> any necessary thing, nor lack this great portion: to know how to enjoy their condition happily; and are contented with what nature  
 450 affordeth them. So do these when their turn cometh.

They require no other ransom of their prisoners but an acknowledgment and confession that they are vanquished. And in a whole age, a man  
 455 shall not find one that doth not rather embrace death than either by word or countenance remissly to yield one jot of an invincible courage. There is none seen that would not rather be slain and devoured than sue for life, or show any fear. They  
 460 use their prisoners with all liberty, that they may so much the more hold their lives dear and precious; and commonly entertain them with threats of future death, with the torments they shall endure, with the preparations intended for that purpose,  
 465 with mangling and slicing of their members, and with the feast that shall be kept at their charge. All which is done to wrest some remiss,<sup>2</sup> and exact some faint-yielding speech of submission from them, or to possess them with a desire to escape  
 470 or run away; that so they may have the advantage to have daunted and made them afraid, and to have forced<sup>3</sup> their constancy. For certainly true victory consisteth in that only<sup>4</sup> point:

475 No conquest such, as to suppress  
 Foes' hearts, the conquest to confess.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *want* lack.

<sup>2</sup> *wrest some remiss* force some confession of weakness.

<sup>3</sup> *forced* overwhelmed, overcome.

<sup>4</sup> *only* sole.

<sup>5</sup> <\*> Claud.6.cons. Hon. pain.245 [Florio's note]. The reference is to Claudian, *On the Sixth Consulate of Honorius: The Panegyric*. The 1996

The Hungarians, a most war-like nation, were  
 480 whilom wont<sup>6</sup> to pursue their prey no longer than they had forced their enemy to yield unto their mercy. For, having wrested this confession from him, they set him at liberty without offence or ransom, except it were to make him swear never  
 485 after to bear arms against them. We get many advantages of our enemies that are but borrowed and not ours. It is the quality of a porterly-rascal,<sup>7</sup> and not of virtue, to have stronger arms and sturdier legs; disposition<sup>8</sup> is a dead and corporal quality. It is a trick of fortune to make our enemy stoop, and to blear his eyes with the sun's light; it is a prank of skill and knowledge to be cunning in the art of fencing, and which may happen unto a base and worthless man. The reputation and worth of a man consisteth in his heart and will; therein consists true honour. Constancy is valour, not of arms and legs, but of mind and courage; it consisteth not in the spirit and courage of our horse, nor of our arms, but in ours. He that obstinately falleth in his courage, "If he slip or fall, he fights upon his knee."<sup>9</sup> He that in danger of imminent death is no whit daunted in his assuredness; he that in yielding up his ghost beholdeth his enemy with a scornful and fierce look, he is vanquished not by us, but by fortune. He is slain, but not conquered.

The most valiant are often the most unfortunate. So are there triumphant losses in envy of victories.<sup>10</sup> Not those four sister victories, the fairest that ever the sun beheld with his all-seeing eye, of Salamis, of Plataea, of Mycale, and of Sicilia,<sup>11</sup> durst ever dare to oppose all their glory together to the glory of the King Leonidas his discomfiture

Oxford translation of these lines (ll. 48-49) reads: "No victory is greater than the one that brings beneath the yoke enemies who acknowledge defeat in their hearts."

<sup>6</sup> *whilom wont* long ago accustomed.

<sup>7</sup> *porterly-rascal* rascally porter.

<sup>8</sup> *disposition* unclear: perhaps, "bodily health" or "physical state."

<sup>9</sup> Seneca, "On Providence," in *Moral Essays*, trans. J. Basore, 3 vols. (London, 1928), 1.2.6-7.

<sup>10</sup> *in envy of victories* i.e., that victories envy.

<sup>11</sup> *Salamis ... Sicilia* a series of Greek victories in the Persian Wars (5th century BCE).

and of his men, at the passage of Thermopylae.<sup>1</sup> What man did ever run with so glorious an envy or more ambitious desire to the goal of a combat than Captain Ischolas to an evident loss and overthrow?<sup>2</sup> Who so ingeniously or more politicly<sup>3</sup> did ever assure himself of his welfare than he of his ruin? He was appointed to defend a certain passage of Peloponnesus against the Arcadians, which finding himself altogether unable to perform, seeing the nature of the place and inequality of the forces, and resolving that whatsoever should present itself unto his enemy must necessarily be utterly defeated; on the other side, deeming it unworthy both his virtue and magnanimity, and the Lacedaemonian<sup>4</sup> name, to fail or faint in his charge; between these two extremities he resolved upon a mean and indifferent course,<sup>5</sup> which was this: the youngest and best disposed of his troop he reserved for the service and defence of their country, to which he sent them back; and with those whose loss was least, and who might best be spared, he determined to maintain that passage, and by their death to force the enemy to purchase the entrance of it as dear as possibly he could; as indeed it followed. For being suddenly environed round by the Arcadians, after a great slaughter made of them, both himself and all his were put to the sword. Is any trophy assigned for conquerors that is not more duly due unto these conquered? A true conquest respecteth rather an

undaunted resolution and honourable end than a fair escape; and the honour of virtue doth more consist in combating than in beating.

But to return to our history: these prisoners, howsoever they are dealt withal, are so far from yielding that contrariwise, during two or three months that they are kept, they ever carry a cheerful countenance and urge their keepers to hasten their trial; they outrageously defy and injure them. They upbraid them with their cowardliness, and with the number of battles they have lost against theirs. I have a song made by a prisoner, wherein is this clause: “let them boldly come altogether, and flock in multitudes to feed on him; for with him they shall feed upon their fathers and grandfathers, that heretofore have served his body for food and nourishment. These muscles,” sayeth he, “this flesh and these veins are your own; fond men as you are, know you not that the substance of your forefathers’ limbs is yet tied unto ours? Taste them well, for in them shall you find the relish of your own flesh”—an invention that hath no show of barbarism. Those that paint them dying, and that represent this action when they are put to execution, delineate the prisoners spitting in their executioners’ faces, and making mows<sup>6</sup> at them. Verily, so long as breath is in their body, they never cease to brave and defy them, both in speech and countenance. Surely, in respect of us these are very savage men, for either they must be so in good sooth, or we must be so indeed. There is a wondrous distance between their form and ours.

Their men have many wives, and by how much more they are reputed valiant, so much the greater is their number. The manner and beauty in their marriages is wondrous strange and remarkable: for, the same jealousy our wives have to keep us from the love and affection of other women, the same have theirs to procure it. Being more careful for their husbands’ honour and content than of anything else, they endeavour and apply all their industry to have as many rivals as possibly they can, forasmuch as it is a testimony of their hus-

<sup>1</sup> *King Leonidas ... Thermopylae* At Thermopylae in 480 BCE, a Spartan force under Leonidas fought the Persians in a battle the Spartans knew they could not win. Leonidas, recognizing that he was completely outnumbered, sent home all his men except 300; Leonidas and the 300 died fighting.

<sup>2</sup> *Captain Ischolas ... overthrow* Diodorus Siculus describes the Spartan commander, Ischolas, as imitating the example of Leonidas when he found himself similarly outnumbered: Ischolas sent the younger members of his army home to defend Sparta, while he and the older soldiers preserved their honour by staying to fight and die (*The Library of History*, trans. C.L. Sherman, 12 vols. [Cambridge, MA, 1952], 7.64.129).

<sup>3</sup> *politicly* shrewdly.

<sup>4</sup> *Lacedaemonian* i.e., Spartan. The Spartans were an ancient people famous for their warrior ethic.

<sup>5</sup> *mean and indifferent course* i.e., a middling and moderate course of action.

<sup>6</sup> *mows* derisive grimaces.

bands' virtue. Our women would count it a  
 585 wonder, but it is not so: it is virtue properly mat-  
 rimonial, but of the highest kind. And in the  
 Bible, Leah, Rachel, Sara, and Jacob's wives  
 brought their fairest maiden-servants unto their  
 590 husbands' beds;<sup>1</sup> and Livia seconded the lustful  
 appetites of Augustus, to her great prejudice;<sup>2</sup> and  
 Stratonice, the wife of King Deiotaurus, did not  
 only bring a most beauteous chamber-maid that  
 served her to her husband's bed, but very carefully  
 595 brought up the children he begot on her, and by  
 all possible means aided and furthered them to  
 succeed in their father's royalty.<sup>3</sup> And lest a man  
 should think that all this is done by a simple and  
 servile, or awful<sup>4</sup> duty unto their custom, and by  
 600 the impression of their ancient custom's author-  
 ity, without discourse or judgment, and because  
 they are so blockish and dull-spirited that they can  
 take no other resolution, it is not amiss we allege  
 some evidence of their sufficiency. Besides what I  
 have said of one of their warlike songs, I have  
 605 another amorous canzonet,<sup>5</sup> which beginneth in  
 this sense: "Adder, stay; stay, good adder, that my  
 sister may by the pattern of thy parti-coloured  
 coat draw the fashion and work of a rich lace for  
 610 me to give unto my love; so may thy beauty, thy  
 nimbleness or disposition be ever preferred  
 before all other serpents." This first couplet is the  
 burthen<sup>6</sup> of the song. I am so conversant with  
 poesy that I may judge this invention hath no bar-  
 615 barbarism at all in it, but is altogether anacreontic.<sup>7</sup>  
 Their language is a kind of pleasant speech, and

hath a pleasing sound, and some affinity with the  
 Greek terminations.<sup>8</sup>

Three of that nation—ignoring<sup>9</sup> how dear the  
 knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost  
 620 their repose, security, and happiness, and how  
 their ruin shall proceed from this commerce,  
 which I imagine is already well advanced (miser-  
 able as they are to have suffered themselves to be  
 so cozened<sup>10</sup> by a desire of new-fangled novelties,  
 625 and to have quit the calmness of their climate to  
 come and see ours)—were at Rouen in the time of  
 our late king, Charles IX,<sup>11</sup> who talked with them  
 a great while. They were showed our fashions, our  
 pomp, and the form of a fair city. Afterward, some  
 630 demanded their advice,<sup>12</sup> and would needs know  
 of them what things of note and admirable they  
 had observed amongst us. They answered three  
 things, the last of which I have forgotten, and am  
 very sorry for it; the other two I yet remember.  
 635 They said, first, they found it very strange that so  
 many tall men with long beards, strong and well-  
 armed, as were about the King's person (it is very  
 likely they meant the Switzers<sup>13</sup> of his guard)  
 would submit themselves to obey a beardless  
 640 child, and that we did not rather choose one  
 amongst them to command the rest; secondly  
 (they have a manner of phrase whereby they call  
 men but a moiety<sup>14</sup> of men from others), they had  
 perceived there were men amongst us full gorged  
 645 with all sorts of commodities, and others which,  
 hunger-starved, and bare with need and poverty,  
 begged at their gates; and found it strange these

<sup>1</sup> For these accounts of wife-fostered concubinage in the Old Testament, see Genesis 30:9-13 (Leah), Genesis 30:3-5 (Rachel), Genesis 16:1-4 (Sarai). Rachel and Leah were Jacob's wives.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, "Augustus" in *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. R. Graves (London, 1989), 2.71.94.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, "Virtues in Women" in *Selected Essays and Dialogues*, trans. D. Russell (Oxford, 1993), 21.329.

<sup>4</sup> *awful* worthy of, or commanding, profound respect or reverential fear.

<sup>5</sup> *canzonet* a short song.

<sup>6</sup> *burthen* refrain or chorus of a song.

<sup>7</sup> *anacreontic* having the structure or meter of the verse of the ancient Greek poet, Anacreon of Teos (fl. 536/35 BCE).

<sup>8</sup> *terminations* endings of words; the final syllable, letter, or group of letters.

<sup>9</sup> *ignoring* The 1632 edition reads "ignorant," which places a different construction on Montaigne's comments here.

<sup>10</sup> *cozened* deceived, beguiled.

<sup>11</sup> In November 1562, the army of the then twelve-year-old Charles IX of France (d. 1574) retook the city of Rouen which had been under the control of the Protestants, during what has become known as the French Wars of Religion.

<sup>12</sup> *advice* i.e., how they looked at or regarded what they had seen; opinion.

<sup>13</sup> *Switzers* Swiss guards, famed in the period for their courage and expertise, often guarded royalty.

<sup>14</sup> *moiety* a small part.



moieties so needy could endure such an injustice,  
and that they took not the others by the throat, or  
set fire on their houses.

650

I talked a good while with one of them, but I  
had so bad an interpreter, and who did so ill  
apprehend my meaning, and who through his  
foolishness was so troubled to conceive my imag-  
inations,<sup>1</sup> that I could draw no great matter from  
him. Touching that point wherein I demanded of  
him what good he received by the superiority he  
had amongst his countrymen (for he was a captain  
and our mariners called him “king”), he told me it  
was to march foremost in any charge of war.  
Further, I asked him how many men did follow  
him; he showed me a distance of place, to signify  
they were as many as might be contained in so  
much ground, which I guessed to be about four or  
five thousand men. Moreover, I demanded if,  
when wars were ended, all his authority expired.  
He answered that he had only this left him, which  
was that when he went on progress and visited the  
villages depending of him the inhabitants pre-  
pared paths and high-ways athwart the hedges of  
their woods, for him to pass through at ease.

655

660

665

670

All that is not very ill; but what of that? They  
wear no kind of breeches or hosen.<sup>2</sup>

—1603

*Appendix: Florio’s Contribution  
to English Vocabulary.*

A survey of the *OED* notes the following in terms  
of these words’ usage:

*conscientious*: The *OED online*’s earliest cited English  
use in any sense is 1611. Florio is not cited.

<sup>1</sup> *conceive my imaginations* i.e., understand my thoughts or opinions  
(i.e., what Montaigne wanted the interpreter to ask the native King).

<sup>2</sup> *breeches* a garment that comes to just below the knees, the early  
precursor of trousers; *hosen* i.e., hose: an article of clothing for the  
leg, sometimes reaching down only to the ankle, sometimes also cov-  
ering the foot. Both were common articles of male attire in Renais-  
sance Europe.

*endear*: As a transitive verb in various now obsolete  
senses, the earliest citation is 1580 (Sidney’s  
*Arcadia*), but Florio’s “Montaigne” is cited as well.  
The current modern sense (“to inspire or create  
affection for [a person or thing]”) is mid-seven-  
teenth century.

*tarnish*: As a noun (“discolouration” or “stain”),  
the earliest citation is the beginning of the eigh-  
teenth century. As a verb (“to tarnish, to darken  
any glass with breathing upon it”), “tarnish” is  
cited from Florio’s *World of Words* (1598) and  
*Queen Anna’s World of Words* (1611). His usage is  
the earliest cited.

*comport*: cited in quotations from 1565; Florio is  
not cited.

*facilitate*: As a verb with senses close to the modern  
meaning (“to render easier the performance of [an  
action]”), “facilitate” dates from around 1611.  
Florio is not cited.

*amusing*: Used as a verbal noun meaning “amuse-  
ment,” Florio’s “Montaigne” (1603) has the only  
cited use. As a participial adjective meaning  
“beguiling” or “cheating,” there are cited uses  
from 1597. Its modern meaning comes into being  
only in the early nineteenth century.

*debauching*: As a verb (“to deprave or corrupt  
morally”), Florio’s “Montaigne” has the first cited  
use. In an older sense (“to seduce from allegiance  
or duty”), however, it dates back to the 1590s. As  
a verbal noun and a participial adjective, it dates  
from around the mid-seventeenth century.

*regret*: As a noun with meanings close to the  
modern sense, this word dates back to around  
1590. As a verb (“to feel [or express] sorrow for  
the loss of [a person or thing]”), the *OED* cites  
two very early uses (beginning of the fourteenth  
century; 1483), but then cites Florio’s *Queen Anna’s  
World of Words* (1611).

*effort*: As a noun with meanings close to the  
modern sense, the word dates back to as early as  
1490. As a verb, it was not popular (1 citation  
[1662]). Florio is not cited.

*emotion*: As a noun with various obsolete meanings  
(e.g., “migration” and “physical agitation”), this  
word dates from the early seventeenth century.

Meaning “popular tumult,” “emotion” appears in one citation (1579). The modern meaning, however, begins to appear only around 1660. Florio is not cited. For a fascinating list of Florio’s

“borrowed” or “invented” words that were not adopted into English, see F.O. Matthiessen’s *Translation: An Elizabethan Art* (New York, 1965), pp. 120-22.