The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500–1660

Edited by

Tania Demetriou and
Rowan Tomlinson

Early Modern Literature in History

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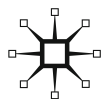# The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500–1660

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Introduction

'Abroad in Mens Hands': The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France

Tania Demetriou and Rowan Tomlinson

> Neuertheless if it so fortune that men find not the speech of this translation so flowing, as they haue found some other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands: I beseech the readers to consider, that the office of a fit translater, consisteth not onely in the faithfull expressing of his authors meaning, but also in a certain resembling and shadowing out of the forme of his style and the maner of his speaking: vnlesse he will commit the errour of some painters, who hauing taken vpon them to draw a man liuely, do paint him long where he should be short, and grosse where he should be slender, and yet set out the resemblance of his countenance naturally. For how harsh or rude soeuer my speech be, yet am I sure that my translation will be much easier to my contriemen, than the Greeke copie is, euen to such as are best practised in the Greeke tonge, by reason of Plutarkes peculiar maner of inditing, which is rather sharpe, learned and short, than plaine, polished and easie.[1]

These are the words of Thomas North in his 1579 *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, a translation that successfully found its way 'abroad' to the hands of many of his 'countrymen'. One of them gave the book an afterlife of which North could hardly have dreamt. The translator's words may have made Shakespeare wonder what

'Plutarkes peculiar maner of inditing' was really like, or reflect on the English prose he was reading and whether it did succeed in 'resembling and shadowing out of the forme of his style and the maner of his speaking'. They may even have made Shakespeare, avid reader of translations that he was, pause to ponder 'the office of a fit translater'. This is the more likely because of the notorious paucity of translation theory in this corner of Europe that the humanist enterprise reached late, and which so greatly depended on translation.

Yet Englishmen reading these words were not being led to such reflections by North, but by the French translator of Plutarch that North was translating: this is Jacques Amyot's 'Epistle to the Reader', Englished by North along with the *Lives*. North makes this clear in the title: 'Amiot to the Readers'. Many readers would also have been aware that it was not North but Amyot who could accurately speak of a series of previous translations by him as being 'abroad in mens hands'. By 1579, Amyot, 'the most admired translator of his time', had established himself specifically as the bringer of Greek culture to vernacular readers.[2] With the *Vies* (1559) and the *Oeuvres morales* (1574), Amyot made the entirety of Plutarch's vast corpus available to a vernacular readership. His Plutarch versions had been preceded by notably ambitious translations of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (1548), and of Books 11–17 of Diodorus Siculus' *Library* (1554). The *Vies* was the first complete translation of the work to be published, as his Heliodorus had been; and in the same year, Amyot brought out Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, publishing the novel in French before its *editio princeps*.[3] The French translator could look back to these other works, and find his idiom in the *Vies* less 'flowing', or 'coulant'.[4] He could speak as someone who had engaged with Greek prose extensively enough to judge that Plutarch's style was different from that of Heliodorus, or Longus, or Diodorus, 'plus aiguë, plus docte & pressee', and not 'clere, polie ou aisee'. North, who could do none of these things, does not hide this, but defers to Amyot's authority by carefully translating his epistle. He offers his own, separate, far more modest translation statement: 'My onely purpose is to desire you to excuse the faults of my translation with your owne gentlenes, and with the opinion of my diligence and good intent.' But he also translates Amyot's translation theory because he recognizes that it has something to offer to the reader. He does not translate Amyot's letter mechanically: where Amyot speaks of his audience as the 'François',

North turns it into 'my contriemen', thus bringing the epistle a step closer to the new audience, but without appropriating Amyot's voice or opinions. He engages with Amyot's translation theory, finding English terms for it – 'la sentence de son autheur' becomes his 'meaning', 'representer aucunement & … adumbrer' becomes 'a certain resembling and shadowing out' – and giving it a new circulation. Amyot's translation theory is part of what North makes available to English readers.

If North was meticulous about not occluding the intermediary translation he was working from, why is it that, for all the attention Shakespeare criticism has given to North, we struggle to remember Amyot when we talk of Shakespeare's imitation of the classics? Amyot was certainly not otherwise irrelevant to English culture. If anything, he was more important to it than North: the *Lives*, *Moralia*, and *Daphnis and Chloe* were all translated into English from his French. Nor was his work on Greek texts limited to translation: he acted as a groundbreaking textual critic and editor before interpreting the Greek, thus establishing the text that would then be translated into English.[5] His translation, as we saw, was the only text of Longus in print until 1598, and another, less famous editorial intervention would prove important for English translation history in particular.[6] Amyot had clarified an extended allusion in Plutarch's *Amatorious* to Sappho's fragment 31, 'He that sits next to you…', by supplying the ode as recently published by Henri Estienne.[7] And thus, when Philemon Holland translated the *Moralia* (1603), he became something he had no personal intention of being: the first English translator of Sappho.[8] Accounts of English versions of Sappho's famous ode miss this, no doubt because Amyot figures only minimally in our view of translation in early modern England.[9] Yet, if we want to see North's Plutarch not just as a book Shakespeare happened to read, but as a translation emblematic of the processes that enabled vernacular authors to engage with humanism, Amyot needs to be not just a footnote to but an important part of the story.

The ease with which Amyot is forgotten is a symptom of a wider amnesia: the interaction between the early modern translation cultures of France and England, commonly acknowledged in passing, has yet to be systematically explored. As of 2010, we have a resource that enables us to 'measure' this amnesia: the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* database (RCC), constructed under the direction of Brenda

Hosington, which catalogues all translations published in early modern England based on the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC).[10] If we search for the intermediary languages on which translations published between the years 1500 and 1660 were based, the striking picture in Figure I.1 is revealed.[11]

Next to Latin, the early modern world's lingua franca, French is virtually the only significant 'vehicular' or 'pivot' tongue for English translation. Amyot's case is not exceptional, but part of a greater phenomenon that has never been looked at in detail, yet which is crucial to understanding the written cultures of the period: the translation culture of early modern France is the one that matters most to that of England, and by a long way.[12] French translation culture enabled and shaped that of England. Even its absence could be significant. George Chapman was forced to refute claims that he had used Hugues Salel's Homer for his translation, though to anyone looking at the two versions outside this cultural context such an accusation would seem baffling.[13] Meanwhile, in the preface to the first edition of his Englishing of Antonio de Guevara's *Epistolas Familiares*, Edward Hellowes also sharply criticized Jean de Guterry's French translation for playing too fast and loose with the original Spanish.[14] Yet when
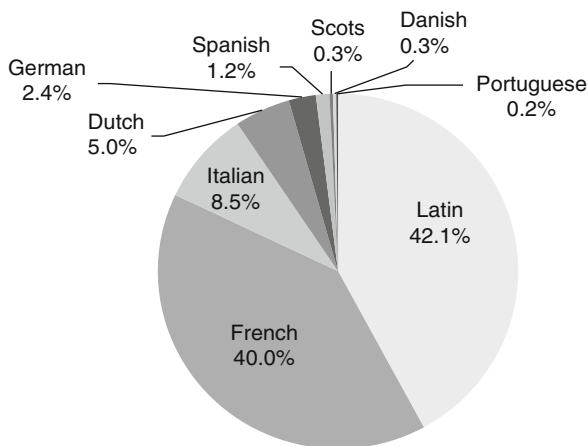
Figure I.1 Intermediary language of translations into English in 1500–1660, based on the RCC

the next year Hellowes' publisher, Ralph Newberry, issued a second, and apparently fuller, translation of Guevara's letters in the shape of Geoffrey Fenton's *Golden Epistles*, Hellowes performed an about-turn and, in *his* expanded edition, now advertised rather than denied his use of the French source, boasting that his new edition was not only 'finished [and] corrected', but 'out of the French Booke somewhat augmented'.[15]

But it is not just this direct influence that is important. The new bibliography of early modern English translations included in the second volume of the *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* (*OHLTE*) brings out the importance of translations of French works.[16] Gordon Braden analyses its contents:

> About 40 per cent of the entries … are translations of Latin originals. … Almost all other translations come from the three major romance languages: French (something under 30 per cent), followed by Italian (10 per cent) and Spanish (7 per cent).[17]

The RCC, which includes non-literary translations, chimes with this general picture, and accentuates the gap between French and the other vernaculars. Figure I.2 shows the figures it produces for the original language of translations published in the years 1500–1660.
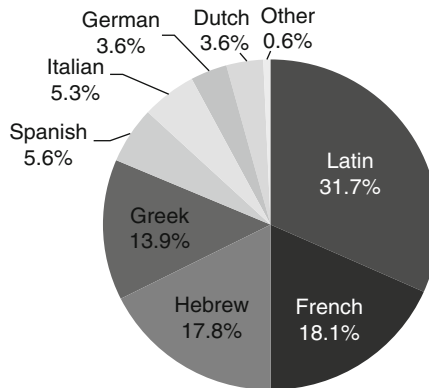
Figure I.2 Original language of translations into English in 1500–1660, based on the RCC

Translations of French texts come second only to those of Latin ones, and dwarf those of texts written in any other vernacular. There are as many translations of French texts as there are of texts in all the other vernaculars *together*. And by showing how many more Englishmen chose to translate from the French than from any other vernacular, these figures also suggest how many more Englishmen could read texts and translations *in* French than in the other vernaculars.[18] The interaction between the cultures of translation in these two countries in this period is rich and complex. Now that we are able to quantify it in some sense, we begin to see clearly how little we understand it.

Our volume seeks to illuminate this interaction. The past few years have seen a radical shift in status for early modern translation. A telling record of the growth of interest in English translation between 1520 and 1660 can be found in Robert Cummings' account of the critical state of play since 1980.[19] Cummings' study details how 'the scholarly environment … has become friendlier to the study of translation' over these years, in the wake of the establishment of translation studies. It also shows that, while a lot of this ground-breaking work has taken the form of chapters in studies of classical reception, or of major figures like Montaigne or the Countess of Pembroke, critical attention has turned increasingly to translation in and of itself, as a process inseparable from the emergence and dissemination of humanist culture in England.[20] Since his reviews (2007–9), the critical field has expanded even further in this direction. We now have not only the RCC – an unparalleled resource for historical research in early modern translation – but also the *OHLTE*, which demonstrates across the full sweep of genres and languages the major role played by translation in shaping literary culture, and charts the where, when and how of this English culture of literary translation in qualitative as well as quantitative terms. This volume, like the RCC, appeared in 2010; the same year saw the launch of a new series of critical editions of early English translations sponsored by the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA). Alongside these resources, a crop of recent collections of essays present compelling case studies that scotch any notion that early modern translation was an isolated activity or secondary in its cultural contribution.[21] Reacting against what Fred Schurink sees as a tendency to study early modern translations solely as translations, that is, for their interest

as versions of other texts, this recent work places a new emphasis on these works as agents of change in a range of historical contexts – literary, pedagogical, religious and political.[22] It brings to the fore the social and material conditions in which translations in England were produced and read, and their multiple connections to other cultural practices. More and more of what Hosington calls 'the whole translation movement in this effervescent and exciting period of British history' is thus quickly and impressively coming into view.[23]

Attention to translation in early modern France over the same period has been more even. A number of important studies have explored the profiles of individual translators,[24] and a bibliography of sixteenth-century French translation appeared in 1988.[25] A major focus – in line with the interests of translation studies more generally – has been the theory of translation as it evolved from its first formulations in humanist Italy to find polemical expression in mid-sixteenth-century France.[26] Yet, despite continuing work on the subject,[27] no French counterpart has emerged as yet to the concerted rediscovery of early modern English translation as a field of study that brings together literary criticism, cultural history and the history of the book. Marie-Alice Belle's appraisal of current research on translation in early modern France as 'fragmentary' appears justified.[28]

The respective development of the two fields has meant that, though it is something of a critical commonplace to mention the disparity between a theoretically aware culture of translation in early modern France, and an English practice that displays little interest in theory, comparison of the two cultures has not ventured beyond this.[29] There is certainly truth in this observation, even if it has to accommodate the fact that the most compendious theory of translation, Lawrence Humphrey's *Interpretatio Linguarum* (1559), was composed by an Englishman in Latin and published in Basle.[30] Nor is translation theory divorced, in our view, from the variety of practices it describes; indeed, ideologies and metaphors of translation, as Matthew Reynolds shows, are often the source of striking and unpredictable creative energies in those who work with them.[31] But not to look beyond this point of comparison is to remain locked in to that isolating view of translations solely 'as translations', and to ignore all those other facets of these cultural products that critics have begun to recuperate. And yet even in this most recent work, though it is not unusual to acknowledge that the cultures of translation of

France and England interacted with one another, treatment of the two in tandem tends to be partial or dispersed. In the *OHLTE* itself, Braden rightly points to how often English translators struggling with less familiar languages – be this Greek, Italian or Spanish – turned to French intermediary translations.[32] But this landmark history is otherwise typical of the critical tendency: the mutual influence of England and France is observed across chapters that are divided by genre, or else becomes registered or not depending on the translators who have been picked out as case studies. An exception to this tendency is the exciting special issue on 'Women's Translations in Early Modern England and France' edited by Belle. Examining French and English female translators alongside one other, the collection discovers in translation 'a privileged ground of investigation' for the place of women as 'social, literary, and cultural agents in early modern Europe'.[33] Belle's choice of 'Europe' here is striking: implicit in the project is an assumption that these two European cultures of translation in particular have reason to be considered together. Our volume seeks to probe this explicitly.

The manifold historical links between England and France over this period need no rehearsing here. But it is worth stressing that all these links – the two neighbours' repeated political entanglements and near-entanglements, their parallel and interconnected confessional battles, the trickle of dignitaries, spies, refugees, scholars and other migrants across from one to the other – were fostered by and productive of a vibrant culture of translation on both sides of the channel.[34] A figure who serves to illustrate this is Arthur Golding (c. 1536–1606), known predominantly as the translator of Shakespeare's Ovid.[35] Golding's English Ovid was published in 1565–7 by William Seres, one of many Protestant stationers who would collaborate with Golding in his career as one of the period's most prolific English translators. It was in this context that Golding was commissioned by Lucas Harrison and George Bishop to translate religious texts from the continent, including Calvin's *Sermons sur le livre de Job* in 1574, when he worked for the first time from French rather than Latin. Such work would bring him into contact with the Huguenot community of printers in London: the Frenchman Thomas Vautrollier printed further translations of religious texts by him, whilst Thomas Hacket, another Frenchman who specialized in translations of travel literature, was chosen by him as a publisher for his translation of

Solinus and Pomponius Mela.[36] A simple checklist of Golding's output shows that a classical version whose decisive influence on English literary culture has long been studied, is located within a complex of social, commercial, intellectual and spiritual interactions that involve and shape Anglo-French cultural influence. A very different, equally vivid illustration of the place of translation in the protean realities of this cross-cultural influence is seen in the career of the Huguenot Jean Loiseau de Tourval (c. 1578–1631).[37] Tourval first arrived in England in the entourage of the French ambassador Sully in 1603. He probably stayed on at this time, and ended up translating works in support of English policy over the next decade, which he managed to get Parisian printers to bring out under false imprints.[38] Tourval's interests, however, reached well beyond this sphere, for in 1610 he published French translations of Joseph Hall's *Meditations and Voices Divine and Moral* (1605) as well as of his *Characters of Vertues and Vices* (1608).[39] Since, in the latter, Hall had closely followed the Greek work attributed to Theophrastus (fourth century BCE), Tourval's very popular version is likely the first case where the overwhelming trend of French as a mediator for classical works becomes reversed.[40] At the same time, Tourval was working on a partial translation of Sidney's *Arcadia*.[41] This never went to print, but did circulate actively enough in manuscript to inspire the two later translations of the *Arcadia*, published in 1624–5. Straddling radically different genres, contexts of production, intended audiences and circulation mechanisms, Tourval's cross-linguistic transactions – of which this is only a partial account – suggest how much there is to be gained by incorporating a capacious notion of translation into our study of the relationship between the writing cultures of England and France.

There have of course been important studies that probe the influence of the French Renaissance on English literary culture. These include Anne Prescott on Rabelais and on the influence of French lyric poetry in England, and Hassan Melehy on what he calls the 'poetics of literary transfer'.[42] Certain authors tend to feature in these studies: those who are canonical today in France – a Rabelais or a Montaigne – or those who provided models which canonical English authors – a Spenser or a Sidney – worked with or against. Anne Coldiron points out that a less starry story remains to be told of the influence of uncanonized authors; translation, according to Coldiron, is the key to this story.[43] Jean-Christophe Mayer, commenting on Sidney Lee's

seminal book on Anglo-French culture from over a century ago, has recently remarked that Lee's approach, dated and blinkered as it seems today, has yet to be matched by anything comparable to its wide-ranging ambition.[44] Mayer's regret registers a feeling that the literary influence between these two countries cannot be considered in isolation from the multifarious cultural exchanges that framed it, and which, as the volume Mayer is prefacing persuasively shows, made the French figure especially notably in the English imaginary.[45] The present volume shares the view of Mayer and other critics that much remains to be discovered about Anglo-French literary interaction once we place it in its full, rich context. As Lee recognized, and as the statistics enabled by the RCC show, translation was a crucial element of this context. The revaluation and reconception of early modern translation over the last few years makes a revisiting of the culture of translation in England and France both promising and imperative. The chapters that make up the present comparative collection seek to open new ways-in to a complex and important story that has yet to be told.

Certainly, the writers and readers we see as players in this story recognized such a thing as two 'cultures of translation'. When, in 1603, Tourval first found himself in England, he did not yet speak its language. He noted his impressions from this trip in an unpublished journal. Of the English language, Tourval wrote: 'The English boast that theirs is the world's most copious and richest language, the best, on account of its abundance and various shades of vocabulary, for translating all the others, and the hardest to be translated into any other.'[46] With what seems guarded (and perhaps intrigued) neutrality, Tourval reports what he has gleaned of English attitudes to their own culture of translation versus that of other countries. In 1598, Robert Dallington, partial translator of Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia* (1592), made the opposite journey, and likewise wrote a journal, which supposedly found its way to illicit publication in 1604.[47] Dallington's view of translation is very different:

> [The French] are dotingly more in loue with their owne tongue, then with any other: which is the reason, that yee haue now almost all Histories, Greeke, and Latine, translated into French, yea, and the Artes also: insomuch as now the Gentleman readeth

these things in his owne language onely: a course in my opinion most preiudicial to all good learning.[48]

Whilst ostensibly commenting on French attitudes to their culture of translation, Dallington gives a highly biased English view of it that completely ignores England's dependence on it. For both these travellers, the 'culture of translation' is something that exists, and a telling factor in understanding and reporting on each other's society.

The validity of cultures of translation as an early modern reality seems important to us. Another manifestation of it is surely North's interest in and dissemination of Amyot's translation theory. North's admission and celebration of 'secondariness', moreover, is just one of many ways in which the translators mentioned in this 'Introduction' show that the making and effects of early modern translations were determined by forces and structures not of their authors' choosing: the translator's cultural situation, the current state of philology, the demands and opportunities of the publishing trade. Early modern printers and publishers were often decisive in which texts came to be translated, and could even move from specializing in selling translations to themselves translating works, as happened in the case of Thomas Hacket.[49] But translations could also result from less deliberate interventions and interactions between the different figures who made up learned and literary circles. A neat example of one such case takes us back to Guevara and to a little-known 1560 translation produced from the workshop of the Lyon printer-publisher Macé Bonhomme and authored by the humanist and reformist Antoine Du Pinet: the *Troisieme livre des Epistres illustres de don Antoine de Guevare*. His prefatory epistle does not reflect on the theory or practice of translation but puts its efforts into narrating the chance story of its own making, a narrative that neither begins nor ends with an isolated act of translation.[50]

Forced to stay indoors thanks to a stubborn swelling on his thigh, Du Pinet searches for a history book with which to occupy himself. Realizing that he has read everything he owns, he asks one of his friends, Guillaume Guéroult, himself a published author, to tour Lyon's publishing heartland and find him something new to read. Guéroult brings back with him one of Bonhomme's printers, who recommends a work by Alfonso de Ulloa, advertising itself as an Italian translation of the third book of epistles by Antonio de

Guevara – though in fact it is a hotchpotch of letters by various other Spanish writers and Ulloa himself.[51] The book wins Du Pinet's approval, in part due to Guevara's fame, but also because Du Pinet knows Ulloa's other outings as a translator.[52] His confidence is well placed; he is so enraptured by the work that he reads it ten times over and its effects, he insists, are physical as well as intellectual: by its close he is able to walk again. Convinced of its miraculous worth, Du Pinet takes on the task of translating it into French, producing a third volume to complement the first two volumes of Guevara's letters rendered into French by Jean de Guterry, and, as we saw above, variously disavowed or acknowledged by Hellowes and Fenton.[53]

Du Pinet's tale of how his translation came into being ends here. But the story of his translation neither starts nor finishes with his eager search for a good read: Lyon is the midpoint in a chain of interventions that points to the sometimes concerted sometimes haphazard movement of texts across Renaissance Europe, and to the interactions between French and English translation cultures. For if Du Pinet's source text had an Italian prehistory – and likely arrived in Lyon thanks to links between Bonhomme's business partner, Guillaume Rouillé, and the Venitian printer Gabriel Giolito – it had a considerable English future, playing an anonymous but decisive role in the sixteenth-century vogue for Guevara's works. After the 1560 publication, the three volumes by Guterry and Du Pinet were put together and frequently reprinted. Du Pinet's third volume was, then, an important part of the extra material that led Fenton – who lived and worked in Paris in the 1560s – to produce a companion edition to Hellowes', and which in turn prompted Hellowes to expand his 1574 translation. What is more, Du Pinet's choice to follow his Italian intermediary, Ulloa, and include in his third volume a translation of another of Guevara's works – his treatise on navigation – was surely decisive in encouraging Hellowes and his publisher to bring a further Englishing to market: *A Booke of the Invention of the Arte of Navigation* (London, 1578). No mention is made of Du Pinet's role in the dedication to this work, but, once again, the evidence points strongly to substantial interactions between the two cultures.

The story of the genesis and fortune of Du Pinet's translation can be seen as a micro example of the picture of translation that this

volume seeks to draw up: early modern 'cultures of translation' are the sum of varied agencies, actions, influences and decisions, variously implicit and explicit, deliberate and accidental. In the case of early modern England and France, the particularities and links between their respective cultures of translation need to be added to these parameters. With this premise in mind, the volume offers a set of new readings of translation in and between these two cultures.

The volume opens with Warren Boutcher, who uses the RCC and three case studies as a way of defining what might reasonably be called a Renaissance translation culture. For Boutcher, translations lie 'at the centre of a highly intricate nexus of authors, translators (including intermediary translators), paratext-writers, editors and correctors, censors, printers, booksellers, patrons and readers'; all of these factors ought to come into consideration when discussing translation in this period. Like many of the contributions that follow, Boutcher's chapter shows, moreover, that the radically different contexts of early modern translation are brought into contact and made to impinge on one another by what it seems valid to consider as an emerging mode of writing in itself. Boutcher's chapter is followed by contributions arranged so as to reflect comparatively on different aspects of the two translation cultures under examination.

We begin with two chapters that take stock of the tremendous early impact of Erasmus on these translation cultures. At the start of the period under focus comes a crucial translation event. The publication of Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* in 1516 'proved to be the touchpaper to an already simmering conflict' over the place of Greek in theology.[54] This conflict is alive two decades later in France, as the background to an extraordinary court case brought against the *lecteurs royaux* in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Glyn P. Norton's chapter looks at this court case, which challenged the right of the Readers, as mere philologists, 'to read and publicly interpret Holy Scripture' without permission from the 'Faculty of Theology'. Norton analyses the *procès-verbal*, and shows that the intervention of this incident in the French culture of translation was not just political, but also theoretical. Neil Rhodes turns to England, to look at a different process for which Erasmus was the catalyst: the advent of Greek. Rhodes argues that Greek is 'the wild card, upsetting the stable binary division between learned Latin and vulgar English', and acting as 'an agent of cultural change and the facilitator of a translation culture'.

He identifies conflicting and intersecting perceptions of the 'purity' and 'commonness' of Greek at this time, and sees these as linked to what the English vernacular was discovering to be the empowering possibilities of translation.

The next two chapters sharpen the emerging focus on the link between translation and pedagogy. Paul White takes as his subject the French publisher Jodocus Badius Ascensius, and in particular his 'familiar commentaries', a genre that has its origins in schoolroom explication. In these works, Badius intermingles translation and commentary and presents his textual mediation by means of two kinds of metaphors: 'on the one hand a language of hospitality and *familiaritas*; and on the other a language of trade and merchandising'. Inextricably bound up with the worlds of education, printing and publishing, Badius' translations point suggestively to the many shades of writing and reading practices in these cultures covered by the term 'translation'. With Tania Demetriou's chapter we move to the English pedagogical context, to explore yet another, in some respects more ephemeral writing practice: a stage translation of the *Odyssey* in the form of an academic play by William Gager, *Ulysses Redux* (1592). Gager dramatizes the epic by rendering passages from it closely into Latin and distributing it across the characters. Demetriou compares his practice with that of other translators of the epic across Europe, focusing on the figure of Penelope. Gager's idiosyncratic mode of translation, she argues, provides an especially illuminating vantage point for seeing how early modern translators came to terms with Homer's challenging character. Still with Penelope in focus, she suggests that translation has consequences for the generic perception of the *Odyssey*, theorized at this time as a model for tragicomedy.

With the next pair of chapters we move from French and English pedagogy to politics, beginning with Patricia Palmer, who considers translation as a forger of and polemical statement on national identity. Her subject is a 1582 translation of the first four books of the *Aeneid* into English by 'a Catholic Palesman in continental exile who would publish nothing more in English'. The Dublin recusant Richard Stanihurst deploys the process of translation as part of his efforts to define a culture that will speak for the Old English community of Ireland, 'whose language is English but whose nation is not (or not any longer) England'. 'Abjuring rhyme and accentual stress in favour of hexameter's syllabic count' and 'couch[ing] an élite verse

form in low-style demotics', Stanihurst invents a language marked by its brio, eccentric copia, inventive alliteration and onomatopoeic reduplication. This idiolect may have opened him to the ridicule of contemporaries and modern critics alike, yet the 'strangeness', argues Palmer, is Stanihurst's attempt to find an idiom for a lost nation.

Stanihurst translates a literary text to make a political argument from a position of exile. In the next contribution, Edward Wilson-Lee turns his attention to the politics that define two important 'direct' Anglo-French translations of this period: those of Philippe de Mornay's *A Discourse of Life and Death* and Robert Garnier's *Antonius* by Mary Sidney Herbert, authored between the spring and autumn of 1590, and published together in 1592. While these texts have traditionally been read in the context of domestic political squabbles, Wilson-Lee argues that the project is more convincingly seen in the light of political relations between England and France during the false dawn of Henri IV's accession, when the hope of a strong ally against the Catholic League was dangled in front of English Protestants. The translations form part of a cultural *rapprochement* with France designed to make political collaboration more palatable, and combine *monarchomaque* critiques of royal rule with the 'advice to princes' tradition to propose models for limiting the vicissitudes of kingship along lines being explored in both France and England.

In the following pair of chapters, we move from politics to epistemology, with two explorations focused on Michel de Montaigne's *Essais*. Kirsti Sellevold considers one of the most significant Englishings of a French text in this period, John Florio's rendering of the *Essais*. Like Palmer, she considers the ways in which linguistic choices recreate the text that the translation delivers to its new readers. Sellevold's quarry is the way these choices serve to capture or distort the epistemology of a text. The level of the choices at work here is minute. Using methodologies taken from linguistics, Sellevold examines how Florio handles the adverb 'à l'aventure', one of the terms that is instrumental in Montaigne's mode of thought and part of the battery of expressions drawn from Sextus Empiricus' *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*. For Sellevold, the adverb's associations of reservation and contingency make it an 'emblem of the non-conclusive, open-ended form of the essay' itself. Sellevold concludes that Florio's translation decisions are driven by a clear grasp

of the function this key term plays in Montaigne's epistemological outlook, perhaps owing to the fact that, as a lexicographer, Florio was sensitive to the shades of meaning a single term can carry. Her reflections lead straight to the next contribution, by John O'Brien, who considers Montaigne himself as a translator of an ancient thinker. O'Brien's focus is Chapter 2.15 ('Que nostre desir s'accroist par la malaisance'), which begins with a rendering of another Sceptical expression from Sextus Empiricus, 'παντὶ λόγῳ λόγος ἴσος ἀντίκειται' (*OP* 1.202, 'To every argument an equal argument can be opposed'). A translation of the very same phrase closes the preceding essay, 2.14 ('Comme nostre esprit s'empesche soy-mesmes'). Showing how this 'double translation' interacts with the procedures of writing and thinking that make up Montaigne's idiosyncratic philosophy, O'Brien argues that 'translation is crucial in both chapters not just as a transmitter of knowledge, but as a critical tool for the investigating and weighing (among other things) of Aristotelian and Scholastic principles.'

Montaigne and Florio vividly emerge out of these analyses as authors who use translation to think. They are not alone in this period. The closing chapter of the volume, by Anne Lake Prescott, shows translation to be fundamentally connected to the creative imagination and philosophy of Sir Thomas Urquhart. Urquhart is most famous for his 1653 translation of Rabelais' prose fictions, a version whose verbal exuberance and expansive inventiveness surpass that of Rabelais' famously copious writing. Prescott's examination of Urquhart's other works – including (pseudo-?) mathematical treatises and tracts exploring and promoting the notion of a universal language – show that the verbal copia that we might have attributed to the translator's desire to mimic his source text is – or perhaps becomes – a characteristic of Urquhart's writing style more broadly, and indeed part and parcel of his ideas about language. It is both significant and eloquent of a culture nourished by translation from the French, that the English translator of one of the most richly inventive wordsmiths of the French vernacular goes on to offer some of the most exuberantly described plans for the development of a universal language. Individually and in conversation, these chapters show the culture of translation in early modern England and France informing and transforming written culture within and between the two countries.

Notes

1   Thomas North, *The Liues of the Noble Grecians and Romanes, Compared together by … Plutarke of Chaeronea* (London, 1579), sig. [*vijj]ʳ.

2   Robert Aulotte, *Amyot et Plutarque: la tradition des Moralia au XVIe siècle* (Geneva, 1965), p. 277. On Amyot, see, most extensively, *Fortunes de Jacques Amyot. Actes du colloque international (Melun 18-20 avril 1985)*, edited by Michel Balard (Paris, 1986) and the chronology in Jacques Amyot, *L'Histoire aethiopique*, edited by Laurence Plazenet (Paris, 2008), pp. 93–111. On North's translation, see, for example, Valerie Worth, 'Les Fortunes de Jacques Amyot en Angleterre: une traduction de Sir Thomas North', in *Fortunes de Jacques Amyot.*

3   The two novels were published anonymously, though the identity of the translator was known in some circles, as witnesses an epigram by Charles Fontaine quoted in Aulotte, p. 277 (note 2). On Amyot's approach to his eponymous and anonymous translations, see, for example, Laurence Plazenet, 'Jacques Amyot and the Greek Novel: The Invention of the French Novel', in *The Classical Heritage in France*, edited by Gerald Sandy (Leiden, 2002), pp. 237–80 (pp. 240–62). Amyot also turned his hand to Greek tragedy, though without publishing these versions. Two translations of Euripides survive in manuscript – dated 1542 and 1545 – and he may have also translated Sophocles. See Euripides, *Les Troades, Iphigénie en Aulis, traductions inédites de J. Amyot*, edited by Luigi de Nardis (Naples, 1996).

4   Jacques Amyot, *Les Vies des homes illustres grecs et romains* (Paris, 1558).

5   See, for example, Aulotte, pp. 166–90.

6   See Alice Hulubei, 'Henri Estienne et le roman de Longus, *Daphnis et Chloé*', *Revue du seizième siècle*, 18 (1931), 324–40 on Longus' novel prior to its 1598 *editio princeps*; on the manuscript used by Amyot, see M. F. Ferrini, 'Il romanzo di Longo e la traduzione di Amyot. Il problema del testo seguito', *Giornale italiano di filologia*, 47 (1985), 77–100.

7   Jacques Amyot, *Les Oeuvres morales & meslees de Plutarque* (Paris, 1572), p. 608 (i.e., 762d–763a); cp. Anacreon *et al.*, *Anacreontis et aliorum lyricorum aliquot poetarum odae*, edited and translated by Henri Estienne (Paris, 1556), p. 69. On Amyot's translation, see Robert Aulotte, 'Sur quelques traductions d'une ode de Sappho au XVIe siècle', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, *4e* série, 4 (1958), 107–22 (pp. 118–22).

8   Philemon Holland, *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called the Morals* (London, 1603), p. 1148.

9   See, for instance, *Sappho Through English Poetry*, edited by Peter Jay and Caroline Lewis (London, 1996) and Margaret Reynolds, *The Sappho Companion* (London, 2000), pp. 39, 84–6, 97.

10 Brenda Hosington *et al.*, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads*, online at: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc, accessed 21.1.2012.

11 The RCC, the first tool to allow numerical research of this sort, does not at present have a function for disregarding editions of translations after the first, or indeed different states of particular editions. Though this does

not bias our enquiry in any particular direction, it does compromise the clarity of what these figures represent.

12   On the implications of the fact that English is the main 'pivot' tongue for translation today, see David Bellos, *Is That a Fish in Your Ear? Translation and the Meaning of Everything* (London, 2011).

13   George Chapman, *The Iliads of Homer* (London, [1611]), sig. A3ᵛ.

14   Edward Hellowes, *The Familiar Epistles of Sir Antony of Guevara* (London, [1574]), sig. aiiiiᵛ.

15   Edward Hellowes, *The Familiar Epistles of Sir Antony of Guevara* (London, [1575(?)]), sigs ¶ iijʳ-¶ iijᵛ. See Janet Fellheimer, 'Hellowes and Fenton's Translations of Guevara's *Epistolas Famliares*', *Studies in Philology*, 44 (1947), 140–56 and John Rutherford, 'Translating without a Dictionary: The Englishing by Edward Hellowes of Guevara's *Epistolas familiares*', in *Hispanic Linguistic Studies in Honour of F. W. Hodcroft*, edited by David Mackenzie and Ian Michael (Llangrannog, 1993), pp. 139–52.

16   'General Bibliography of Translations' in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English.* Vol. 2: *1550-1660,* edited by Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford, 2010), pp. 471–560; henceforth *OHLTE*.

17   Gordon Braden, 'An Overview', in *OHLTE*, pp. 3–11 (pp. 8–9).

18   That this was the case is currently being investigated by John O' Brien through a study of the distribution of French editions of Montaigne in England. See 'Montaigne in Some London Libraries', *Montaigne Studies*, 24 (2012), 141–62.

19   Robert Cummings, 'Recent Studies in English Translation c.1520–c.1590', *English Literary Renaissance*, 37 (2007), 274–316; 'Recent Studies in English Translation c.1590–c.1660. Part One: General Studies and Translations from Greek and Latin', *English Literary Renaissance*, 39 (2009), 197–227; and 'Recent Studies in English Translation c.1590–c.1660. Part Two: Translations from Vernacular Languages', *English Literary Renaissance,* 39 (2009), 586–615.

20   Recent 'general studies' include Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot, 2006), signalled by Cummings as 'the most ambitious attempt since F. O. Matthiessen's *Translation: An Elizabethan Art* (1931) to account for the motives of early modern English translation' and the seminal work of Peter Burke, who includes England in a broader reappraisal of the role of translation for cultural history. See, for example, 'Lost (and Found) in Translation: A Cultural History of Translators and Translating in Early Modern Europe', *European Review*, 15 (2007), 83–94, and *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2007).

21   *Tudor Translation*, edited by Fred Schurink (Basingstoke, 2011); *Elizabethan Translation and Literary Culture*, edited by Gabriela Schmidt (Berlin, 2013); and *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print, and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, edited by S. K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden, 2013).

22 See Fred Schurink, 'Introduction' in *Tudor Translation*, pp. 1–17 (pp. 2–4).

23 Brenda M. Hosington, 'The "Renaissance Cultural Crossroads" Catalogue: A Witness to the Importance of Translation in Early Modern Britain', in *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (Leiden, 2011), pp. 253–69.

24 See, for example, the works on Amyot referred to above; Valerie Worth, *Practising Translation in Renaissance France: The Example of Étienne Dolet* (Oxford, 1988); M. Simonin, *Vivre de sa plume au XVIe siècle ou la carrière de François de Belleforest* (Geneva, 1992); C. Buridant, 'Les Paramètres de la traduction chez Blaise de Vigenère', in *Blaise de Vigenère, poète et mythographe au temps de Henri III* (Paris, 1994), pp. 39–65; Paul Chavy, 'Vigenère, traducteur baroque', in *Blaise de Vigenère*, pp. 67–76; E. Bury, 'Trois traducteurs français aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: Amyot, Baudoin, d'Ablancourt. Les traductions dans le patrimoine français', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 97 (1997), 361–71.

25 Paul Chavy, *Traducteurs d'autrefois: Moyen Âge et Renaissance. Dictionnaire des traducteurs et de la littérature traduite en ancien et moyen français (842–1600)* (Paris, 1988).

26 On France as the place where debates on translation were 'pursued with most vigour', see Valerie Worth-Stylianou, '*Translatio* and Translation in the Renaissance: From Italy to France', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism. Volume 3: The Renaissance,* edited by Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 127–35. See also Glyn P. Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and Their Humanist Antecedents* (Geneva, 1981) and Luce Guillerm, *Sujet de l'écriture et traduction autour de 1540* (Paris, 1988).

27 Witness a number of essay collections, such as *Translation and the Transmission of Culture between 1300 and 1600*, edited by Jeanette Beer and Kenneth Lloyd-Jones (Kalamazoo, MI, 1996); *Traduction et adaptation en France à la fin du Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'Université de Nancy II 23-25 mars 1995*. edited by Charles Brucker (Paris, 1997); *Traduire et adapter à la Renaissance. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée par l'École nationale de chartes et le Centre de recherche sur l'Espagne des XVIe et XVIIe siècles (Paris, 11 avril 1996)*, edited by Dominique de Courcelles (Paris, 1998); *Translations. Pratiques de traduction et transferts de sens à la Renaissance*, edited by Elsa Kammerer *et al.*, *Camenae*, 3 (2007), online at: http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/la-recherche/les-unites-de-recherche/mondes-anciens-et-medievaux-ed1/rome-et-ses-renaissances-art-3625/revue-en-ligne-camenae/article/camenae-no-3-novembre-2007, accessed 21 August 2014.

28 Marie-Alice Belle, 'Locating Early Modern Women's Translations: Critical and Historiographical Issues', in *Women's Translations in Early Modern England and France*, edited by Marie-Alice Belle (= *Renaissance and Reformation/ Renaissance et Réforme*, 35:4 (2012)), pp. 1–23 (p. 7). As Belle notes, the relevant volumes of Yves Chevrel and Jean-Yves Masson's

Histoire des Traductions en Langue Française (Paris, 2012–) are forth-coming.

29 See, for example, Morini, pp. 13–29, and for an extreme formulation of the view, Eric Jacobsen, *Translation: A Traditional Craft* (Copenhagen, 1958).

30 For discussions, see Gordon Braden, 'Translating Procedures in Theory and Practice', in *OHLTE*, pp. 89–100; and Frederick M. Rener, *Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Amsterdam, 1989).

31 Matthew Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation: From Chaucer & Petrarch to Homer & Logue* (Oxford, 2011); on early modern authors, see pp. 73–81, 136–58, 287–306.

32 Braden, 'Translating Procedures', pp. 96–7.

33 Belle, p. 16.

34 The political angles of this phenomenon are brought out in Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, NY, 1996), esp. pp. 27–51. See also Charles Giry-Deloison, 'France and Elizabethan England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), 223–42, on early modern French views of the English, where translation crops up in a variety of contexts.

35 Our account draws on H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558–1603: A Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 104–11, and the ESTC.

36 On Huguenot publishers in London and these figures in particular, see Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 84–96 and Colin Clair, 'Refugee Printers and Publishers in Britain during the Tudor Period', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 22 (1972), 115–26. On Hacket as a specialized publisher, see Kirk Melnikoff, 'Thomas Hacket and the Ventures of an Elizabethan Publisher', *The Library*, 10 (2009), 257–71 (pp. 267–71).

37 See Alison Clarke, 'Jean Loiseau de Tourval: A Huguenot Translator in England 1603–31', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 20:1 (1959), 36–59 and Albert W. Osborn, *Sir Philip Sidney en France* (Paris, 1932), pp. 68–77.

38 For example, James I, *Apologie pour le serment de fidélité*, translated by Jean Loiseau de Tourval (London [i.e. Paris], 1609).

39 Jean Loiseau de Tourval, *Caractères de vertus et de vices, tirez de l'anglois de M. Josef Hall* (Paris, 1610) and *Le Sénèque ressucité chrétien … de l'anglois de M. Josef Hall* (Paris, 1610).

40 This gives it a special place in Sidney Lee, 'The Beginning of French Translation from The English', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1906), 85–112 (pp. 97–106).

41 See Osborn, pp. i–xlii, for an edition of his translation.

42 Hassan Melehy, *The Poetics of Literary Transfer in Early Modern France and England* (Farnham, 2010); Anne Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven and London, 1998); *French Poets and the English Renaissance: Studies in Fame and Transformation* (New Haven and

London, 1978); 'The Laurel and the Myrtle: Spenser and Ronsard', in *Worldmaking Spenser: Explorations in the Early Modern Age*, edited by Patrick Cheney and Lauren Silberman (Lexington, 2000), pp. 63–78. A new volume, *French Connections in the English Renaissance*, edited by Catherine Gimelli Martin and Hassan Melehy (Farnham, 2013), includes translation in its remit.

43 A. E. B. Coldiron, 'Translation's Challenge to Critical Categories: Verses from French in the Early English Renaissance', *Yale Journal of Criticism*, 16 (2003), 315–44.

44 Jean-Christophe Mayer, 'Introduction', in *Representing France and the French in Early Modern English Drama* edited by Jean-Christophe Mayer (Newark, DE, 2008), pp. 21–46 (pp. 21–2), referring of course to Sidney Lee, *The French Renaissance in England: An Account of the Literary Relations of England and France in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1910).

45 On this topic, see also Deanne Williams' important monograph, *The French Fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 2004).

46 '[L]es Anglois se vantent d'auoir la langue la plus faconde et feconde du monde, et la plus propre pour son abondance et divers degrez des motz a traduire toutes les aultres, et plus difficile a estre traduitte en toute autre' (Clarke, p. 59). The journal is edited on pp. 54–9.

47 This is what Dallington claimed in 1605; but see Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545–1625* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 33–44.

48 *A Method for Trauell Shewed by Taking the View of France. As it Stoode in the Yeare of our Lord 1598* (London, 1605), sig. V2ᵛ.

49 Melnikoff, p. 268.

50 Antoine du Pinet, *Le Troisième livre des epistres illustres de don Antoine de Guevare* (Lyon, 1560), sigs aaiiʳ–[Eeiii]ʳ.

51 Alfonso di Ulloa, *Il terzo libro delle lettere dell'illustre signor Antonio di Guevara* (Venice, 1557).

52 Fellheimer, p. 142.

53 Antonio de Guevara, *Epistres dorees, moralles et familieres*, translated by Jean de Guterry (Lyon, 1556 and 1559).

54 Simon Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism* (Cambridge, 2002).

1
From Cultural Translation
to Cultures of Translation?

Early Modern Readers, Sellers and Patrons

Warren Boutcher

With the publication in 1975 of George Steiner's seminal *After Babel*, 'cultural translation' became the key concept in translation studies. Steiner took the problem of translation out of the hands of the hard-core semioticians and transformational grammarians, and gave it to all students of the humanities and social sciences, even if it is debatable to what extent they have accepted the gift. He did this by defining culture itself as the transfer of meaning across time and space. At the time, the model of human cognition, communication and culture was essentially 'linguistic-semantic' and text-based. Cognition was a matter of decoding meanings from signs; communication was a matter of writing signs into texts; cultures were literary texts to be read. Steiner was therefore able to claim that the fundamental process at work in any act of translation, as in any act of human communication, was 'the hermeneutic motion … the act of elicitation and appropriative transfer of meaning'.[1]

 Since 1975, the 'linguistic-semantic' model used by Steiner has been much challenged on all fronts. There are now a number of different models in play, and they have begun to change translation studies.[2] We have new, more pragmatic approaches to cognition and communication. These do not begin and end with the encoding and decoding of meanings in and from signs. They incorporate other aspects of daily interactive behaviour and other kinds of instinctive inference-making. When applied to translation, they produce new models of communicative relations between source writer, translator-as-reader, translator-as-rewriter and target reader. The process of communication becomes one in which readers (whether the

translator, or the target reader) infer the most likely communicative intent on the basis of the various kinds of knowledge they bring with them. Meanwhile, our models of culture have moved 'beyond text' to incorporate visual and material artefacts, and the distinct kinds of communication and interaction they effect. In text studies, this means that far more attention is paid to the histories of books and manuscripts, and to the relations between print, script and orality. The focus on a relatively exclusive canon of literary translations has widened to include a broader range of texts.

These new models of cognition, communication and culture have not, however, displaced the old, text- and sign-based model of cultural transfer. In early modern translation studies, we are currently moving between old and new, looking for the best way to combine the two approaches. On the one hand, the task of painstakingly establishing the source and target texts, and undertaking a philologically informed comparison of the two, remains a crucial one. Otherwise, the translator's interpretation, which may in turn indicate a politics of some kind, cannot be authoritatively revealed. Along with this goes the task of analysing changing theories of translation and interpretation, their ideology, their relationship to language learning, based on scrutiny of translators' prefaces and treatises, and associated pedagogical literature.[3]

On the other hand, it no longer seems sufficient *just* to compare source and target texts and to ask questions about theories and ideologies of translation and pedagogy via prefaces and treatises. Larger patterns of mobility and migration, whether of books or of people, and broader networks of actors, in various roles, need to be considered. Translations in the early modern period are normally the outcome of the travels of individuals and of individual books to and from foreign countries, and this shapes the resulting texts in various ways.[4] We now have more flexible models of the actions and agency relations that might be involved in the production and use of a translation – beyond just the actions of 'domestication' and 'foreignization', and the relations between the 'interpreter' and the 'text'.[5]

Book history and cultural history have placed translations at the centre of a highly intricate nexus of authors, translators (including intermediary translators), paratext-writers, editors and correctors, censors, printers, booksellers, patrons and readers – so intricate, indeed, that it sometimes seems as if each translation has its own

distinctive 'culture'. Each translation, we might rather say, is the distinctive product of overlapping international, national and local cultures of translation, learning or pedagogy, and the book; each translation is a distinct act of communication carried out in a particular nexus of social relationships. To analyse a translation as an act of communication we need to go beyond purely literary and linguistic analysis, and beyond the usual sources.

In the second half of this chapter I shall consider three instances of early modern descriptions of such social nexuses, using non-standard sources, with a view to sketching the range of ways in which translations can constitute acts of communication. However, the quality of interpretative analysis will utlimately depend not on individual attempts to find and use new sources but on the collaborative scholarly provision of proper data and tools for the study of translation – by which I mean data and tools distinct from those provided for research into literary history conceived in terms of distinct national traditions, and comparisons between them. Such provision is underway – I give an example of how one such database can be used in the first half of the chapter – but it is still in its infancy.

One large problem is how little we know about what was actually translated and when, in print and manuscript, from which source texts or intermediary translations. And beyond that, how little we know about the transnational book trade, transnational book circulation, and the ownership of specific copies. There is a paucity of online tools designed specifically to facilitate the study of translations in their macro-contexts. This is largely because bibliographical projects have traditionally been designed to list national literatures, not the migrations of texts between them. The one traditional tool we do have is the period bibliography or list of translations from language A into language B, usually conceived within the context of a particular field of study which highlights the influence of one national literature upon another. But we are a long way from possessing comprehensive and informative databases of all the texts translated in the early modern period into and out of each of the European languages.

We currently have, indeed, only one such database: Brenda Hosington's online resource containing a searchable, analytical and annotated list of all translations out of and into all languages printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of all translations out of all

Table 1.1 Translations printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and into English printed abroad, 1473–1640

Years	Translations (RCC)	Total printed output (ESTC)	Translations as percentage of total
1473–1486	44	145	30.34
1487–1500	50	342	14.62
1501–1514	43	628	6.85
1515–1528	82	1,069	7.67
1529–1542	240	1,412	17.00
1543–1556	487	2,308	21.10
1557–1570	446	2,137	20.87
1571–1584	785	3,172	24.75
1585–1598	779	4,039	19.29
1599–1612	809	5,674	14.26
1613–1626	918	7,689	11.94
1627–1640	1,061	8,859	11.98

Note: Data extracted on 24 February, 2013. As both the ESTC and RCC are continually revised, these figures are subject to future variations

languages into English printed abroad, before 1641.[6] The entries are modelled on the online ESTC but include new, independently verified information on intermediary translators, original language, target language, intermediary language, liminary materials and various other details regarding the translator and the translation (in general 'Notes'). Even a basic search in this resource allows us to do something we have not been able to do before: statistically verify the growth of a culture of translation in the Tudor period, or, as Gordon Braden puts it, a 'dramatic surge, unprecedented in its energy and scope, to bring foreign writings of all kinds into English'.[7] Was there an Elizabethan renaissance in translation? Table 1.1 divides the period covered by both ESTC and RCC into 12 equal segments and shows the number of translations, total printed output and the number of translations as a percentage of total printed output. The latter element is shown graphically in Figure 1.1.

The data show that in their early years, English printers relied heavily on translated material to get production going. Thereafter,
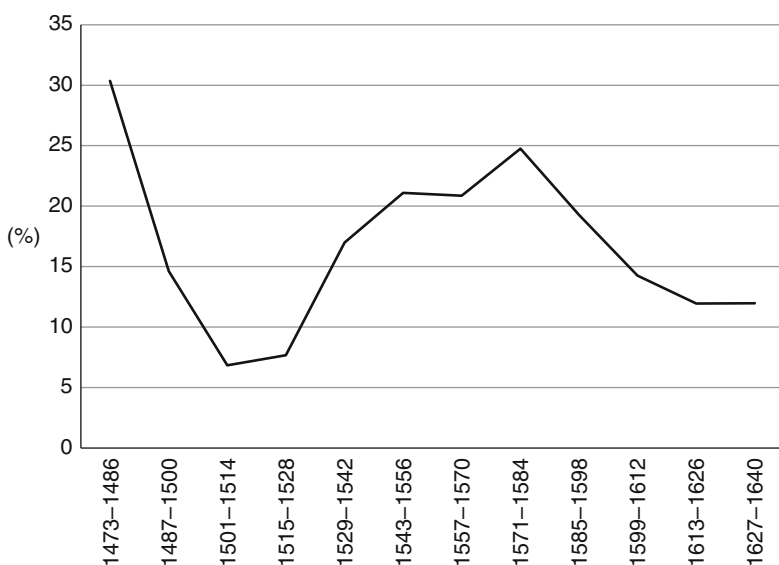
Figure 1.1   Translations printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and into English printed abroad, 1473–1640 as a percentage of total printed output

the proportion drops to a low level for three decades or so until the 1520s. There is then a steady rise, which does indeed peak in the mid-Elizabethan period, before a fall back to more moderate levels in the Jacobean and early Stuart periods.

Until further research is carried out, we can only speculate what the key factor in this rise was. We should certainly not assume it was a surge in the production of classical and other literary texts in translation. The chronology would seem to point to the reciprocal relationship between the impact of the Reformation and the expansion of the book trade. Bible translation and a greater availability of foreign copies from the continent, especially the literature of the Reform and of religious controversy, perhaps combined with an increased capacity on the part of printshops and a greater willingness on the part of patrons to sponsor scholar-translators and booksellers to produce translated religious works. But an increased volume of translations of news pamphlets and other ephemera from the continent might equally have pushed the figures up in

the 1570s and 1580s.[8] It would be very useful to place the data in a comparative European context, to see if there are similar spikes in the proportion of translated materials produced in other European countries.

A tool that may be helpful in the future in achieving this aim is the new 'Universal Short Title Catalogue' (USTC) Project, based at the University of St. Andrews, directed by Andrew Pettegree.[9] This is a searchable database of all books published in Europe before 1601 (to be extended in the next phase of development to 1650), with a note of located copies and, where possible, links to available digital editions. Currently, this database is not set up to provide comprehensive statistical information on translated texts and their sources, though future developments may change this. Within the project there is a distinction between internally created records and records assimilated from existing online catalogues. In the case of records created by the project team, which are mainly for Dutch, French, and German books, the names of translators are being listed. They also list, where known, the names of editors and secondary authors. The records assimilated into USTC from online national library catalogues, on the other hand, tend to be less helpful, as they are less likely to have included information about translators. Other important online databases such as Edit 16 (for Italy), VD 16-17, GLN 15-16 (for French-speaking cities of the Swiss Confederation), though extremely valuable, are likewise not set up for specialized research in the history of translation.

On the European scale, we also have the 'Heritage of the Printed Book Database' (HPB), formerly the 'Hand Press Book Database', a Union catalogue of European printing from the fifteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, hosted by the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL).[10] Even since the launch of the USTC, this continues to be useful for the period after 1600. It allows searches by language and includes information about copies. But it is limited in being reliant on only around 19 or so online catalogues; these do not systematically record information about translated items, translators and intermediaries.

If we are interested in Europe as a whole, we must move forward as best we can, between old and new models of communication and translation, making generalizations based on case-studies and the scant data that are available. But we can also consider evidence on

attitudes to translation and translation practices from outside the standard domains. In the remainder of this chapter, in an effort to broaden the range of sources used, I shall examine three texts about translation that are not drawn from translation prefaces or treatises. They offer us views from the study of the reader who buys and consumes translations, from the shop of the printer who produces them, and from the life of the patron who commissions them. My aim is to go beyond purely literary approaches to translation and to substantiate the claim that each translation is a distinct act of communication carried out in a particular nexus of social relationships, while also pointing to the diversity of possible nexuses in early modern cultures of translation.

   The first example takes us to the study of Michel de Montaigne. *Essais* II.4 opens from the first (1580) edition with an award made not to the best translator in France, but to the best *writer* in France:

> It seems to me that I am justified in awarding the palm, above all our writers in French, to Jacques Amyot, not merely for the simplicity and purity of his language, in which he excels all others, nor for his constancy during such a long piece of work, nor for the profundity of his knowledge in being able to disentangle an author so complex and thorny (for you can say what you like: I cannot understand the Greek, but everywhere in his translation I see a meaning so beautiful, so coherent and so consistent with itself that either he has definitely understood the true meaning of his author [*l'imagination vraye de l'autheur*] or else, from a long frequentation [*par longue conversation*] with him, he has planted in his own soul a vigorous generic Idea of Plutarch's, and has at least lent to him nothing which belies him or contradicts him; but above all I am grateful to him for having chosen and selected so worthy and so appropriate a book to present to his country. Ignorant people like us would have been lost if that book had not brought us up out of the mire: thanks to it, we now dare to speak and write; from it the ladies give lessons to the schoolmasters; it is our breviary.[11]

After this extract, Montaigne first asks Amyot to undertake Xenophon for the readership he represents, and then goes on to enact a reading of a passage from Amyot's version of Plutarch's *Moralia*. For this

is the book he primarily has in mind: the *Oeuvres morales et meslees*, published in 1572.

In Montaigne's eyes this is the high end of early modern oratorical translation. The agency is located here in the close intellectual friendship between the translator-as-reader, who is a writer of high rank, a bishop of the church, and a noble counsellor to kings, and the classical author, an equivalent figure in the late Roman empire. Amyot can infer Plutarch's meaning because he brings the kind of knowledge with him that – in humanist contexts – one friend has of another's soul. The translation is direct from the Greek and on the higher level of sense. The translator (as Montaigne would have known from Amyot's prefaces) has travelled to Italy and elsewhere to collate his printed Greek copy with manuscripts. The translator-as-rewriter has now, furthermore, published the complete works (the *Vies des hommes illustres* were published in 1565) of that classical author as a gift to his country.

So this is a dynamic and virtuous act of communication within a nexus consisting of classical author, eminent translator and elite lay readership. There is no mention of the publisher-booksellers involved. Great and noble virtues have gone into the act of translation: *naïveté* and *pureté*, *constance* and *savoir*. I say 'act' in the singular but Montaigne in fact situates the work as an index of three interrelated sets of actions: first, Amyot's actions in 'inventing' or choosing Plutarch, conversing with an Idea of Plutarch's soul fashioned by his own imagination, giving his translated idea of that soul to his country in printed form; second, the actions of those who now – thanks to Amyot's 'breviary' – dare to speak and write, including ladies now able to give schoolmasters lessons; third, and more particularly, his own actions in daring to speak and judge so freely off the back of Amyot's Plutarch in the chapter that follows and in the *Essais* as a whole. Vernacular breviaries were not widely disseminated and did not become instruments of self-edification in France until the 1650s. Amyot's Plutarch of 1572 does for the Roman Catholic laity in the French vernacular what the new Roman Breviary of 1568 does in Latin for the counter-reforming, post-Tridentine clergy: provides them with the capacity to perform offices in speech and writing.[12]

The passage also points to the importance of paratexts in intermediary translations and source editions. For Montaigne is drawing on Amyot's prefaces to the *Vies* and the *Oeuvres morales et meslees* to tell

the story of the translation. These prefaces come with a programme for reading history. The preface to the *Vies*, in particular, promotes the reading of histories as a school of *prudence*. And in what follows Montaigne enacts his own reading of histories, by respectfully doubting Plutarch's own judgement in *De curiositate* (522d–f) on one crucial point: that the Roman nobleman Rusticus' lack of curiosity can be praised for *prudence*! Priests do not generally question the Roman breviary but Montaigne, like the women who give lessons to their schoolmasters, subtly gives a lesson to the higher-ranking orators and educators Amyot and Plutarch, by giving more weight to *nonchalance* and *fortune* in human affairs.

What can be drawn out from this example? The publishing context, illustrations and paratexts of the specific source edition or intermediary translation can shape the transmission of meaning via a translation; it is not just a matter of direct contact between the interpreter and the signs in the source text.[13] Which is to say that the translation is not just a version of Plutarch; it is understood to be transmitting a skill, a capacity – reading histories with and for *prudence* – which Montaigne shows us in action, somewhat ironically perhaps (given the doubts he introduces about *prudence*), after praising the translation.

Furthermore, the backdrop to these remarks about Amyot may suggest that vernacular, oratorical translation achieved higher prestige and status in France than in any other European country, including Italy, during the sixteenth century. This in turn puts the rhetoric of cultural nationalism found in English translation prefaces into perspective. If a key indicator of the emergence of a national literature in this earlier period is the systematic production of the complete works of the classical authors in the vernacular, then England, relative to France and Italy, hardly gets off the ground until the early seventeenth century.[14]

Finally, we might ask the following question. If Amyot in Montaigne's account is at one end of a scale, perhaps the 'high' end, who and what is at the other, whether this is seen as 'low' or otherwise? That is, what rival models of translation are there to the oratorical one? A short answer might be the translator or publisher of translations as intelligencer and propagandist. In this kind of publishing context, nothing is quite what it seems, and the act of translation itself is obscured or disguised. Amyot, at least for the

first half of his adult life, was a high-ranking nobleman placed close to the King in the French establishment. But consider a figure at the other end of the scale. The English catholic exile and counter-intelligencer Richard Verstegan published works in his later life from Antwerp. They comprised polemical and propagandistic writings against the official policy of the Elizabethan and Jacobean regime. Some of Verstegan's writings were translated without acknowledgement,[15] others were described as 'translated' on the title page but were not,[16] others were translated from disguised originals.[17] Only the devotional translations, designed for the international English Roman Catholic community, tended to tell a more transparent story about their production.[18]

The second text on which I wish to focus is taken from a novel and leads us from the reader's study into a printshop. In Chapter 62 of the second part of the *Ingenioso cavallero Don Quixote de La Mancha*, published in 1615, our knight is wandering through the streets of Barcelona. Unbeknownst to him, his host, Don Antonio Moreno, has been seeking ways to make Don Quijote's madness public without harming him. This involves him being duped in various hilarious ways – including being paraded through Barcelona with 'I am Don Quijote' on his back – but he does manage to escape for a walk at one point, which is when he sees and enters the printshop. A typesetter at work points him towards an unnamed and unknown gentleman who has translated a Tuscan book called *Le bagatele* into Castilian. Don Quijote joins him in conversation and asks him how he would translate various well-known Tuscan words into Castilian, the point being that translating between the two languages is very easy. He then offers his opinion on translating, and the language of discrimination he uses is not so different from that used by Montaigne. It is part of the culture of a would-be lettered nobleman to know how to talk about translations:

> It seems to me that translating from one language to another, unless it is from Greek and Latin, the queens of all languages [*como no sea de las reinas de las lenguas*], is like looking at Flemish tapestries from the wrong side, for although the figures are visible, they are covered by threads that obscure them, and cannot be seen with the smoothness and colour of the right side; translating easy languages does not argue for either talent or eloquence

[*lenguas fáciles ni arguye ingenio ni elocución*], just as transcribing or copying from one paper to another does not argue for those qualities.[19]

He does, nevertheless, go on to exempt two men from this reckoning, men who have gained fame and honour translating into Spanish from the Italian, in one case a translator of Guarini's *Pastor Fido* and in the other of Tasso's *Aminta*. In these two cases the two sides of the tapestry, the original and the translation, are indistinguishable.

The passage is difficult as it contains an apparent conundrum. Don Quijote puts Greek and Latin above other languages here as the only ones he seems to think worth translating from, or the only ones that produce good translations (perhaps because they cannot simply be transliterated or copied into Castilian). The rest are 'easy' languages not worth the effort. Yet he also says, of these latter, that the effect is like looking at a Flemish tapestry from the reverse side, without being able to see the true picture. The comparison of a source and a target text with a sumptuous and expensive Flemish tapestry viewed from the right and from the wrong side would seem to fit better with the case of, say, a classical Greek text translated into a vernacular without due attention to the richness of the figures than to a case such as *Le bagatele*. But the suggestion may be that translations from the Greek and Latin always give a truer picture because they demand greater effort by greater translators, and are therefore done better. The typical translator-for-profit who takes on works such as *Le bagatale*, in contrast, just follows the easy route by 'copying' one word at a time and ending up with a bad translation that has paid no attention to the transposition of sense or figures.[20]

What we can conclude, in general terms, is that Don Quijote is taking a romantic-chivalric approach to translation, as to everything else. Greek and Latin are the noblest and the hardest languages to attempt, so they produce the most honour in the enterprise, and the best translations. The knight might have accepted Amyot's Plutarch as a good example, but such enterprises are rare, and they do not reflect the everyday business of translation publishing. For Don Quijote is of course propounding this chivalric theory of translation in the middle of a printshop, in the company of artisans typesetting a translation for profit. But for whose profit? In the following passage, Quijote addresses the author once more:

'But tell me, your grace: is this book being printed at your expense or has the privilege already been sold to a bookseller [*librero*]?'

'I am printing it at my own expense', responded the author [*el autor*, (Grossman: 'translator')], 'and expect to earn at least a thousand ducados with this first printing, which will consist of two thousand copies that can in no time at all be sold for six reales each.'

…

'It seems you do not know how printers collude or the favors they do for one another [*las correspondencias que hay de unos a otros*]. I promise that when you find your self burdened with two thousand copies of the book, your body will be so exhausted it will disconcert you, especially if the book is not to the vulgar taste and has no satirical edge [*un poco avieso y nonada picante*].'

'And?' said the author. 'Would your grace prefer that I give it to a bookseller [*librero*] who'll pay me three *maravedís* for the privilege and think he's doing me a favour? I don't print my books to achieve fame in the world, because I'm already well-known for my work; I want profit: without it, fame isn't worth a thing.'

In this passage there is no mention of the original 'author' of *Le bagatele* in Tuscan. The 'author' is the translator. The enterprise is an entirely commercial one, for profit; its larger context is the commercial and cultural links between Spanish Italy and Spain. The problem is how the author is to turn his literary property into a profit between the rock and the hard place of a printer and a bookseller. The printer will print extra copies and sell them via a bookseller for his own profit rather than shift those printed at the author's expense (which is why he will be left with two thousand copies); the bookseller will only pay three *maravedís* for the privilege and turn a big profit.

So there is a clash in this exchange between a chivalric and a commercial or profit-making perspective on translation, a clash that is clearly related to the thrust of the narrative as a whole. The critique of the commercial practices and power of printers and booksellers is related to the fact that Don Quijote is about to find on the presses in the same printshop the counterfeit second part of his own history, which Cervantes discovered out on the real market in 1614 as he was

preparing the 'authentic' second part. Somebody had hijacked his own literary property, itself a mock-translation, for profit.

This passage points us to what was missing in the first passage: the role of printers and booksellers. It hints at the more general relationship between translation and the commercial networks linking printers and booksellers across Europe, from Naples to Barcelona, from Antwerp to London. For it was booksellers or stationers who both imported and exported books through their commercial partners abroad (usually at the book fairs), and who commissioned translators to translate and printers to print translations of imported books that had sold well in other markets. In Cervantes, it is the 'author' who has selected the text for translation; his problem is getting a fair deal with a printer or bookseller. But printers and booksellers were mediators between one culture and another and in all likelihood key agents in both the provision and the selection of copies for translation – it is just that we do not yet have the documents or the data to demonstrate this on a wide scale. Giovanni Battista Ciotti, for example, published a number of translations into Italian, offered imported transalpine books to a Venetian readership, and looked for opportunities to market Italian authors in Germany.[21]

The title page of the 1634 edition of the first Italian translation of Montaigne, *Essais* II.12, can reinforce the point and direct us on to the third passage: 'APOLOGIA | DI RAIMONDO | DI SEBONDA | SAGGIO | DI MICHIEL SIGNOR DI MONTAGNA | NEL QVALE SI TRATTA | Del debolezza, & incertitudine del discorso Humano. | *Trasportato dalla lingua Francese nell'Italiana, per opera* | *di MARCO GINAMMI*. | ALL'ILLVSTRISSIMO SIG. | IL SIG ANNIBALE | MARISCOTTI'. On this title page, the translation is the 'work' (*opera*) of the bookseller Ginammi, who has transported it from the French to the Italian language, and offered it to a grand Venetian patron. The names of the original author, the bookseller, and the patron are prominent. The translator's name is not mentioned.

The third passage takes us out of the printshop and into the life of the noble patron of manuscript translations. It comes from a biography, Fulgenzio Micanzio's life of Paolo Sarpi, published in Italian at Leiden in 1646.[22] Micanzio is defending Sarpi's blameless life and irreprehensible conversation against those who would attack him for taking Venice's side against the Roman Catholic Church in political matters. He compares the father's conversation to that of Socrates and describes how he admitted to that conversation the young men

of the primary nobility of Venice, those admitted into state service as *savii d'ordini*. Sarpi was a treasury of records to them, a walking library, a walking history. Micanzio goes on to tell of the relationship between Sarpi and one of these, Marco Trevisan. Their conversation passed into such a degree of friendship, says Micanzio, that they could speak with complete liberty to one another. Trevisan is exquisitely informed of all the affairs and manners of Venice and reports them to Sarpi. Then Sarpi hears that Trevisan has in turn entered into a great friendship with another nobleman of Venice, Barbarigo:

> He [Sarpi] was also willing to contribute something to so rare a work [*opera cosi rara* i.e. the friendship]. It was not fit that so excellent a construction of civil virtue [*fabrica così eccelsa di virtù civile*] should be raised at Venice, without this architect putting his hand to it. And hearing Signor Marco recount the various accidents that had passed between them, and their desire for a total transmutation and transfusion not only of external things but of themselves, according to that precept *Amicorum omnia communa* … And having delivered some excellent teachings concerning friendship he did command Master Fulgentio to translate out of French into Italian that essay of Michael of Montaigne of friendship. Which once done, I cannot relate how pleasing it was to both these gentlemen, finding in their own hearts and affections not only those conditions of friendship which that great person had expressed with so rare examples as an Idea of perfect friendship, but also to find thereby how far they had exceeded his description.

Here, then, the author of the translation is the patron who commissions it from one of his subordinates and disciples, the author of the posthumous biography in which the passage occurs. The translation is only of one chapter, in manuscript (not extant), and is intended for specific elite readers. It is a unique gift. The work, in this case, is not a version of Montaigne; it is the public 'work' of the friendship between Trevisan and Barbarigo, which itself is a contribution to the *conversazione civile* of post-Interdict Venice. There were other texts in circulation in manuscript and print about this friendship in the 1620s and this manuscript translation takes its place amongst them.[23]

So what broader points can we infer from this last example, beyond, of course, the authorial role played by the patron in this case? The persistence of manuscript translation in the age of print

should be noted. We still have insufficient data about the large number of manuscript translations continuing to be produced. These translations are often 'hidden' in the catalogues of manuscript libraries, with the result that we cannot yet offer a convincing account of the relationship between manuscript and printed translation in the early modern period. What is certain is that such translations represent a very significant body of material. Consider, as one example, Noel Malcolm's edition of a previously unknown manuscript translation by Thomas Hobbes.[24]

It is also worth emphasizing the way in which the translation of Montaigne's chapter becomes one of a *series* of Venetian texts about an instance of civil conversation between friends. And we can go on, finally, to note the relationship between Sarpi's recommendation of Montaigne and his appearance in the bibliographical recommendations of Gabriel Naudé, published in Sarpi's city in 1633.[25] The emergence of published and prescriptive lists of ideal libraries of European learning, starting with Conrad Gesner's 1545 *Bibliotheca universalis*, must surely have had a role in determining what was translated.[26]

We can perhaps see evidence here of the end or reversal of the cultural lag between England and other countries of western Europe, at least in relation to important texts in the major vernaculars. In the 1590s the households of Florio's patrons were swimming in copies, in different formats, of the French text of the *Essais*, and a full translation appeared in English in 1603, only eight years after the complete text was first published in French (1595). In 1620 the French *Essais* appear to have been a relatively rare book in Padua-Venice and the first full Italian translation did not appear until 1633–4.[27] From the 1560s onwards, the quick migration of texts that had pertained mainly between France, Italy and Spain earlier in the century, extended to England, albeit only as a matter of imports and translations into English, rather than exports and translations out of English. In this period, one finds quick English translations of other late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century authors such as Du Bartas, Tasso, La Primaudaye and Cervantes.

In drawing to a conclusion, it is important to begin by noting that the international balance of trade in the production of translations in the early modern period and now is very different. In Italy in the 1980s, the proportion of translated works was roughly similar to the proportion in later sixteenth-century England, though the majority

were from what is now the single dominant language (English). In the same period the proportion of translated works published in the USA and the UK was roughly 2.5–3 per cent.[28] English and the English book trade were peripheral in the sixteenth century, while English and the USA-UK publishing industry are now more dominant than Latin and the major vernaculars, and central Europe, France and Italy were then.

The activity of translation was embedded in intellectual life up and down the social scale in the early modern period. There was a great variety of forms, occasions and types of translation. Equally, there was great diversity in the relations of agency within the intricate nexus that brings together authors, translators, editors, printers, booksellers, patrons and readerships. Any of them could be prime mover in the production of a translation. The most important point, however, is the diversity of types of communicative action that the production of a translation can represent. It can contribute to a public work that consists of a politically significant friendship. It can be an act of chivalry bringing fame and honour, or a profit-making piece of commerce. Or it can, like a breviary, give the readership of a whole country the capacity to perform lay offices in speech and writing.

In the years to come, will George Steiner's gift, with which I opened this chapter, finally be accepted by early modernists? Will the study of translation and transmission become central to the study of the intellectual and cultural history of Europe? The transmission of Greco-Roman literary antiquity, via humanists and philosophers, has traditionally been a core topic. But only by mapping the migrations of texts of all kinds, by paying attention to agents of all types, will we be able to give the subject the centrality it deserves.

Notes

1　George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (London, 1975), pp. 426, 296.

2　See the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, edited by Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 2nd edn (London and New York, 2009), esp. the entry by Francis R. Jones on 'Literary translation' (pp. 152–7).

 3 The classic analysis in early modern studies is Norton.

 4 See *Travels and Translations in the Sixteenth Century: Selected Papers from the Second International Conference of the Tudor Symposium* (2000), edited by Michael Pincombe (Aldershot, 2004) and Carmine Di Biase, *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period* (Amsterdam, 2006).

 5 For 'domestication' and 'foreignization' see Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd edn (London, 2008), esp. pp. 1–34.

 6 RCC [24 February 2013].

 7 Braden, p. 3.

 8 See James McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford, 1965) and Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT, 2010), esp. pp. 218–21.

 9 *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, online at: http://www.ustc.ac.uk/ [accessed 27 April 2011].

10 *Heritage of the Printed Book Database*, online at: http://www.cerl.org/web/en/resources/hpb/main [accessed 28 April 2011].

11 Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais*, edited by Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Paris, 2007), p. 382. Translation based on Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, translated by M. A. Screech (London, 1991), p. 408.

12 Dominique Julia, 'Reading and the Counter-Reformation', in *A History of Reading in the West*, edited by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier and translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 238–68.

13 I have written about this elsewhere in relation to the influence of the forms in which the late classical poet Musaeus' poem was published in Greek and Latin, and in which Polybius was published in Latin as a supplement to Livy. See Warren Boutcher, '"Who Taught Thee Rhetoricke to Deceive a Maid?": Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, Juan Boscán's *Leandro*, and Renaissance Vernacular Humanism', *Comparative Literature*, 52 (2000), 11–52 and 'Polybius Speaks British: A Case Study in Mid-Tudor Humanism and Historiography', in *Tudor Translation*, edited by Fred Schurink (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 101–20.

14 See R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 506–41 (Appendix II); R. R. Bolgar, with H. Nørgaard, 'Translations of the Classics into English before 1600', *Review of English Studies, 1500–1700*, 9 (1958), 164–72; and the RCC.

15 Richard Verstegan, *The Post of the World … A Booke right Necessary and Profitable, for All Sortes of Persons, the Like before this Tyme not Imprinted* (London, 1576) was translated and adapted from German without acknowledgement. See Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven, 2004), p. 12 and the RCC.

16 Richard Verstegan, *The copy of a letter lately written by a Spanishe gentleman, to his freind in England … Now newly translated into Englishe* (Antwerp, 1589) was not a translation but an original work replying to an English

letter disseminated in translations abroad. See Arblaster, pp. 43–4 and the RCC.

17 ['Ihon Philopatris'], *An aduertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers of Ingland, by an Inglishe intelligencer as he passed throughe Germanie towardes Italie Concerninge an other booke newly written in Latin (Antwerp, 1592)* was an abridged translation of a polemical, anti-Eliza-bethan Latin work by Robert Persons, probably translated by Verstegan. Richard Verstegan, *Obseruations concerning the present affaires of Holland and the Vnited Prouinces, made by an English gentleman* (Saint-Omer, 1621) was in fact translated and expanded from a Dutch response to the propos-als for peace made by Peter Peckius. See Arblaster, pp. 139, 57–9 and the RCC.

18 Pietro da Lucca, *A Dialogue of Dying Wel. First Written in the Italian Tongue, by the Reuerend Father Don Peeter of Luca … Translated first into French, and now into English* (Antwerp, 1603) has a translator's dedication signed 'R.V'. See Arblaster, pp. 83–4 and RCC. For a devotional translation by Verstegan see *The Primer, or, Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie in Latin and English, according to the reformed Latin* (Antwerp, 1599), and the informa-tion in Arblaster, pp. 77–80, and RCC.

19 Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Francisco Rico, Joaquín Forradellas and Fernando Lázaro Carreter, 2 vols (Barcelona, 2004), I, 1249–50, for this and the following passage, discussed on p. 33. Translation based on Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, translated by Edith Grossman (London, 2005), pp. 873–4.

20 This perhaps fits with the two exceptions Don Quijote gives in relation to translations from Italian to Castilian: two demanding, quasi-classical works by Guarini and Tasso that have attracted the attentions of higher-ranking translators (i.e., such as Amyot). On the other hand, it might well be the case that Cervantes is deliberately making the knight speak non-sense! I am grateful to Trevor Dadson for his contribution to this point.

21 Ian Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden, 2009), p. 42 and Massimo Firpo, 'Ciotti (Ciotto), Giovanni Battista', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 25 (Rome, 1981), pp. 692–6. For Ciotti's catalogue of transalpine books available via his shop in Venice see Giovanni Battista Ciotti, *Catalogus eorum librorum omnium, qui in ultramontanis regionibus impressi apud Io. Baptistam Ciottum prostant* (Venice, 1602). For examples from England see Brenda Hosington, 'Commerce, Printing, and Patronage', in *OHLTE*, pp. 47–57 (pp. 50–3).

22 Fulgenzio Micanzio, *Vita del padre Paolo, dell'ordine de' Servi* (Leiden, 1646), sig. L7.

23 Gaetano Cozzi, *Venezia barocca: conflitti di uomini e idee nella crisi del Seicento veneziano* (Venice, 1995), pp. 327–409.

24 Noel Malcolm, *Reason of State, Propaganda, and the Thirty Years' War: An Unknown Translation by Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford, 2007).

25 Gabriel Naudé, *Bibliografia politica*, edited by Domenico Bosco (Rome, 1997), p. 107.

26 See Paul Nelles, 'Books, Libraries and Learning from Bacon to the Enlightenment' in *Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 2: *1640–1850*, edited by G. Mandelbrote and K. Manley (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 23–35.

27 Florio's prefatory materials make it clear that copies of many different editions were available. (See John Florio, *The Essayes of Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne* (London, 1603), sig. A6ʳ.) In the early 1630s, Montaigne's principal Italian imitator, Flavio Querenghi, was still using the Naselli 1590 translation, and had not yet obtained a copy of the full French text. See Luciano Stecca, 'Montaigne e Flavio Querenghi', in *Montaigne e l'Italia: Atti del congresso internazionale di studi di Milano-Lecco, 26–30 ottobre 1998*, edited by Enea Balmas (Moncalieri, 1991), pp. 83–102 (p. 85). There are – even if it is the roughest of indications – very few copies of early editions of the French *Essais* in Italian libraries to this day.

28 Figures taken from Riccardo Duranti, 'Italian Tradition', in *Routledge Encylopedia*, pp. 459–69 (p. 466) and Venuti, pp. 12–14.

2
Francis I's Royal Readers
Translation and the Triangulation of Power in Early Renaissance France (1533–4)

Glyn P. Norton

The arrival of Francis I's Royal Readers on the cultural scene of Paris in 1530 was perhaps less a triumphal entry than, as Marc Fumaroli has described it, a Trojan horse on the slopes of Sainte-Geneviève.[1] The upshot was in marked contrast to the earlier foundation of Greek studies at Oxford and Cambridge in 1516–19, when the appointments of Richard Foxe and Richard Croke as university readers in Greek seem to have carried none of the threat the Sorbonne perceived from the Royal Readers.[2] But then, the political climates in which these events unfolded differed sharply. By 1531 in England, the break with Rome meant that doctrinal and legal disputes would now rest with Henry VIII as the 'Supreme Governor'; in France, the pressures towards a similar rupture had been largely checked by the Concordat of Bologna (1516), while the Faculty of Theology of Paris continued to exert its monolithic sway over questions of Church doctrine. The Sorbonne, whose blessing Henry VIII would seek without success in his matrimonial wars, was the same body, led by Noël Béda, that would challenge the royally sanctioned authority of the *lecteurs royaux*.

The appointment of the Readers was the culmination of an initiative begun around 1517 by the famed hellenist Guillaume Budé, whose goal it was to promote the creation of a figurative edifice of learning, a trilingual repository of the *bonae litterae* analogous to the *Mouseion* at Alexandria and permanently endowed by the monarch in the form of regius professorships in the three learned languages (Greek, Latin and Hebrew). The establishment of the readerships, created by royal prerogative under humanist promotion and implanted

wholly within the university precinct, portended a clash with the forces of orthodox resistance, the entrenched Sorbonne theologians. The Trojan horse was about to disgorge its heterodox cargo of competing humanist voices. The telling reference contained in a register of the Parlement de Paris dated 14 January 1533, where the Readers are referred to as 'liseurs du Roy en l'Université de Paris', ratifies the company in which the judicial reverberations of the confrontation will be played out: the University (and by implication, the Sorbonne doctors), the Crown, the Readers and an agent – the Parlement.

The climate of repression must have been palpable in the humanist circles of these years. No sooner had the Readers been appointed in 1530 than they found their authority under attack from the Sorbonne doctors into whose midst they were cast. An otherwise unassailable proposition that 'Holy Scripture cannot be correctly understood without Greek, Hebrew, or other like languages' was labelled by the doctors as 'temerarious and scandalous', thus setting the stage for the crucial court case of January 1534.[3] The inherently nebulous boundaries between interpretation and its generic ally – translation – likely also played a key role in fuelling the nervous suspicions of the Sorbonne. Lawrence Humphrey – the eminent Magdalen theologian – in his probing 1559 *Interpretatio Linguarum* would later assert that the Greek term *hermeneia* ('interpretation') is ambiguous.[4] That is to say, it can refer to an act of what we might conventionally call 'translation' (as a literary genre), or, for that matter, to any act that causes us to interpret some phase of human experience. Put another way, translation is necessarily subsumed within the process of textual interpretation and, to a large extent, ultimately determines the success of that process.

The period 1533–4, James K. Farge reminds us, is 'generally acknowledged to be the most crucial period for the history of the Reformation in France'.[5] It is during this period that the activity of interpretation and translation, notably of the Bible, becomes most severely tested and politicized. Understandably, this encroaching textual prerogative placed the Readers on a collision course with the Sorbonne doctors. The tinder that would ignite the hostilities came in the form of a series of small placards, placed (probably sometime in January 1533) in the vicinity of Sainte-Geneviève hill, on which were posted the course announcements of the Readers. These placards were to become the Readers' *pièces à conviction*. The text of

some of these notices, contained in the registers of the Parlement and housed in the Archives nationales, provides a glimpse of how the Readers' lectures must have insinuated themselves into the routines of everyday Parisian life.

On the evening of 14 January 1533, the Readers – Pierre Danès (Hellenist), François Vatable (Hellenist and Hebraist), Paul Paradis (Hebraist) and Agazio Guidacerio (Hebraist) – were summoned to court, where they were served a formal statement of grievance by Pierre Lizet, the head judge of the Parlement.[6] The Readers were ordered to cease 'de ne lire, ne interpreter aucuns livres de la Saincte Escripture en langue hebraicque ou grecque'. The indictment, written in French, serving as a preamble to the Latin text of the Readers' notices, contains several key charges: 1. that the Readers, though 'simple grammarians or rhetoricians' who have not studied in the faculty of Theology of the University of Paris,'have taken it upon themselves to read and *interpret* publicly Holy Scripture' [my emphasis]; 2. that this charge is supported by the evidence contained in 'certains billetz' which were found posted around the crossroads and public places of the University and which were now presented to them as *prima facie* evidence; 3. that from this wrongful act 'faith and the Christian republic' could be endangered; 4. that accordingly, the attorney-general of the crown cautions the named defendants, along with all others, against reading and publicly interpreting Holy Scripture unless they first present themselves before the said Faculty of Theology and obtain permission to engage in these readings and interpretations.

The text of the entire January 1534 *procès-verbal* is now available in the carefully edited version of Farge.[7] This document, largely in French but with occasional legal codas in Latin, is shaped around a dialectical progression that subtends the legal format. Three spokesmen – Noël Béda for the Faculty of Theology, Gabriel de Marillac for the Royal Readers and François de Montholon for the Crown – assume their positions according to a statement of complaint (thesis), one of defence (antithesis) and a Solomonic resolution (synthesis) deferring to the King and primogenitor, Francis I.

The opening salvo of the doctrinaire syndic of the Faculty of Theology, Béda (who, as a result of this case, would end up banished for life to Mont-Saint-Michel), is a skilful bit of political caution. He was prompted to file these charges 'not to prevent the reading of the

Greek and Hebrew languages, of which he extols the knowledge and understanding, but for fear that the Readers, who perhaps do not understand theology, will vitiate and deviate from the Vulgate version used and approved by the Roman Church for about 1100 years'. Moreover, he fears that 'scholars of the humanities like Erasmus and Pieter Fabri who have set about treating theology and presume to correct the Vulgate, will inflict a great wound on Christianity' (p. 121). The point, he continues, is that 'curious people follow the diversity of such translations, each according to his inclination, and believing them, might miss the correct lesson of the Holy Scriptures'. The risk is that the Readers 'will induce their audience to doubt the Vulgate because they will say that the Greek or Hebrew text contains such and such'. Put another way, philological analysis is a slippery slope. In addition, 'Greek and Hebrew books of Holy Scripture come for the most part from Germanic lands, where the books may have been altered. And as for Hebrew, several Jews who print these Hebrew books are Lutherans, as a result of which they are thought to have modified them' (p. 122). Finally, those who have undertaken these translations have ended up producing versions 'entirely different from each other'. In his closing remarks, Béda tellingly shifts the onus away from the Faculty of Theology by positing that 'were the Court [of the Parlement] to permit the Readers to continue their lessons on the Holy Scriptures, they should be cautioned against continuing, deviating from, or otherwise vitiating the translation used by the Church [the Vulgate] and ... refrain from saying or disseminating things favourable to the Lutheran sect' (p. 122).

All of the following orthodox issues are raised in Béda's complaint. Translation is fundamentally an act of interpretation based on a single authoritative reading; the multiplication of translations therefore implies the multiplication of readings, undermines an authoritative text with philological nuance, and hence promotes a retreat into doctrinal uncertainty. Béda's rhetorical strategy would appear to be to lead the Court to feel a profound antinomy between the resistant structures of unity and authority on the one hand (the Sorbonne, the Vulgate), and on the other the schismatic structures of textual and doctrinal change (the Lutherans, the German lands, the Jews, the multiplicity of translations, the altered books, all the heuristic apparatus through which philology splinters and pluralizes the truth). The proliferation of plurals in Béda's opening statement

embodies perfectly the Sorbonne's position that we inhabit a post-Babelian world destabilized by a relentless fission of texts and doctrines. Wily strategist that he is, Béda is not about to wage this battle on philological specifics: he concedes early on the Readers' linguistic authority in Greek and Hebrew. He knows that to win the point he must enlarge the theatre of operation so as to cause textual issues to become confused with the politically charged questions of heresy and Lutheran schism.

The antithesis of Béda's thesis is expounded by the lawyer for the Royal Readers, Gabriel de Marillac, counsellor in the Parlement. His is a richly inflected statement deserving of more attention than is possible here, but these are the main points. He opens by reminding the Court that four years earlier, the King had selected these men to 'multiply humanistic literature' in Paris, hoping in this way to fill his kingdom with learned and well-read men and to cause it 'to flourish over all other kingdoms' in the same way that the Roman Empire led the world in literature and military valour. Specifically, the Readers, he points out, were selected by the King 'to *interpret* the Greek and Hebrew tongues upon the advice of other learned men'. For four years, they have 'publicly *read* and *interpreted* the Greek and Hebrew tongues'. And during that period, 'not one of these men who taught Hebrew literature from the sacred sources ever sowed a false doctrine, error, or anything else discordant with our faith. Recently, having concluded several books of Holy Scripture, three of the Readers posted at various Parisian crossroads notices and placards announcing continuation of their readings'. In his complaint, De Marillac continues, the Syndic of the Faculty of Theology gives us to understand that 'simple' rhetoricians and grammarians are not authorized to interpret Holy Scripture without first petitioning the Faculty of Theology. Such a claim leads De Marillac to a crucial legal point: while the Readers are willing to submit to the discretion of the Court as 'the supreme consistory of the King' (*tanquam supremo consistorio principis*), examination by the Faculty of Theology would be inappropriate since they have themselves been 'authorized, deputized, and created by the King in whom is all authority and power' (all quotations from Farge, pp. 122–3).

Three principal points, according to the lawyer, would thus appear to militate against the Sorbonne's claims. First, according to legal precedent, he is worthy whom the King finds worthy, and wrong

would be done to the King if his decisions were questioned by the Faculty of Theology. Furthermore, the Readers must perforce have the power to teach and publicly profess sacred literature because for four years they have read from the Bible under the observation of the Paris theologians themselves (pp. 124–5). Even canon law is on their side, and De Marillac marshalls the sources. Second, if the Court orders the defendants to obtain permission from the Sorbonne before proceeding to the reading of books which they have already promised publicly to read, this could not be accomplished without bringing dishonour on themselves. This the Court cannot tolerate given the Readers' great reputation in the Republic, their quality, the authority of the King, and the length of time they have exercised their profession under the noses of the theologians, some of whom have even attended their lectures on a daily basis for four years without having heard a single offence to Christian faith in their interpretations (p. 126). Third, the question boils down to whether or not the Readers chose to alter (*novare*) the Greek and Hebrew texts. In attending their lectures, the theologians have been able to learn for themselves whether or not the Readers' interpretation was contrary to that accepted by the Church. In the latter case, let the plaintiffs bring the matter to the King, the Supreme Council, and to many others who might be concerned, and let a case be brought before them by legal channels and not force the defendants, *prima facie*, to present themselves to the Sorbonne for permission after they have already presented themselves to the King (p. 126). Furthermore, the Court itself is able to ascertain what permission the theologians can accord the Readers and what questions they can ask about the meaning of Greek and Hebrew terms (p. 126).

De Marillac's statement is an astute evasion of the issues set down by Noël Béda. He makes no mention of the heresy and doctrinal questions alluded to by the plaintiffs, nor does he assail the Sorbonne's authority, at least in principle, to pass theological judgement. What he is saying, *in nuce*, is that this is not a theological or doctrinal issue. Rather it is one of authority – authority whose source is both executive and humanist. In the former case, De Marillac keeps returning to a basic point: the Readers receive their authority from the Prince. By implication, therefore, the Sorbonne's complaint is a direct encroachment on the Prince's jurisdiction. But more than this, the authority of the Readers is derived from their scholarly reputation

as teachers of Greek and Hebrew. It is a given that they are able to read with scholarly authority all texts in Greek and Hebrew; but in any case, one cannot separate the teaching of language and grammar from the medium of the text in which that language and grammar are articulated. Once one accepts the premise of this double authority, there is no basis on which to shackle the Readers with 'prior restraint', that is to say, to force them to recognize another authority prior to the enactment of their own mandate to *read* and *interpret*.

Until now, the debate has been confined largely to the political arena and has stayed clear of framing translation within a cultural initiative or theoretical tradition. All this changes with the statement of François de Montholon on behalf of Nicole Thibault, the *procureur général* of the King, who represents a mediating position in the dispute. He begins with the unassailable point that the conjunction of Greek and Hebrew literature through the Latin tongue is commendable because it enriches human understanding of obscure things treated by ancient writers in other languages. To this end, the King acted like a real father to his eldest daughter, the University of Paris, by appointing foreign scholars to interpret, explain and make intelligible these texts within his University. Clearly, the metaphor suggests conferring hitherto alien cultural attributes on the 'daughter' not only from outside the University but from beyond France itself – the transfiguration of the 'daughter' through implantation of external cultural agents, namely Agazio Guidacerio and Paul Paradis (p. 127). In support of these assertions he anchors his remarks in two key Latin texts from Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*. The first is the life of Julius Caesar, in which the Emperor is cited for his creation of 'the greatest possible libraries of Greek and Latin books'; the association of the Readers with the cultural edifice of a French *Mouseion* is compelling. The second is the life of Vespasian, which extols a monetary endowment paid out of the privy purse in support of 'men of innate talent and the arts' who are stipendiary beneficiaries engaged to teach Latin and Greek rhetoric.[8] The shaping of Imperial culture through a bibliothecary and stipendiary initiative legitimizes and authorizes a parallel investment by the Valois-Angoulême court. In each case, a policy of state acts as a transformational agent in the very heart of the cultural heritage to encourage it to conceive and flourish. Libraries burgeon; talent and genius are imbued with fixed monetary worth and made to transfuse the cultural reserves – in

this case Greek, Hebrew and Latin scholarship within the university body. The concluding sentence appended to the references from Suetonius reads: 'All the more, the King merits special praise for having established not only Greek but Hebrew letters in his capital and in the University of Paris'.[9] The verb 'establir' retains here a strongly architectonic connotation, emphasizing the King's role as bringing stability (from Latin *stabilire*) to the architectural structures that are his University and his capital.[10] The Royal Readers are, therefore, fully incorporated within the civic and educational solid that is Paris and its *corpus universitatis*.

A second evidentiary line is initiated in the following paragraph where some of the principal theoretical issues are framed both in judicial and poetic terms. Judicial, in the sense that supporting evidence is adduced largely from Justinian, and poetic in the sense that a well-known (and widely misquoted) textual reference to Horace's *Ars poetica*, 133–4 underpins the judicial authority. I have previously discussed the highly complex and imbricated set of assumptions and misreadings that permeate this section.[11]

What De Montholon must do at this point is to place biblical translation beyond the reach of humanist prerogative and in a sphere of arcane privilege every bit as hermetically closed as is the Sorbonne itself to intrusive secularism. To do this, he amplifies Justinian's allusion to the *sensum medullarem et misticum* by linking it fully to a translational event that is both primordial and Gnostic in its transparency; namely, the appealing tale of the Septuagint. The celebrated legend of the 72 translators of the Old Testament, bringing forth a single collective text (Hebrew to Greek) from the confinement of their individual cells, highlights a view, summarized later on by Louis Le Roy in *De la vicissitude* (1575), that this event was not accomplished 'through the commitment of men to words, but through the mind of God indwelling and shaping the understanding of the translators'.[12] De Montholon is thereby invoking a principle grounded not only in Roman law (namely, that the 'medullary sense' transcends mere words), but also in patrology (namely, Eusebius on the Septuagint). The analogy here, though implicit, is striking. The Sorbonne theologians are tied squarely to a Gnostic tradition that sets biblical translation apart as an event of shared inspiration, based in a unitary view of divine language. The Royal Readers are excluded from this lofty company because they cling slavishly, it is alleged, to the lexical organism

that is the word itself. Lacking authority in 'la parfonde doctrine de theologie', they are not in the line of descent from the Septuagint, whereas, it must be inferred, the Sorbonne theologians are (p. 128). The appeal of this view to those called on to adjudicate this dispute lies in the way it complements philosophies of the origin of languages then in circulation.

Prominent among these is that of Charles de Bovelles (Bovillus), humanist mathematician and student of Lefèvre d'Etaples, who in 1533 published his Latin treatise *Liber de differentia vulgarium linguarum et gallici sermonis varietate* ('On the difference of the vernacular languages and the variety of the French language'). This work harmonizes fully with De Montholon's Gnostic view of esotericism and with the notion that biblical translation must reconnect us to a divine unitary *logos* speaking through the medium of many voices. By anointing the Sorbonne theologians as the keepers of the originary flame, he skilfully places them as guardians of a primordial singularity against the invidious multiplication of texts and heterodoxies on which Lutheranism itself is thought to be grounded. At the close of this section, the lawyer is at his most dismissive when he reminds the Readers that theirs is the company of 'a mere Latin orator' ('ung simple orateur latin', p. 129) whose credentials are akin to those of the lowly cobbler in Pliny's well known adage, 'Let a cobbler not judge above his sandal.' The disparaging qualifier *simple* doubtless harks back to the preamble of the petition, where the Readers are referred to as 'simples grammariens ou rethoriciens non ayans estudié en ladicte Faculté' (p. 118). The disparity suggested between the followers of a menial trade and the closed body of an interpretative elite is proof of a reasserted conservative authority within the University body, but also a reminder of the power relationships with which practitioners of translation have at times to contend.

In the concluding paragraphs of his statement, De Montholon responds directly to the claims to expertise of the Readers themselves, citing canon law to restrict their philological authority to language instruction and enjoin them away from the interpretation of Holy Scripture. His range of argument then becomes wider, but never quite openly accusatory, as he raises the spectre of 'the malice of the times' and the spreading 'poison' of the 'unholy Lutheran sect' ('la reprouvee et damnee secte lutherienne', p. 129) of which the King has shown himself to be 'the unyielding persecutor and extirpator'. The

frisson of intimidation injected in the concluding moments of his
statement quite probably relates to Francis I's letter of 13 December
1533 to the Parlement, in which he calls for the complete extirpa-
tion of heresy in his kingdom (p. 130, n. 65). Rather than frame his
remarks in the darker invective of retributive justice, however, the
lawyer quickly brings the argument back to that of sacred texts and
their immunity from a 'new interpretation or translation' (p. 130)
resulting in the same evil consequences that have emerged over the
years from the humanists' vernacular translations of the Psalter, the
Gospels and other sacred texts. What is most to be feared, he sug-
gests, is the slowly corroding subversion of the Republic from within,
a danger he anchors squarely in Aristotle's *Politics* (Chapter 5) – the
subversion by unauthorized books.

All this brings De Montholon back to the precipitating agent of
this juridical ballet: the Sorbonne's Syndic, Noël Béda. The Syndic,
he reminds us, has not called for the Readers to appear before the
Faculty of Theology to seek its examination and approval. Neither,
he asserts, has the *procureur-général* of the crown.[13] All that is being
sought is a request to the Court that it seek to ascertain the will and
intention of the King ('son voulloir et intention') in the matter. Until
such clarification, the Syndic's position is upheld and the Readers
enjoined not to 'say, disseminate, or publish in their readings any-
thing contrary to or dissonant with the translation [the Vulgate]
received and approved by the Church' (p. 130).

A strategic retreat? Possibly. After the brief flirtation with the
heresy rhetoric, De Montholon throws the issue into further doubt by
deferring to the will of the King in the matter. What seems to emerge
from the unfolding of this judicial dialectic is a more deliberative
approach to some painfully polarizing and seditious issues. Farge's
painstaking reconstruction of these crucial years argues convinc-
ingly that there was never any sustained institutional attack on the
Readers by the Faculty of Theology, but rather a particular, contextu-
ally specific complaint of the Syndic wishing to suspend the Readers'
daily advertised courses on the Bible because they were prejudicial to
the authority of the Theology Faculty over the teaching of religion.[14]
Moreover, Farge asserts, Béda's was not the action of a madman, but
rather of a politically astute tactician well aware that he had the pow-
erful coterie of the Parlement, the University and several influential
voices in his camp (p. 41). These are turf wars in which the stakes

are thought to be high because they are linked to a concept of social order based on hierarchy and dependent for its power on the titular and the jurisdictional. Within this struggle, translation destabilizes and blurs the parameters of power, encroaches on jurisdictions and insinuates itself into the very fabric of social order.

It is, I believe, no coincidence that two years after the 1534 *procès-verbal* against the Royal Readers, Etienne Dolet, the author in 1540 of the only formal programme of translation theory in Renaissance France, publishes in Lyon his celebrated two-volume *Commentariorum linguae Latinae* (1536–8). This work – more lexicon than commentary – gives ample fuel to the institutional anxieties of the Sorbonne and the Parlement by sifting through a dislocatory vocabulary frequently affiliated with the process of translation. Such Latin verbs as *transferre*, *transvehere*, *deportare*, *conferre*, *convertere*, *traducere*, and the explicitly dislocatory *distrahere* ('to pull apart', 'to divide'), are each connected to translational initiatives.

The idea of a subtending dislocation at the heart of translation speaks eloquently to the notions of power and culture that have invigorated contemporary debate about the activity of translation. Lawrence Venuti's summary is as representative as any of this dialogue when he writes,

> a translator is forced not only to eliminate aspects of the signifying chain that constitutes the foreign text, starting with its graphematic and acoustic features, but also to dismantle and disarrange that chain in accordance with the structural differences between languages, so that both the foreign text and its relations to other texts in the foreign culture never remain intact after the translation process.[15]

When one introduces into the theoretical mix such notions as *temporalité* and *habitus* so central respectively to the thought of Antoine Berman and Pierre Bourdieu, translation emerges not only as the denizen of its own time and place, but also as a text marked with its own cultural and social identity.[16] Having assigned a role of implicit empowerment to the translator, Dolet would in 1546 meet his fiery end at a stake in the Place Maubert – a victim of the very activity he had so fervently promoted. The venerable syndic, Béda, excoriated by none other than Dolet himself as a 'monstrous and vicious beast',

'an execrable pest',[17] saw himself packed off unceremoniously to his own *mont* (Saint-Michel) while the Royal Readers remained serenely planted on theirs (Sainte-Geneviève). Engulfed in the swirling events of these years, so crucial for the French Reformation, the activity of translation and interpretation, along with its humanist practitioners, is fully implicated in the nexus of power relations that help define this cultural moment.

Notes

1   In other words, in the very midst of the *écoles*. Marc Fumaroli, 'Préface', in James K. Farge, *Le Parti conservateur au XVIe siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l'époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme* (Paris, 1992), pp. 9–24 (p. 13). Translations and paraphrases of French and Latin texts are by the present author except where noted.

2   For Foxe and Croke see Chapter 3, pp. 57–60.

3   The text of the Sorbonne's censure is contained in Abel Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin du premier empire* (Paris, 1893), pp. 122–3. See also John Lewis' excellent summary of the Royal Readers in *Adrien Turnèbe (1512–1565): A Humanist Observed* (Geneva, 1998), pp. 46–7, and James K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500–1543* (Leiden, 1985), p. 197.

4   Lawrence Humphrey, *Interpretatio Linguarum* (Basle, 1559), p. 3.

5   Farge, *Orthodoxy*, p. 200.

6   The indictment, as well as the Latin text of the Readers' notices, has been fully edited in Farge, *Parti conservateur*, pp. 118–20.

7   Farge, *Parti conservateur*, pp. 121–31. References will be to this text and will follow translations and paraphrases in the discussion.

8   See Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, edited by Maximilian Ihm (Leipzig, 1907), I, 44: 2 ('bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maxime posset publicare data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum'); VIII, 17–18 ('ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit. Primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit').

9   Farge, *Parti conservateur*, p. 128: 'par plus forte raison est digne de singuli-ere commendation d'avoir par le roy non seullement les lectres grecques ains aussi les hebrees estably en sa ville capitale et université de Paris'.

10   The synonyms for 'établir' listed by *Le Grand Robert* underscore this structural valency: 'asseoir', 'bâtir', 'construire', 'disposer', 'édifier', 'fixer', 'fonder', 'implanter', 'placer' and 'poser'.

11   Glyn P. Norton, '*Fidus Interpres*: A Philological Contribution to the Philosophy of Translation in Renaissance France', in *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Renaissance France*, edited by Grahame Castor and Terence Cave (Oxford, 1984), pp. 227–51. See also Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric,*

Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 166–78.

12   Louis Le Roy, *De la vicissitude ou varieté des choses en l'univers* (Paris, 1575), fol. 23^r.

13   The latter is a crucial clarification noted by Farge in the use of 'aussi ne le requiert' in De Montholon's text rather than the 'ainsi que le requiert' claimed by Du Boulay in his 1665 *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*. See Farge, *Parti conservateur,* p. 130 (n. 68).

14   On the background to the January 1534 complaint, see Farge, *Parti conservateur,* pp. 41–2.

15   Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd edition (London, 2008), p. 14.

16   On *temporalité*, see Antoine Berman, *L'Épreuve de l'étranger: culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique* (Paris, 1984); 'Traduction et ethnocentrique et traduction hypertextuelle', *L'Ecrit du temps*, 7 (1984), 109–23; 'La Traduction et ses Discours', *Meta*, 34 (1989), 672–9. On Pierre Bourdieu's key concept of *habitus* see, among other works, *Le Sens pratique* (Paris, 1980); *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Geneva, 1972); *La Distinction: critique sociale du jugement* (Paris, 1979).

17   R. C. Christie, *Etienne Dolet: The Martyr of the Renaissance* (London, 1899), p. 149.

3

Pure and Common Greek in Early Tudor England

Neil Rhodes

My title 'pure and common Greek' comes from the last of a series of polemics fired off by the militant Catholic, John Rastell, against John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, printed in Antwerp in 1566. On the face of it the phrase is nicely paradoxical, like the mechanicals' 'tedious brief scene … of very tragical mirth' in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. After all, few attainments carry a greater air of elitism about them than the ability to read classical Greek. There is certainly nothing 'common' about it. Virginia Woolf found the remoteness of the Greeks reassuring: 'Fate … has preserved them from vulgarity', she declared in *The Common Reader*.[1] More recently, the exclusiveness of Greek helps to account for the extraordinary success of Donna Tartt's novel, *The Secret History*, where the reader enjoys the sense of special access to the private and privileged world of the Hampden Greek class while remaining, like its narrator, an outsider. But the aura of elitism, social as well as academic, that surrounds the study of classical Greek in the English-speaking world is not something that was present from the start. In the early sixteenth century, when Greek learning was first established in England, its role was far from being purely ornamental. Indeed, like all novelties, it was viewed with suspicion by many. What I aim to do in this chapter is to outline the development of the subject in early Tudor England in order to show how Greek functioned as an agent of cultural change and as the facilitator of a translation culture. The story is not new, but its implications are perhaps not widely recognized, and these implications have a direct bearing upon translation in that they engage with the crucial concepts

of 'common speech' and the 'pure source', as Rastell's intriguing phrase suggests.

So what might 'pure and common Greek' mean? The context for understanding this is what became known as the 'Great Controversy' of the 1560s. It comes at the end of the period I want to discuss, but it raises issues that resonate throughout the previous half-century or so in terms of the relationship of Greek with both Latin and English. The 'Great Controversy' began with the publication in 1562 of Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, designed to be a cornerstone of the re-established Protestant church in England. An English translation was immediately commissioned by Archbishop Matthew Parker, but this was thought to be inadequate and a new and improved version was volunteered by Lady Anne Bacon (mother of Sir Francis). This was published in 1564 and it was Lady Anne's text that was cited in the fierce arguments that followed. Attacks on the work appeared from presses in Antwerp, where English recusants were now gathered, and among these was Rastell's *A Treatise entitled, Beware of M. Jewel*, printed by John Fowler. Greek was not the main issue at stake in the 'Great Controversy', but the authority underpinning ecclesiastical polity and the antiquity of various church practices undoubtedly was, and this included the language of the liturgy and the authority for the text of the Bible itself.[2]

Here, Rastell's remark refers to refers to the question of the relative authority of the Latin and Greek texts of the New Testament. He is pointing out that although when St Paul conversed with the people of Lycaonia and other regions of the East 'they spake Greeke, yet *not* that which is Attica or the pure and Common Greeke tougue: in which two the Scriptures, and old Fathers writings, are set furth' [my emphasis].[3] What he wants to establish is that these writings, though presented to a Greek-speaking world, would not have been universally understood: St Basil's sermons, for example, 'were pronounced, to the capacity of the vulgare audience, in termes most familiar and knowen, and afterwards penned in the learned Toungue'.[4] The reason why it is difficult to get hold of his argument is that he is using the word 'common' in quite opposite senses. On the one hand Rastell is using 'common' to refer to the masses and to familiar speech; on the other, he is using it in the sense of 'communis' or *koinē*, which he includes among the five 'pure' dialects of Greek, as distinct from the 'corrupt and barbarous' language that was commonly spoken. For

example, he writes that the 'common people' could not have understood the sermons of St Basil as they are now extant, '[f]or the Service being wryten in the Common Greeke … it is impossible, by common reason, that the Vulgare people of Cappadocia [etc.] should understand it'.[5] For Rastell, 'pure and common' turns out to mean the 'Common & learned Greeke tounge'.[6] His point is that the common people didn't actually understand 'common Greek' and an analogy with the 'common Latin' of the Vulgate bible is clearly implied here.

Rastell was writing from a Catholic city to a now officially Protestant England and also to an England in which Greek had been taught for several decades. This was very different from the England that Erasmus visited for the first time in the closing months of the fifteenth century, when Latin still had a single unchallengeable authority as the language both of the scriptures and of all learned discourse. Latin represented unity, which Rastell would later implicitly contrast with fractured, dialect-ridden Greek. But the *status quo* would start to be challenged with the development of Greek studies in England in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Moreover, one of the principal sources for learning Greek was an author who disrupted conventional thinking in a rather different way from the religious reformists.

In 1499 Erasmus had still not progressed very far with his own Greek language learning, but he was extremely enthusiastic about it, which is why he was so impressed by the Greek scholars that he met at Oxford. The leading light was Thomas Linacre, and it was Linacre who recommended to John Claymond, who was to become the first President of Corpus Christi College, that he read a little Lucian every day in order to ease his path towards acquiring 'the true learning that everyone acknowledges is enshrined in the wisdom of the Greeks'.[7] Lucian was recommended because, despite being a Syrian writing in the second century CE, his dialogues were thought to have achieved a perfect imitation of the pure Attic of four or five centuries earlier and were relatively easy to follow. Like other early readers of Lucian, Linacre also regarded him as a moralist, in much the same way as Ovid was read moralistically in the late medieval period. This was another point in Lucian's favour, however implausible it might seem now, and it is certainly strikingly at odds with his reputation in the later Renaissance. It is also not how Lucian saw himself: in *The Double Indictment*, where he appears as 'The Syrian', he answers

charges of having dumbed down the dialogue form by saying that he has introduced comedy in order to make it more popular and accessible. What he is offering is Plato and Xenophon-Lite, as it were. So Lucian represents a different version of pure and common Greek: authentic Attic, but in conversational mode, dealing with the characters and situations of ordinary life, though with excursions into sci-fi and fantasy.

On his first trip to England Erasmus also met Thomas More, another Greek enthusiast and reader of Lucian, and on his following visit, in 1505-6, they set about translating some of the dialogues into Latin. Erasmus records on several occasions that the project was More's idea,[8] though in the first printed volume, published by Badius in Paris in 1506, Erasmus contributed translations of 27 dialogues to More's four. Eight continental editions of the collaborative Lucian appeared during their lifetimes, but only Erasmus's versions were printed in England, in 1528 and 1531.[9] Given that these works appeared only in Latin, and that the contributions of the Englishman, More, were not even published in England, it may seem a bit of a stretch to present the Lucian project as part of English translation culture. All the translations were, however, dedicated to Englishmen and the project was certainly central to Erasmus's English experience: his Anglophilia can be attributed quite specifically to his admiration for the English embrace of Greek and for the intellectual calibre of the Greek scholars that he met in Oxford and London.[10] Lucian also feeds directly into the *Moria* (1511) and *Utopia* (1516), both of which can be seen as English works and both of which were later translated into English. The Italian edition of *Utopia* (Florence, 1519) was accompanied by the dedicatory letter to Richard Foxe, founder of Corpus Christi, which Erasmus had written for the first of his Lucian translations, while the English version by Ralph Robinson (1551) continues the association by inserting an anecdote from Lucian in the preface and also (in the 1556 edition) by advertising the translator's status as a sometime Fellow of Corpus.[11] The transmission of *Utopia* plays a significant role in the English reception of Lucian.

Both the Erasmus-More translations and parallel Greek-Latin editions of Lucian were used quite widely for teaching purposes in England. Lucian appears on the curriculum at Winchester, Canterbury, Westminster, Eton and St Paul's. Edward VI even had an Italian translation of the *Dialogues*, which seems rather frivolous, though he

probably also read them in Greek.[12] Crucially, though, for the theme of pure and common Greek, Lucian provides the model for Erasmus's *Colloquies*, Latin conversations on everyday subjects which represent a further stage in the popularization or making common of the dialogue form. Lucian himself just managed to creep into English in the early sixteenth century: fragments survive of a translation of More's Latin *Necromantia* probably made by the earlier John Rastell in 1530 (More's brother-in-law, not Bishop Jewel's opponent), and there is a complete English version of the pseudo-Lucianic *Cynicus* (1532), another of More's Latin translations, by Sir Thomas Elyot. Elyot also includes a reworking of Lucian's 'Slander' in *The Governor* (1531).[13] The *Colloquies*, on the other hand, were widely read in Latin and played an important part in Latin language learning: at Westminster, for example, they were read alongside Lucian's *Dialogues*, and at less academic schools they would have provided an alternative to Lucian.[14] A number of them were also turned into English, eventually making their way, along both language routes, to the vernacular drama of the later sixteenth century, the ultimate forum for making learning common.

We can now start to see a triangular relationship emerging between Greek, Latin and English in the early sixteenth century. Parallel Greek-Latin editions of Lucian were obviously not 'common' in the way that the parallel Latin-English texts of Whittington's *Vulgaria* were, and there were no parallel Greek-English texts, but both used familiar conversation as the basis for classical language learning. The question that now arises is where Greek stands in that triangular relationship. Today, we tend to think that translations from Greek into Latin don't really count, since most modern readers do not have either language, but it would doubtless be agreed that Latin is the more accessible of the two. Greek is truly for the elite, as *The Secret History* suggests: the highest of high-status academic pursuits. But this is not *quite* how Greek was seen in early sixteenth-century England, and the routine pairing of the 'learned languages' in modern accounts of humanism and the literary culture of the period tends to obscure the often rather fraught relationship between Greek and Latin. That much is clear from the Rastell-Jewel dispute. The paradox as far as Greek is concerned is that while it was the older of the two, it was also a recent arrival. The more ignorant priests fulminated against this 'new' language. At Oxford there was

bitter opposition to the introduction of Greek teaching and factions emerged of Greeks and more conservative 'Trojans'. In 1518, after a pulpit denunciation of the subject by a particularly obtuse cleric, More was moved to write a scathing letter to the University demanding that Greek studies should not be sabotaged, which was then reinforced by a royal injunction. Although More writes in defence of the pure light of Greek learning, the tone of the letter seems at points closer to the dark vituperations against Tyndale from what we might call his post-Greek period: the preacher's audience, More says,

> would have had to be stone blind not to notice a signal pride and wickedness, a positive hatred of the higher arts. Many must have wondered indeed how such a man could get the idea that he had to preach either about Latin, of which he did not know much, or about the liberal arts, of which he knew less, or about Greek – of which he did not understand a single word ('aut postremo de Graeca lingua, cuius οὐδὲ γρύ intelligit')[15]

The letter was of course written in Latin, but here More contemptuously inserts a couple of words of Greek.

The bitter disputes about Greek at Oxford followed the founding of Corpus Christi College in 1516 by Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester and Erasmus's Lucian dedicatee, which introduced a *lector publicus* in Greek who would lecture to the university as a whole. The statutes specified that Lucian should be used for the elementary classes, but they also prescribe Isocrates (and Philostratus).[16] Isocrates was, like Lucian, a rhetorician, but he was also an Athenian who wrote in the pure Attic of the fourth century, and where Lucian's characteristic mode is the comic dialogue, constructed in a flexible, ironic manner, Isocrates' preferred form is the written oration or essay on political and educational topics, and his approach is much more direct, pragmatic and instructive. That is certainly the case in the orations written for the kings of Cyprus, Evagoras and Nicocles, which take the form of 'advice to princes' and the complementary 'duties of subjects'. Isocrates seems to have been sympathetic to monarchy, which is perhaps a bit surprising for an early fourth-century Athenian, but it is not at all surprising to find that it is these works that gain him entrance into Tudor England.

We might see Lucian and Isocrates, then, as representatives of the two faces of English humanism in the early Tudor period: one sceptical, ironic, literary and allusive; the other practical, public and political. And we might even see them as representatives of the two faces of Greek studies at Oxford and Cambridge. Erasmus had spent three rather unsatisfactory years, from 1511 to 1514, trying to establish Greek at Cambridge (though the period was very productive for him in other ways), and the problem was addressed by the institution of a Readership in Greek in 1518, which went to Richard Croke the following year, partly on Erasmus's recommendation. In his inaugural lecture Croke invites competition with Oxford by boasting that the rival university had tried to poach him with the promise of a higher salary. He then sets out his stall for Greek in terms that emphasize its usefulness (weaving, ploughing and architecture all came from the Greeks) and its rhetorical effectiveness, which derives from 'metaphor, the frequent sententiousness of the proverb, and the exact force of words'.[17] (Croke also claims, rather less credibly, that in Germany there is an elephant that can write whole sentences in Greek, so it can't really be too difficult.) While at Oxford a student might sharpen his critical faculties by reading a little Lucian every day, at Cambridge the subject had a more pragmatic orientation, and it was Cambridge Greek that produced Elizabeth's greatest statesman, William Cecil.

Lucian and Isocrates are, with Plutarch, the first Greek writers to be published in England in either Latin or English translation, and when Greek language texts finally start to be printed in England in the 1570s a combined Isocrates/Lucian/Plutarch edition turns out to be the much the most popular.[18] In the case of Isocrates it is Sir Thomas Elyot, again, who produces what is sometimes claimed to be the first direct translation from Greek into English, since his *Cynicus* was based on More's Latin. *The Doctrinall of Princis*, published in 1533, is a version of Isocrates' oration 'To Nicocles' and it delivers pithy advice on conduct for rulers. This would have provided excellent training for Cecil in either language, though Elyot explains that it was designed principally as a kind of linguistic experiment to see 'if our English tunge mought receive the quicke and proper sentences pronounced by the greekes', and he goes on to claim that 'the forme of speakyng, used of the Greekes, called in greke, and also in latine, *Phrasis*, muche nere approcheth to that, which at this daie we use:

than the order of the latine tunge'.[19] Elyot is using the term 'phrasis' here to mean syntax or word order, though in his *Dictionary* (1538) he defines it as '[t]he propre fourme, or maner of speache, which in one countraye is oftentymes dyverse: as Southerne, Northerne, Deuenysshe, Kentyshe'.[20] He does not use the word 'dialect', which first appears in English in Rastell's *Beware of M. Jewel*, as it happens, but that is what he means. What Elyot is alluding to is the idea which had already been floated by writers such as Aventinus and Gelenius that the Teutonic languages were more closely related to Greek than to Latin (though Budé was also to make similar claims for the affinity of Greek and French). It is an idea that finds its most laborious expresion in Meric Casaubon's *De quatuor linguis* (1650) where he derives 'kiss', 'gallop' and 'climbing', for example, from κῦσαι, καλπάζειν and κλίμαξ and claims that the Greeks once chatted happily in a common tongue with Germanic tribes on the shores of the Black Sea.[21]

It is also an idea that has a very significant impact on the way the status of Greek is perceived in the sixteenth century, as also for our theme of pure and common Greek. If the language is closer to the vernacular than Latin, then it could hardly have the supremely elite status that it enjoys today. And this is even truer if it corresponds more closely to the spoken form of the vernacular, as Elyot says it does: more common, perhaps, but surely less pure. The point is momentous because it marks out the linguistic battle-lines of Reformation England, which are visible over three decades later in the exchange between Rastell and Jewel. For Tyndale, too, thought that 'the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than the Latin', and he too translated Isocrates to prove the point, presenting his work to the Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, as a specimen of his translation skills, when he was trying to enlist his support for an English Bible in 1523.[22] We no longer have Tyndale's English Isocrates, but this is what Elyot's sounds like: 'Order thy Citee or countreie, lyke thy house lefte by thy father, in stuffe gaie and royally decked, in occupacion busie and diligent, that thou maiest have bothe honour and abundance of richesse'.[23] This is Elyot's 'phrasis' in action, and it sounds remarkably similar to the English of the Tyndale Bible, which is in turn the foundation of most of the King James Bible. It is the instructive, aphoristic quality that is carried over from Greek into English, facilitated by a similarity of 'phrasis' in the sense of word

order or syntax. What many sixteenth-century advocates of Greek value in the language is precisely this brevity and directness, which is alien to the elaborate periodicity of Ciceronian Latin.

However, the Greek that Tyndale was translating there was not the pure Attic of Isocrates, but the text published by Erasmus in the *Novum Instrumentum* (1516), and Erasmus and Tyndale had rather different views on the language of that text. For Tyndale it was the pure source; for Erasmus it was pretty low stuff, because the Greek of St Paul and the evangelists was derived 'not from the speeches of Demosthenes but from the conversation of ordinary people'. This is why you get 'clumsiness of language, not to say barbarism' in the apostolic epistles and why Jerome finds Paul's style uncouth.[24] What is more, Erasmus eventually took the view that the corruptions in the Latin of the Vulgate itself could be attributed to the influence of Greek, arguing that the translation reflected the fact that it had been aimed at 'the common people [who] were accustomed to imitate the Greeks in their way of speaking' and not at the learned.[25] Despite his love of Lucian and all things Greek, the point of the *Novum Instrumentum* was not to replace the Vulgate with a pristine and authentic Greek text, but to use the Greek as a vehicle for producing a better Vulgate: pure and common Latin, in fact, when we remove from the term 'common' its low-status associations, and as far as the Holy Scriptures were concerned, a more elevated language than the original Greek. So the end point of Erasmus's reflections on the relative status of Greek and Latin as vehicles for the transmission of Holy Scripture is actually not very different from John Rastell's, though it is reached by a much more historically informed and subtler understanding of both purity and commonness.

This is to place the outcome of Erasmus's Greek studies in a rather conservative light, and his views on the purity of New Testament Greek do seem to have shifted from his early enthusiasm for its 'clear crystal streams and rivers that flow with gold'.[26] But in England his work was to serve more radical ends. Greek became the Trojan horse that spirited the vernacular into the Roman citadel. In the following decades Protestants echoed the earlier humanist call for a return to the sources with their claim that the Greek text was the 'veritie, and the pure fountaine' of the Holy Word.[27] Eventually, in the Puritan wing of the reformed Church, this was stated in terms that are the precise opposite of those used by Catholics to describe the

commonly spoken Greek of the first century CE: 'Such be in our New Testament: the purest rules that ever could be spoken, and the words be so pure in the Greek: But known of few, by reason that the Bridge-maker of Thymbris scattred barbarous Latin for Golden Greeke over the West'.[28] So wrote the combative Puritan, Hugh Broughton, in the year of the publication of the King James Bible.

But if Greek was a pure fountain, what kind of English would be an appropriate equivalent for it? One answer to this was provided long before 1611 by John Cheke, the first Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, whose translation of Matthew drew upon a well of English undefiled by any terms originating from south of Dover. In this distinctly *un*authorized version, Cheke tries to outflank Tyndale in producing a sturdy, honest, unadulterated New Testament English, and it is not unattractive: the wise men are 'wisards'; we have 'ofspring of adders' for Tyndale's 'generation of vipers' and Christ warns 'When ye fast be not lowring liik hypocriits', where Tyndale simply has 'sad'.[29] But this is translation fashioned as an extreme and exclusive project: an attempt to limit the lexicon of English to the language spoken by the country's indigenous tribes, and it remained unpublished until the nineteenth century. Ideologically, it is tuned in to theories about the affinity of Greek with the vernacular and it is of a piece with the wider, mid-century revival of interest in Anglo-Saxon among Protestants eager to invent a tradition for the reformed Church. Its motivations are also those of the great debate about Greek pronunciation that occupied Cambridge in the 1540s. Cheke's term for 'translation' was the suitably Saxon 'trutorn', and in his fierce exchange with the Chancellor of the university, Stephen Gardiner, he argues for a Greek pronunciation in which the sounds are reduced to what he claims to be 'their first and original truth'.[30] His ally in the pronunciation campaign was the brilliant Thomas Smith, who had been appointed to the Cambridge Readership at the age of 21 after Croke finally relinquished it in 1535, and it was Smith who wrote the two treatises, *De Graecae pronuntiatione* and *De Anglicae scriptione, Dialogus*, pointing out that 'in the case of Greek there was no dispute about the writing; in the case of English, the other way round.'[31] Both Cheke and Smith saw their agenda for pure and common Greek as a model for pure and common English. The problem with this agenda, at least as far as Greek is concerned, is that it sacrifices common understanding to

the purity of first principles. As Gardiner observed, the scheme of pronunciation they were advocating wasn't generally understood elsewhere in Europe.

By the 1540s, then, Greek in England seems to underpin not just the two principal aspects of humanism, developed through the agency of Lucian and Isocrates, but also two quite opposite ideological positions: to put it in its simplest terms, flexibility and fundamentalism. However, it would certainly be misleading to suggest that Cheke was rigid or fanatical in matters of faith (in fact, he was excusably frail) or that he pointed to a cultural dead-end in secular matters. Nobody did more to develop Greek studies as a humane discipline in mid-Tudor England and in doing so he turned his college, St John's, into the premier college for the liberal arts at either university. Although his Protestantism inspired what was a completely unsustainable agenda for a purified vernacular in the English Matthew, his teaching had the very different effect of developing an English culture of translation that fed directly into the vernacular literature of the final quarter of the century. His authority is directly invoked in the paratexts to high-profile translations such as Hoby's *Courtier* (1561) and Wilson's *Demosthenes* (1570), and his influence was extended through the agency of former pupils, notably William Cecil, who had acquired 'exquisite knowledge of the Greek' under Cheke.[32] Cecil's hospitality at his house on the Strand stimulated a dialogue between scholarship and literature, while his patronage of translation also followed Cheke's example in combining Protestantism with the classics: he sponsored English editions of Calvin and was the dedicatee of Wilson's Demosthenes, as well as of Robinson's translation of the Lucianic *Utopia*. As far as the relationship between translation and original literature is concerned (the term 'original' admittedly begs a few questions here), it is telling that recent research estimates the years 1566–96 to have been the most productive for English translation in the period between 1500 and 1640.[33] That is to say, the high-water mark for printed translation in England precedes by five to ten years the period that is popularly regarded as the Elizabethan literary renaissance. This is unlikely to be a coincidence, and if we are looking at cause and effect we must give Cheke a significant role in the early part of the process.

Cheke himself left no substantial record of his views on either translation or education, but his pedagogy and its influence are

well documented by others. His biographer, John Strype, records that 'Cheke had also an excellent Judgement in *Translation*, and a notable Faculty that way; a good and useful piece of learning; to translate properly out of Greek into Latin, and Greek or Latin into our Mother Tongue'. In order to achieve this facility in moving between languages, the writer – or speaker – would need to have a mental store of words, phrases and idioms prepared for use. And it was, in fact, his spontaneity in translation that really impressed the students at Cheke's lectures. Strype continues: 'He had a Practise relating hereunto, which some of his Hearers made a Remark upon; that when he was reading Latin or Greek , he would often English his matter upon a sudden, by looking on the Book only; without reading or construing any thing at all'.[34] One of those students was Cecil, who had himself read the Greek lecture at St John's when he was only 18, and he would later pass on this advice to the young John Harington, calling Cheke one of Cambridge's 'sweetest flowers' and recommending his method of double translation as a path towards 'the moste sweete and sensible wrytinge in Englishe'.[35] Though Cecil focuses on writing rather than speaking, his point is that Cheke's emphasis on translation was not just aimed at developing fluency in the classical languages, but also valued as a way of perfecting the vernacular.

Cheke's role in the development of an English translation culture is also underlined by the very different circumstances of his later residence in Padua, where he was forced into exile under Mary. Here, to make ends meet, he lectured on Demosthenes, and it was these lectures that inspired one member of his audience, former Cambridge colleague and fellow Protestant refugee, Thomas Wilson, to produce his English version of the *Olynthiacs* and *Philippics*. In his dedication to Cecil, Wilson comments on Cheke's mentoring of the English group in Padua, keeping them focused on their studies and reading to them in Greek. He also explains the particular appeal Demosthenes held for Cheke:

> he was moved greatly to like Demosthenes above all others, for that he sawe him so familiarly applying himself to the sense and understanding of the common people, that he sticked not to say, that none ever was more fitte to make an English man tell his tale praise worthily in any open hearing.[36]

In fact, Cheke followed Hermogenes in regarding Demosthenes as exceptional in his mastery of each of the three stylistic levels, but it is significant that Wilson chooses to fix on the *oratio humilis*, because it reinforces the rather *un*Erasmian connection between purity and commonness in Cheke's cultural values. Demosthenes is a model of pure Attic, but he is also attuned to the idiom of the people.

This blend of purity and commonness is also evident in the paratexts to the more famous translation that emerged from Cheke's Paduan circle, Sir Thomas Hoby's *Courtier*, which he completed there in 1554–5. In the dedication to Lord Hastings, Hoby offers a vigorous defence of translation, presciently emphasizing its importance for both knowledge transfer and impact, as we must now say: scholars who translate 'offer a commune benefite to profit others as well as themselves' and it is evident that 'where the Sciences are most tourned into the vulgar tungue, there are best learned men … [t]herefore the translation of Latin or Greeke authours, doth not onely not hinder learning, but it furthereth it'. But Hoby's enthusiasm for the benefits of making knowledge common is balanced by an appreciation of native linguistic purity. He sent his English *Courtier* to Cheke for approval and received a letter in return which he printed at the end of the volume. Here Cheke tells him that 'our tong shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borrowing of other tongues' and, harking back to his translation of Matthew, expresses his preference for 'the old denisoned wordes'.[37] In a strange historical chiasmus, where Englishmen at the start of the Tudor period travelled to Northern Italy simply to *learn* Greek, which they could then translate into Latin, by the 1550s an English professor of Greek could return there to teach the language and simultaneously promote the pure and common virtues of his own obscure, Northern vernacular.

Cheke's letter to Hoby was written when he was back in England, in 1557, the last year of his life and the year before the accession of Elizabeth. He had not taught Greek at Cambridge since the 1540s. Early in that decade, Roger Ascham enthused in a letter to John Brandesby that 'Aristotle and Plato are now read in their own language by the boys … Sophocles and Euripides are more familiar than Plautus was when you were here. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon are more in the lips and in the hands than Titus Livius was then.'[38] Ascham was doubtless exaggerating, but under Cheke, St John's in

particular acquired an almost legendary status as a beacon of good literature. Cheke did not live to see either the rise of English translation in the 1560s or the new literature inaugurated by Sidney and Spenser in the 1570s, but his role in those developments is underestimated, as is that of Greek. Cheke's commitment to the advance of both Greek and English dignifies the vernacular, but it also has implications for the status of Greek itself. Even though many Greek texts reach English through intermediate Latin or modern language translations, it is wrong to see Greek just as a remotely elevated language in the sixteenth century. The arrival of Greek in England is the wild card, upsetting the stable binary division between learned Latin and vulgar English. From the start it acts as a catalyst for translation both into Latin and into English, and its effect is ultimately to liberate the vernacular from its subordinate status, paradoxically by virtue of its being both pure and common.

Notes

1 Virginia Woolf, 'On not knowing Greek', in *The Common Reader* (London, 1925), p. 39.
2 On the 'Great Controversy' see F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, 1967), pp. 106–9; Gary W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English National Church* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 114–31.
3 John Rastell, *A Treatise entitled, Beware of M. Jewel* (Antwerp, 1566), fol. 67ʳ.
4 Rastell, fol. 62ᵛ.
5 Rastell, fol. 62ᵛ. Rastell cites Johannes Grammaticus (John Philoponus) on the 'communis' as one of the five dialects of Greek. The *koinē* or 'communis' evolved in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and designated the Mediterranean-wide, standardized version of Greek which replaced the four classical dialects. Rastell's sharp distinction between 'pure' *koinē* and what ordinary people would have actually understood is rather doubtful and is based mainly on the fact that the *koinē* preserved more of classical Attic than any other dialect. (I am grateful to Stephen Halliwell for advice on Greek dialects.)
6 Rastell, fol. 66ᵛ.
7 P. S. Allen, *Erasmus: Lectures and Wayfaring Sketches* (Oxford, 1934), p. 153. On Erasmus's contribution to Greek studies and the impact of Lucian see Goldhill, pp. 14–107.
8 Desiderius Erasmus, *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 142 to 297* (*Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 2), translated by R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. Thomson (Toronto, 1975), p. 112. See also *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 993 to 1121* (*CWE*, vol. 7), translated by R. A. B. Mynors and annotated by Peter G. Bietenholtz (Toronto, 1987), p. 19; *The Correspondence of*

Erasmus: Letters 1252 to 1355 (*CWE*, vol. 9), translated by R. A. B. Mynors and annotated by James M. Estes (Toronto, 1989), p. 319.

9   Thomas More, *The Complete Works of Thomas More*, Vol. 3, Pt. 1: *Translations of Lucian*, edited by Craig R. Thompson (New Haven, CT, 1974), pp. xvii–lxxii; for a comprehensive bibliography of editions of Lucian printed before 1600 see Thompson, 'Lucian and Lucianism in the English Renaissance: An Introductory Study', unpublished PhD Diss., Princeton, 1937. On Lucian's literary influence in the Renaissance see Christopher Robinson, *Lucian and His Influence in Europe* (London, 1979) and Douglas Duncan, *Ben Jonson and the Lucianic Tradition* (Cambridge, 1979).

10 On Erasmus in England see Léon E. Halkin, *Erasmus: A Critical Biography*, translated by John Tonkin (Oxford, 1993), pp. 30–45 (Chapter 3, 'England: A Second Homeland').

11 *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts* edited by Terence Cave (Manchester, 2008), pp. 16, 90, 94; also Brenda M. Hosington, '"Compluria opuscula Longe festivissima": Translations of Lucian in Renaissance England', in *Syntagmatia: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy*, edited by Dirk Sacré and Jan Papy (Leuven, 2009), pp. 187–205.

12 T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's 'Small Latine and Lesse Greeke'*, 2 vols. (Urbana, IL, 1944), I, 215.

13 See *Necromantia. A dialog of the poete Lucyan*, translated by John Rastell (Southwark, [1530?]); *A Dialogue betwene Lucian and Diogenes*, translated by Sir Thomas Elyot ([London], [1532?]); on 'Slander' see David Marsh, 'Lucian's Slander in the Early Renaissance: The Court as *locus invidiae*', *Allegorica*, 21 (2000), 62–70. (Elyot did not attend either university, but probably learned his Greek from Linacre.)

14 Baldwin, I, 355.

15 *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, edited by Elizabeth Frances Rogers (Princeton, NJ, 1947), p. 115; translation based on *St Thomas More: Selected Letters*, edited by Rogers (New Haven, CT, 1961), p. 98.

16 Arthur Tilley, 'Greek Studies in England in the Early Sixteenth Century', *English Historical Review*, 53 (1938), 221–39, 438–56 (p. 233).

17 Richard Croke, *Orationes Richardi Croci duae* (Paris, 1520), sigs C4^r-C6^v; the lectures are summarized and paraphrased by James Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge: From the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535* (Cambridge, 1873), pp. 529–57 (pp. 531, 533).

18 Henry Bynneman's edition of 1581, which included 'To Demonicus' and 'To Nicocles', two dialogues by Lucian, and the pseudo-Plutarchan 'On Bringing Up Children' was reprinted in 1585, 1589, 1592 and 1599; see Kirsty Milne, 'The Forgotten Books of Elizabethan England', *Literature Compass*, 4 (2007), 677–87. It should be noted that a fuller treatment of this subject would need to address the reception of Plutarch in early Tudor England; on this see *Plutarch: Essays and Lives*, edited by Fred Schurink (forthcoming).

19 Thomas Elyot, *The Doctrinall of Princis* (London, [1533?]), sig. Aii[r].

20 *The Dictionary of Sir Thomas Elyot* (London, 1538), sig. R5[r]. It is fitting that the twentieth-century poet who wrote of the need to 'purify the dialect of the tribe' should have claimed Elyot as an ancestor (T. S. Eliot, 'Little Gidding', l. 127).

21 Meric Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis* (London, 1650), p. 221. On Greek-English affinity see John F. Eros, 'A 17th-Century Demonstration of Language Relationship: Meric Casaubon on English and Greek', *Historiographia Linguistica*, 3 (1976), 1–13; on Budé and Greek-French affinity see John Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 34, 61; also J. B. Trapp, 'The Conformity of Greek and the Vernacular: The History of a Renaissance Theory of Languages', in *Classical Influences on European Culture*, A. D. 500–1500, edited by R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 239–44. Sigismund Gelen, *Lexicum Symphonum* (Basle, 1537) provides wordlists to show the 'concordia consonantiaque' between Greek, Latin, German and Slavic.

22 William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, edited by David Daniell (London, 2000), p. 19. Daniell suggests that the text of Isocrates translated by Tyndale was the *Panegyricus*; see *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven, CT, 1994), p. 85. However, *Nicocles* stresses the duties of subjects, which might have influenced *Obedience* (sub-title: 'how Christian rulers ought to govern').

23 Elyot, *Doctrinall*, p. 8.

24 *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 842 to 992* (*CWE*, vol. 6), translated by R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thompson (Toronto, 1982), pp. 29–30.

25 Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 121, citing the Annotations on Romans (the note was added in 1535).

26 Erasmus, *Letters 142 to 297*, p. 25. While Erasmus saw no impediment in theory to the translation of the Bible into the modern vernaculars, and in the *Paraclesis* fondly imagined the ploughman singing psalms in his native language, in practice his enthusiasm for the vernacular was rather more limited. Besides, since the aim of the *Novum Instrumentum* was to rescue the Holy Word from the corruptions of common speech in both Greek and Latin in late antiquity, it is difficult to see how a vernacular Bible could avoid putting this project into reverse.

27 William Fulke, *Defense of Translations* (London, 1583), p. 41.

28 Hugh Broughton, *A Require of Agreement* (London, 1611), p. 73.

29 John Cheke, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, edited by James Goodwin (London, 1843), pp. 29, 31, 37. Cheke held the chair from 1540 to 1551 and made the translation of Matthew in the early 1550s.

30 Cheke, *Matthew*, pp. 46, 73; Douglas Gray, 'A Note on Sixteenth-Century Purism', in *Words: For Robert Burchfield's Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, edited by E. G. Stanley and T. F. Hoad (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 103–19 (p. 115).

31 Sir Thomas Smith, *Literary and Linguistic Works (1542, 1549, 1568)*, edited by Bror Danielsson, Vol. 3: *De recta et emendata linguae Anglicae scriptione,*

Dialogus (Stockholm, 1983), p. 39. On Smith see Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 143–81.

32   *The 'Anonymous Life' of William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, edited by Alan G. R. Smith (Lewiston, ME, 1990), p. 44.

33   Based on figures calculated in Hosington, Brenda *et al.*, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads*, online at: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc [accessed 22 August 2014].

34   John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke* (London, 1705), p. 201. (Strype's source in the second quotation is Thomas Wilson; see note below).

35   *'Anonymous Life'*, p. 44; Sir John Harington, *Nugae Antiquae* (London, 1804), p. 131 (letter of 1578).

36   Thomas Wilson, *The Three Orations of Demosthenes* (London, 1570), sig. *$*i^r$–^{v}. On the English nationalist aspects of the speech, see Shrank, pp. 202–6.

37   Thomas Hoby, *The Courtyer of Count Baldesar Castilio* (London, 1561), sig. Aiiii^r–^{v}; appendix.

38   *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, edited by J. A. Giles (London, 1864–5), 1:1, 26 (letter of 1542).

4

From Commentary to Translation

Figurative Representations of the Text in the French Renaissance

Paul White

Translators have always made use of commentaries and still do today, whether silently absorbing exegetical information into the translated text or presenting it in translator's notes and prefaces. It is well known that vernacular translators in the Middle Ages and early modern period habitually translated material from the Latin commentaries, incorporating it into their translated texts and furnishing them with translated glosses. The variety and complexity of the interactions of translation and commentary, from the 'commentated translation' to the 'transmuted commentary', have been extensively studied in the medieval context.[1]

Renaissance conceptions of the activities of commentary and translation were closely related. Both emerged from a rhetorical theory of language resting on the notion of the separability of *res* and *verba*. The terminology used by the classical theorists involved a degree of overlap between translation and commentary (*interpretatio*, *hermeneia*).[2] The pedagogical tradition brought commentary and translation together: school exercises in the grammar class employed both intralingual and interlingual paraphrase. At the level of erudite humanism, too, the roles of the translator and the writer of scholarly commentaries were frequently conceived as interrelated: Renaissance theorists of rhetorical translation such as Bruni and Erasmus wanted the translator to be an expert grammarian and philologist as well.[3]

This is not to say that Renaissance readers and writers did not distinguish between commentary and translation, or were oblivious to the potential disadvantages in blurring this distinction: for example, an early English translator of Terence's *Andria*, keen to draw

the reader's attention to the desirability and difficulty of concision in translation, wrote that 'if it had a long expocyson | Then were it a comment and no translation'.[4] And although early printed French translations of classical works, such as those published by Antoine Vérard (*fl*. 1485–1512), incorporated commentary in a variety of ways, Vérard's editions usually formally distinguished translation text and gloss, and sometimes even identified on the title page the source-commentary text for translated glosses.[5] Vérard tended to be led here by the *mise-en-page* favoured in the manuscript tradition of the translation being printed.

Recent scholarship exploring the intersections of translation and commentary has drawn attention to the ways in which the two activities involve one another: in the interpretative functions of translation and in the translative operations of commentary.[6] Early French humanism in both Latin and vernacular contexts provides a particularly rich context for the study of the continuities between translation and commentary, both at the level of pedagogy and that of the erudite text. Parisian scholar-printers such as Jodocus Badius Ascensius (1462–1535) and contemporary vernacular printers such as Vérard were thinking carefully about how to define and present different types of texts. The books they were producing, in a variety of formats and for a variety of readerships, offer a wide range of perspectives on the relationship between commentary and translation in the French Renaissance.

At the basic level, Latin commentaries were often translated into the vernacular for pedagogical purposes, and usually not for publication. The school commentaries of Badius on Virgil, Horace and Cicero, written in Latin around the start of the sixteenth century, were still being translated into the vernacular a century later to be appropriated by unscrupulous teachers.[7] Pedagogical practices of this kind leave behind little physical evidence: most translation and commentary done in school contexts was never printed or widely circulated. Printed commentary texts do however bear traces of the orality of schoolroom practice, particularly where they cross into bilingualism. This demonstrates another way in which translation was involved with commentary. Badius' beginner-level Latin grammatical commentaries, for example, which on rare occasions supplied glosses in French, remind us that students learning Latin grammar would necessarily make use of commentary and translation

simultaneously. Translation itself had a pedagogical function as a school exercise designed to teach grammar and rhetoric. Later bilingual learners' editions combining Latin commentary with French translation, such as Charles Estienne's 1541 translation of Terence's *Andria*, further illustrate the affinities of commentary and translation. Valerie Worth-Stylianou has shown how texts of this type – bilingual editions of Cicero's letters being produced at the same time – relate to contemporary pedagogical practices and draw on the 'comparative' approach to language exemplified by Robert Estienne's *Dictionnaire*.[8]

Sometimes the writers of Latin commentaries composed them with the explicit aim that they be translated into the vernacular for publication: Badius claims to have done so for his notes on Terence. No published French translation of Badius' notes survives today: perhaps the appearance of Vérard's Terence made the planned edition redundant. Vérard published around 1500 a French Terence with annotations translated from the Latin commentaries of Guido Juvenalis and Paulus Malleolus, the former taken probably from the first Terence edition prepared by Badius, printed in Lyon in 1493.[9]

There are also countless examples, in these early French printed editions of the classics, of glosses and readings from the Latin-language commentaries being absorbed into the translation texts themselves. For example, Octavien de Saint-Gelais' Ovid and Virgil translations, published by Vérard in the first decade of the sixteenth century, incorporated frequent moralizing and exegetical interventions, in a way typical of medieval verse translation. Saint-Gelais did not draw attention to his glosses or name his sources, which were, in the case of the Virgil, Servius, and possibly also the newly printed commentary by Badius.[10]

The continuity of translation and commentary is also apparent, in a different way, at the level of translations done for more erudite or sophisticated readerships. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the practice of translating large sections of commentary from the Latin editions is no longer a feature of printed translations in French: the more sophisticated mid-century readerships did not want them. Where translations did include annotations, these were more likely to be the translator's own. Prologues commenting on translation choices and methods became more common. The paratextual material Charles Fontaine prepared for his mid-century translations of

Ovid, for example, included close discussion and justification of translation methods in the prefaces, as well as brief marginal notes marking points of rhetoric, explaining allusions, and noting textual variants.[11] The 'original' translator's commentary, far from common at the start of the sixteenth century, became much more so as the century progressed.

The complex interrelation of commentary and translation in early modern textual culture found expression in the metalanguages employed by authors and printers to define and present their texts.[12] Recent scholarship has highlighted the richness of the languages of textual culture in the French Renaissance context, and in particular the types of figurative language Renaissance scholars used to represent their activities, in prefaces, commentaries and other kinds of paratext.[13] A growing interest in the uses of metaphor has also been apparent: Massimiliano Morini and Paul Davis both make metaphor central to their treatments of translation in the Tudor period and English Augustan age respectively.[14] Morini suggests that an early modern theory of translation is to be sought in the figurative language used in paratexts. But the force and coherence of such metaphors should not be overstated, particularly since the degree of specificity with which they refer to *translation* is often questionable.[15] Many of the metaphors had wider currency as commonplace ways of talking about textual culture: comparable examples can readily be found throughout E. R. Curtius' survey of the 'topics' and 'metaphorics' of the Latin tradition.[16] Mobile and versatile, they might equally well be applied to other kinds of linguistic and textual operation, notably commentary. Morini reads the metaphorical language of translation paratexts as betraying early modern writers' 'deep-seated notions' about translation as such (p. 35). It is more interesting perhaps for what it says about the common conceptual ground shared by translation and commentary in the early modern imagination.

Renaissance discourses on both commentary and translation drew on a common resource of figurative language relating to, *inter alia*, the domains of agriculture and horticulture, sacred revelation, medicine, commerce and finance, dress and conviviality. Renaissance writers habitually framed conceptualizations of both commentary and translation in terms of similar sets of binary oppositions: constraining fidelity versus digressive freedom, ease versus difficulty,

appropriation versus disavowal. The discourse on commentary shares with translation groups of metaphors that figure the text in terms of inside and outside, depth and surface, as well as a tendency to view the activity in terms of roles that are secondary or subservient. The overlap between the two activities emerges most clearly in the group of metaphors that cast the writer as mediator or go-between.[17] Translators and commentators very frequently used similar strategies of presentation to figure themselves as mediators in various kinds of exchange. Hospitality and trade were central reference points.

The prefaces of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, who played various kinds of mediating roles throughout his career (writer of commentaries, schoolmaster, printer) bring these points into sharper focus. Badius occupied an unusual and privileged position in early sixteenth-century Paris at the intersection of the worlds of humanist erudition, pedagogy and the book trade. Badius' dedicatory epistles, of which he composed hundreds over the course of a long career, show him thinking carefully about how to present and promote both his own texts and works written by others. His prolific output as a writer of dedicatory epistles and other paratexts sets him apart from contemporary French printers and publishers such as Vérard, who composed a relatively small number of prologues for the texts he produced. Humanist commentators like Badius, in common with translators, tended to bring a certain self-consciousness about language to their writing, and they were at pains to justify their activity using language grounded in the most familiar domains of the cultured reader's experience. Badius' prefatory language was grounded in the rhetorical traditions of Latin textual culture, but also in the material realities of the everyday business of editing, printing and selling books. When he writes of textual processes figuratively in terms of hospitality and trade, we must bear in mind also the real-life context of the print shop as a bustling space of friendly interaction and intellectual collaboration, and the material reality of the production, transportation and selling of books.

Central to Badius' publishing programme were his Latin commentaries on the classics. Just as translation in the Renaissance was done in a range of different contexts from the elementary grammar class to the sophisticated literary community, so commentary in the Renaissance was not of one type, and we must distinguish between the basic form of the interlinear or marginal gloss, the fuller

grammatical commentary, and more learned forms of allegorical, philological and historicizing commentary.

Badius wrote grammatical commentaries for students learning to read the Latin classics, and labelled them 'familiares' to highlight their ease of use (the formulation 'facilis explanatio' was also frequent), and by way of contrast with the more learned commentaries he usually printed alongside them. In an epistle written to preface a 1499 edition of Persius, Badius described the features of his *familiaris interpretatio*: it is, he says, chiefly linguistic, and is meant to aid basic comprehension (to explain 'familiariter' how the words fit together and to clarify obscurities in meaning); it is designed primarily to be user-friendly ('familiarem sane atque parabilem explanationem'), aimed at those not yet able to study more advanced commentaries, a preparation for, not a replacement of, study of the Italian scholarship; it is stylistically unpolished and familiar, like the oral interactions of the classroom; finally, it is intended to bring out the link between literary learning and good morals, a formulation which is typical of Badius' approach, with its roots in the characteristically moral mentality of Northern Christian humanism.[18] The commentary is therefore 'familiar' in several senses: beginner-level, user-friendly, imitative of oral discourse and intended to familiarize or fit together classical letters and morals.

Badius' 'familiarizing' impulse was bound up with his self-presentation as a cultural mediator. In the prefaces and other paratexts he composed for the commentary and translation editions he printed, Badius deployed a range of representations of the processes of textual mediation, using on the one hand a language of hospitality and *familiaritas*, and on the other a language of trade and merchandising.

* * *

A large part of the intellectual activity of humanists – from the everyday practices of scholarship, publishing and patronage, to the high-minded dream of a 'republic of letters' – was conceptualized in terms of friendship and conviviality. The early proponents of humanism in France were influenced by the concepts of love and friendship they found in the works of the Italian humanists, from encomia to Ciceronian *amicitia* to the neo-Platonic theories of love elaborated by the Florentine Academy. Conviviality was a central

concept in humanist self-fashioning. The table was the symbolic space within which to define selves and ideals.[19] Drawing on the symposiac literature of antiquity, and in particular the miscellanies of Aulus Gellius and Macrobius, writers like Badius could frame the processes of textual consumption in the highly codified terms of this culture, and valorize their activity with respect to the wider context of social relations. They cast themselves as mediating figures in these transactions.

For example, in a 1498 dedication to Henri Valluphinus, the head of the Lyon school in which Badius taught during the 1480s and 1490s, Badius locates his 'familiar commentary' explicitly in the realm of conviviality.[20] He presents the work to Valluphinus under the sign of humanist *amicitia*, recalling long dinners spent together, generous hospitality and sparkling conversation. The commentary edition he presents is a gift in exchange for this hospitality; and it is itself the site of convivial discourse. Badius' familiar commentary is like civilized table talk, which had to maintain a certain level of sophistication, but at the same time be accessible to everyone. The metaphor could be extended to figure the text in more specific ways: in a colophon poem Badius wrote for this Juvenal edition, his commentary is likened to a cup of water used to dilute strong wine, making the reader's consumption of the text more pleasurable.

Just as the translator was often identified as a sympathetic friend, companion or host, Badius frequently justified the inclusion of his own commentaries in his editions by framing them as a response to the social demand not to be a 'hospes asymbolus' (a guest that contributes nothing to an entertainment – an expression borrowed from Gellius' *Attic Nights*, 7.13). The emphasis is on the extempore nature of the text offered as 'symbolum', as if it were a contribution of conversation to a feast, one that brings together author and reader in the company of the group of editors, scholars and patrons whose collaboration brought forth the book.[21] The 'familiar' commentary thus retains the sense of orality of schoolroom interaction or scholarly collaboration; and this sense of a living text is expressed also in contemporary theories of the dynamism and energies of the translation text.

The metaphors Badius used in his paratexts often slipped easily between figurative and concrete domains, because they spoke of the realities of book production and selling. Language relating to hospitality might be used metaphorically, but it also described the reality

of the ethics governing intellectual and financial collaboration in the world of printing. Contributions from his suppliers of exemplars, from *castigatores* and from the other printers with whom he shared costs, were often framed in terms of sociability and *amicitia*. Such expressions of friendship were not mere empty rhetoric. They formed the basis of Badius' business ethics, and he frequently invoked humanist *amicitia* to underpin his claims to fair dealing with customers and his desire not to impinge on the profits of other printers.[22]

The language of hospitality had a bearing on every aspect of book production. It naturally featured prominently in dedications in which the author wished to portray the patronage relationship in a positive light. For example, in dedicating his Macrobius edition, Badius reimagined the 'Cena' of Macrobius as a feast held by his patron, at which all the humanist virtues were on display.[23] Writing to another patron, Germain de Ganay, the brother of the Chancellor of France and head of the Paris Parlement, Badius imagined the ancient poets clamouring with one voice to be admitted to the illustrious home of the great man, and composing their appearance and dress as if in preparation for a Socratic symposium or Macrobian dinner.[24]

Badius also made pointed use of the language of conviviality in his presentations of translation texts. In a 1528 dedication he imagined Herodotus, clothed in a Roman toga by Lorenzo Valla (his fifteenth-century translator), impatient to pay a visit to the illustrious house of his patron, Antoine des Prés. In so doing, he elided four levels of historical and geographical remoteness, and brought together under the sign of hospitality the different processes involved in book production: translation, emendation, printing, patronage. Through such metaphorical constructions, humanists like Badius could imagine the past 'at home' with the present, in an atmosphere of easy, familiar conviviality. He writes of how Herodotus

> showed up unbidden, dressed in Roman toga and fine Latin by Lorenzo Valla, that most elegant of Romans, and restored to his former glory and fullness by the painstaking efforts of famous men. And when, by some fancy or figment, he seemed to have understood that he had been thus restored and adorned because he was soon to be sent to your illustrious and regal home (having

also been cleaned up with our pumice), it is amazing how excited he seemed, rejoicing and transported outside of himself.[25]

Lorenzo Valla's conceptions of translation and textual culture clearly had a significant impact on Badius.[26] But he did not take Valla's metaphors as they were, and as he recontextualized them he transformed them. Badius had Valla dressed in a Roman toga ('togatorum elegantissimus') whereas Valla had himself refused the 'toga' in favour of military garb for his translation of Demosthenes. Because he was keen to emphasize the editorial correctness and fineness of his books, Badius preferred to Valla's agonistic imagery the image of fine dress replacing a mien of squalid neglect. He is here saying something quite different from contemporary vernacular translators, who often employed the 'habitus' metaphor to apologize for the rough garments of their versions replacing the opulent finery of the original.[27] The example demonstrates the diversity of applications of such metaphors as they were used in different language contexts and with different aims in mind.

In the earlier part of his career, as he was establishing himself as a presence in learned humanist culture, Badius' self-presentation tended to be dominated by metaphors relating to *familiaritas* and conviviality. With the growing success of his own commercial concern went an increase in his use of mercantile metaphors in the presentation of the texts he printed; but his use of mercantile language continued to be grounded in the legitimizing framework of *familiaritas* and *amicitia*. And even before his establishment as a printer on his own account, his prefatory rhetoric was coloured by a sensitivity to the commercial realities of the book trade.

The translator considered as a cultural mediator was often compared to a merchant or importer of foreign commodities. In vernacular contexts such comparisons were frequently designed to minimize the translator's role (or to contrast the poverty of the target language's 'treasury' of words with the richness of the source); and there was naturally some resistance to the alignment of humanist scholarship with the domain of commerce.[28] But Lorenzo Valla, developing an image also found in St Jerome,[29] provocatively presented in a more positive light the notion of the humanist translator as a merchant trading in commodities, asking: 'what is more useful, more productive, or even more necessary than translating books? It seems to me

to be a sort of commerce of the arts. I am comparing it with a great thing when I compare it with commerce.'[30] Badius, being a sort of merchant himself, naturally found this aspect of Valla's conception of translation more amenable than the imagery of military aggression that Valla developed at greater length in his Thucydides and Demosthenes prefaces. Both a scholar and a businessman, Badius very frequently in his texts made efforts to negotiate a space for self-definition within the domain of commerce. He often represented himself, in his role as teacher of grammar to youth, as a merchant of letters: '[ego] qui litteras aliorum infantiae interdum vendito' ('I, who sometimes peddle letters to the children of others').[31] One of the first works he published, while still a teacher of Latin grammar in Lyon, was the 1492 *Silvae morales*, a book of commentaries on Virgil, Horace and other poets. In the preface he cast himself as a merchant loading his ship with costly merchandise to sell to the youth of France. In a poem written for a Beroaldo edition in the same year, Badius would again represent the book as a merchant ship, with the reader bidden to unload its precious cargo: 'Nunc Beroaldinas studiosi quaerite merces | Lugdunum appulsas dexteritate nova' ('Students, seek out now the Beroaldine merchandise brought to land in Lyon by Trechsel's remarkable skill').[32] And he liked the image of the merchant ship enough to use it again in the dedication of an edition of Mantuan (1507).[33] For Badius, the printed book may figure as a repository of valuable commodities, and the commerce between reader and text as a transaction brokered by the editor-commentator of the work. But the metaphor of the merchant ship importing goods was more readily associated with translation, and Badius had to belabour the metaphor somewhat to make it accommodate the commentary text.

Both translation and commentary could more readily be figured using the language of finance. Cicero in *De optimo genere oratorum* 5.14 likened his translation method to the paying out of coins, not by counting but by weighing. Jerome in *Contra Rufinum* 1.16 compared the use of commentaries to the activity of money changing, a description picked up by the Bolognese humanist Filippo Beroaldo the Elder in the introduction to his 1487 commentary on Propertius: 'as St Jerome says, the commentator's duty is to set forth the opinions of many [scholars], "so that the prudent reader, after reading the different interpretations, will judge for himself which is the more

correct; and like a true money-changer, will reject the falsely-minted coin, and accept the valid and genuine one"'.[34]

Badius, an assiduous reader of Beroaldo, found a more convenient metaphor for his commentary activity in the domain of finance. Already in the *Silvae morales* preface he had modified the merchant ship image to include the detail that the cargo consisted of slips or cuttings to be replanted to generate growth and a return on the investment (combining it with references to the parable of the talents and Cicero's fertile fields, which give back more than they receive). Badius frequently imagined texts in terms of agricultural metaphors – planting seeds, transplanting slips, grafting and so on – and by extension the act of reading could be seen as a stroll through a wood or landscaped garden, with the commentator as guide. It is worth pointing out here that the language of finance is in Latin very closely bound up with the language of agriculture, so the imagery of organic growth merges easily with the financial metaphor whereby the generation of commentary from the text is represented as the generation of interest on a capital sum. This is especially evident in a dedicatory epistle to Jacobus Keymolanus that Badius composed to preface an edition of Petrarch's *Bucolica*:

> You are getting the poems back not without interest, accrued as a fair penalty for the rather long delay, because if it had been in my hands, you would have got them back before expected. But I know, as Cicero teaches in the first book of his *De Officiis*, that we should imitate fertile fields, which give back much more than they receive. So I postponed paying back the capital until the interest of my little commentaries was added; I would certainly have paid them back before, if I had received the capital down and in full.[35]

Here, the 'capital sum' (*sors*) Badius received – the original manuscript of the poems, supplied to him by the Ghent Carmelite – has been 'invested' by Badius and made to generate 'interest' (*foenus*) in the form of his commentaries. Once again, Badius used the parable of the talents to legitimize his speculation on the text as an effort to provide a return on the benefits that had been entrusted to him. And as in the previous example, he brought together under one metaphor various aspects of the printing process: obtaining manuscript exemplars,

emendation, composing commentary and publishing. In order to avoid the associations with illegitimate profit-making, Badius in his prefatory texts was careful to situate his activities in a legitimizing context of sociability, honesty and fair dealing, using what Natalie Zemon Davis calls a 'mixture of gift claims and sale claims, of the language of property and the language of benefit'.[36]

That the early modern discourses on translation and commentary drew on a common store of figurative language suggests that the two activities were conceptually closely related. In particular, groups of metaphors relating to mediating roles – the domains of hospitality and commerce – featured prominently in both conceptions. But if translators and commentators used the metaphors in broadly similar ways, they applied and nuanced them differently. It would be fruitless to seek a generalized theory of translation or commentary in such utterances: clearly, metaphors were put to varied uses in different language contexts and in different kinds of texts written for different audiences. The rhetoric of the preface or dedicatory epistle was often motivated by concerns other than the purely theoretical.

This account of the continuities and interactions between commentary and translation in the early French Renaissance describes a set of relations that were still fluid. Badius was active at a time when writers and printers were seeking new ways to negotiate and define textual roles within these shifting conceptions. He made various use of the common stock of metaphors available to early modern writers to present and describe the related activities of commentary and translation. Often the metaphors he used in prefaces were drawn from the texts themselves, but he gave them new inflections. The ways in which he transformed and extended the metaphors were determined by his particular interests and aims. Badius' active involvement in humanist communities sets him apart from contemporary printers such as Antoine Vérard, a publisher of vernacular texts mostly for royal and noble patrons, who was not himself an author. Vérard's prologues belonged to a different world from those of Badius. In prologues addressed to noble patrons in the manuscript tradition of individual dedication, the notion of familiar commerce between equals has no place, and little attention is paid to the processes by which the book came into being.[37] Vérard was concerned to justify the works he printed by matching

them to the requirements and the status of their patrons. Badius'
dedications were much more grounded in humanist communities,
and conveyed a more lively sense of the actual processes by which
texts were produced. The unusual position Badius occupied as a
mediating figure between the worlds of scholarship and business
meant that the metaphors he used to represent textual roles were
determined by and integrated with the material realities of print
culture and book production.

Notes

1   On the complex interrelation of translation and expositio/interpretatio in
    the Middle Ages, see Ralph Hanna *et al.*, 'Latin Commentary Tradition and
    Vernacular Literature', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism,* Vol. 2:
    The Middle Ages, edited by Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (Cambridge,
    2005), pp. 363–421 (pp. 363–4). The former term is used of Nicolas
    Oresme's Aristotle translations, the latter of the *Ovide moralisé*.
2   On the hermeneutic dimension of translation in the classical tradition,
    see Frederick M. Rener, *Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to
    Tytler* (Amsterdam, 1989), esp. p. 7.
3   On Erasmus see Rener, p. 35, and Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the
    Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti,
    and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 133–4. On Bruni see Valerie
    Worth-Stylianou, 'Translatio and Translation in the Renaissance: From
    Italy to France', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Vol. 3: *The
    Renaissance*, edited by Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 127–35 (p.
    128). See also Glyn P. Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in
    Renaissance France and their Humanist Antecedents* (Geneva, 1984), p. 29.
4   Colophon poem in *Terens in englysh* ([Paris], [*c*.1520]), sig. Dvᵛ.
5   For example, the French translation of Ovid's *Remedia amoris* published by
    Vérard in 1509 identifies the commentary source in this fashion.
6   Most notably in *De la traduction comme commentaire au commentaire de
    traduction*, edited by M. Boisseau (= *Palimpsestes*, 20 (2007)).
7   The Perugian scholar Marco Antonio Bonciario (1555–1616) expresses
    his resentment at this in his *Epistolae* (1604), reproduced in Philippe
    Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius
    Ascensius: imprimeur et humaniste, 1462–1535*, 3 vols (Paris, 1908), Vol. I,
    pp. 141–2.
8   Worth-Stylianou, 'Translations from Latin into French in the Renaissance',
    in *The Classical Heritage in France*, pp. 137-64 (p. 143); and 'Reading
    Monolingual and Bilingual Editions of Translations in Renaissance
    France', in *Translation and the Transmission of Culture*, pp. 331–58
    (pp. 347–50).
9   Ludmilla Evdokimova, 'Commentaires des comédies de Térence dans
    l'édition de Vérard et leurs sources', *Le Moyen Age*, 54 (2004), 95–152.

10   As is suggested by Thomas Brückner, *Die erste französische Aeneis: Untersuchungen zu Octovien de Saint-Gelais' Übersetzung: mit einer kritischen Edition des VI. Buches* (Düsseldorf, 1987), pp. 124–30.

11   Charles Fontaine, *Les Epistres d'Ovide* (Lyon, 1552) and 'Traduction en vers francoys du premier livre du Remede d'Amours', in *Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine* (Lyon, 1555), pp. 345–87.

12   For the term 'textual culture', see Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350–1100* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 15: each text is 'interpreted as part of a system of other texts, genres, and discourses'.

13   See in particular *La Philologie humaniste et ses représentations dans la théorie et dans la fiction*, edited by Perrine Galand-Hallyn, Fernand Hallyn and Gilbert Tournoy, 2 vols (Geneva, 2005).

14   Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot, 2006); Paul Davis, *Translation and the Poet's Life: The Ethics of Translating in English Culture, 1646–1726* (Oxford, 2008).

15   Several salutary points about the dangers of reading too much into metaphors used in translation paratexts are made by Robert Cummings in his review of Morini, *Translation and Literature*, 17 (2008), 111–19.

16   E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated by Willard R. Trask (New York, 1953).

17   See Peter Burke, 'The Renaissance Translator as Go-Between', in *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (Berlin, 2005), pp. 17–31.

18   Perseus, *Persii familiare commentum*, edited by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Lyon, 1499); Renouard, Vol. III, pp. 146–7.

19   See Michel Jeanneret, *Des mets et des mots: banquets et propos de table à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1987).

20   Juvenal, *Juvenalis familiare commentum*, edited by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Lyon, 1498); Renouard, Vol. II, pp. 536–7.

21   See Badius' dedicatory epistle in Angelo Poliziano, *Omnium Angeli Politiani operum tomus prior*, edited by Jodocus Badius Ascensius *et al.* (Paris, 1519); Renouard, Vol. III, pp. 190–2, in which Badius frames as a contribution to a feast his addition of some scholia to the editorial enterprise undertaken by his printing house colleagues Toussain and Du Bois.

22   On Badius' attempts to establish an ethical publishing practice grounded in *humanitas* and *amicitia*, see Isabelle Diu, '*Medium typographicum* et *respublica literaria*: le rôle de Josse Bade dans le monde de l'édition humaniste', in *Le Livre et l'historien: études offertes en l'honneur du Professeur Henri-Jean Martin*, edited by Frédéric Barbier *et al.* (Geneva, 1997), pp. 111–24.

23   Dedication to Carolus Gelrius in Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis M. Tulii Ciceronis libri duo et Saturnaliorum libri VII*, edited by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Paris, 1524); Renouard, Vol. III, pp. 55–7.

24   Petro Crinito, *De honesta disciplina* (Paris, 1508); Renouard, Vol. II, p. 351.

25 Lorenzo Valla, *Herodoti Halicarnassei historiarum patris Musae* (Paris, 1528); Renouard, Vol. II, pp. 489–90. My translation, as for Latin throughout except where stated.

26 See Robert Kendrick, 'Lorenzo Valla's Translation Theory and the Latin *Imperium*', *Mediaevalia*, 26 (2005), 133–54.

27 Morini records instances (pp. 36–42).

28 Economic metaphors figure more prominently in translation discourse from the seventeenth century. See Douglas Robinson, 'Translation and the Repayment of Debt', *Delos*, 7 (1997), 10–22.

29 Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, translated by C. T. R. Hayward (Oxford, 1995), p. 29: 'let foreign merchandise come by boat only to those who desire it'.

30 From Valla's dedication of his Thucydides translation. See Kendrick, pp. 139, 150 (n. 23). Badius printed this preface in French in *L'Histoire de Thucydide Athenien*, translated by Claude de Seyssel (Paris, 1527); Renouard, Vol. III, p. 304.

31 Lucan, *M. Annei Lucani Cordubensis Pharsalia cum duplici explanatione*, edited by Johannes Sulpitius and Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Paris, 1506); Renouard, Vol. III, pp. 23–4.

32 Filippo Beroaldo, *Orationes* (Lyon, 1492); Renouard, Vol. II, p. 160.

33 Mantuan, *Novem … Opera*, edited by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Paris, 1507), sig. ✠ i^{r}.

34 See also Appendix B in Anthony Grafton, 'On the Scholarship of Politian and its Context', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 40 (1977), 150–88, from where this translation is taken (p. 188).

35 Petrarch, *Bucolica*, edited by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Paris, 1502); Renouard, Vol. III, pp. 156–7.

36 Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000), p. 77.

37 Mary Beth Winn's analysis of Vérard's prologues brings out the contrast with those of Badius: *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher 1485–1512: Prologues, Poems, and Presentations* (Geneva, 1997), pp. 45–6.

5
Periphrōn Penelope and her Early Modern Translations

Tania Demetriou

In the third of Pierre de Ronsard's *Sonnets pour Hélène* (1578), the poet muses on the name of his beloved, Hélène de Surgères:

> Nom, malheur des Troyens, sujet de mon souci,
> Ma sage Penelope et mon Helene aussi,
> Qui d'un soin amoureux tout le cœur m'envelope:
>
> Nom, qui m'a jusqu'au ciel de la terre enlevé,
> Qui eust jamais pensé que j'eusse retrouvé
> En une mesme Helene une autre Penelope?

(Name, bane of the Trojans, cause of my anguish, my wise Penelope and at the same time my Helen, who envelops my whole heart in an agony of love;

name that has swept me up from earth to heaven, who would ever have thought that I would have encountered in one and the same Helen, a second Penelope?)[1]

Hélène is, paradoxically, at once a Helen in the suffering she causes Ronsard, and a 'sage Penelope'. An echo intertwines the two figures even further. In the *Odyssey*, it is Penelope's name which reaches the heavens: 'your renown (*kleos*) reaches the wide heaven' (*Od.* 19.108, 'σευ κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἱκάνει'), says the disguised Odysseus to his wife.[2] Ronsard's memory of these lines transforms Helen's baleful name into something beneficent, even beatific, in the case of her Penelopean namesake.

The poet's paradox ('who would ever have thought[?]') depends on the notion that the unyielding Penelope is Helen's antitype. Though this binary seems predictable, it is one that the *Odyssey* itself resists. When Homer's Penelope refers to Helen, it is to bring out the similarity in their situations. She is justifying her reluctance to receive the self-declared Odysseus without testing him, when she says, surprisingly:

> αἰεὶ γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν
> ἐρρίγει, μή τίς με βροτῶν ἀπάφοιτο ἔπεσσιν
> ἐλθών· πολλοὶ γὰρ κακὰ κέρδεα βουλεύουσιν.
> οὐδέ κεν Ἀργείη Ἑλένη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,
> ἀνδρὶ παρ᾽ἀλλοδαπῷ ἐμίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ,
> εἰ ᾔδη, ὅ μιν αὖτις ἀρήϊοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
> ἀξέμεναι οἶκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδ᾽ἔμελλον.
> τὴν δ᾽ἦ τοι ῥέξαι θεὸς ὤρορεν ἔργον ἀεικές·
> τὴν δ᾽ἄτην οὐ πρόσθεν ἑῷ ἐγκάτθετο θυμῷ
> λυγρήν, ἐξ ἧς πρῶτα καὶ ἡμέας ἵκετο πένθος. (*Od.* 23.215–24)

(Always in my heart I dreaded, lest someone should come and beguile me with words; for many men plot evil schemes. Neither would Argive Helen, daughter of Zeus, have made love to a foreigner, if she knew the warlike sons of the Achaeans would bring her back home to her dear homeland. Indeed, a god prompted her to do a shameful deed; nor did she realise beforehand that ruinous folly (*atē*), from which sorrow first came to us too.)

Penelope imagines her acceptance of her husband as perilously close to the most notorious act of adultery. The gulf between her and Helen attenuates to a slip of judgment. The epic's only direct juxtaposition of the two women is this parallel, which has exercised Homeric scholiasts since antiquity, including the early modern commentator Jean de Sponde.[3] Even more arresting than the choice of comparison, is Penelope's understanding of the problem with Helen's elopement, and thus by extension with her own theoretical adultery, as its consequences.[4] The all-important slip of judgment, she seems to say, amounts to obliviousness to the social dimension of being led astray – to the suffering and social rupture it will bring – not its immorality *per se*. The ancients, worried by the suggestion

that Penelope held off from union with a stranger 'not for love of [her] husband, but out of fear [she] would be made to return to him', explained it as her anxiety that, were she to make a mistake, she 'would need to be recovered at all costs, [her] husband still being alive'.[5] But for George Chapman this moral vacuum needed to be interpreted away: into the '*atē*' Helen understood too late, he read a deeper failure to realise 'that such acts still were shent [i.e. shameful]/ As simply in themselves as in th'event.'[6]

In the world of the *Odyssey*, Penelope's attitude is not strange. When the disguised Odysseus tells Penelope that her good name reaches the heavens, he likens her fame to that of a ruler, under whom the people thrive and land and sea teem with produce. More than a paragon of personal excellence, Homer's Penelope would want to be seen as the bringer-about of social health. Her virtue, like Helen's folly, looks out of itself to its effects. Social well-being and property are important in the *Odyssey*. Penelope's dilemma about whether to remarry is inseparable from social and material realities. She outlines her choices as:

> ἠὲ μένω παρὰ παιδὶ καὶ ἔμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσω,
> κτῆσιν ἐμήν, δμῷάς τε καὶ ὑψερεφὲς μέγα δῶμα,
> εὐνήν τ᾽αἰδομένη πόσιος δήμοιό τε φῆμιν,
> ἦ ἤδη ἅμ᾽ἔπωμαι Ἀχαιῶν ὅς τις ἄριστος
> μνᾶται ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, πορὼν ἀπερείσια ἔδνα (*Od.* 19.525–9)

> ('to stay with my son and keep all things safe, my possessions, slaves, and my great, high-roofed house, respecting my husband's bed and the people's voice, or to go now with whoever is best of the Achaeans, and woos me in the halls with countless bride-gifts.')

Odysseus' bed and the social view of her choice are considered in the same breath. The suitors threaten Penelope not morally, but by consuming the livelihood of Odysseus' house. Her grown son, she says, needs her to leave before the wooers destroy him. These pressures mean that while there is no doubt of her emotional devotion to Odysseus – she never stops grieving and hoping against hope that he will return – this has constantly to compromise with remarriage as something probably inevitable. It is from this position that she deals

with the suitors, ever promising and postponing consent. Penelope's challenge is to remain in charge of the situation until she deems that the point of inevitability has come. And in this balancing act it is not self-control or virtuous morals that are needed, but the kind of shrewdness and mother-wit that her husband wields all the time. These are the attributes Homer gives her. Thus, as the two alternative scenarios – Odysseus' return and the unavoidability of remarriage – are simultaneously deployed almost to the end, what Homer's listeners have witnessed is not a performance of chastity but of a faithfulness preserved beyond expectation, with prudence, tricks and a bit of timely help from Athene. It is only when the poem ends that Penelope can be safely called faithful, and no one seems more aware of it than herself. Her fidelity, her chastity, are states fortunately achieved, not moral qualities, and not the direct or inevitable result of Penelope's emotional attachment to the memory of Odysseus.[7]

   The entry for Penelope in Elyot's dictionary, however, tells the story somewhat differently:

> The ... wyfe of Ulisses, most chaste, wyse and constante aboue all the women of her tyme, who in the xx yeres ... her husbond was absent, she being assaulted with dyuerse wowers ... mought neuer with fayre meanes nor menaces be inducyd to marye, or to consent to commytte any foly.[8]

Between Homer and Elyot, Penelope has been transformed into an exemplar of chastity. Put differently, her fidelity has become internalized. It has been turned from a precarious process to an unwavering moral condition and from a question of social choice to one of sexual conduct. This is the intervention of centuries of Homeric reception. Aristophanes referred to Penelope as the exemplary 'σώφρων' (*sōphrōn*) female, a word whose primary sense here is 'chaste'.[9] This is the image of her stelled by Roman elegy.[10] For Propertius she is 'pia Penelope' (III.13), the antithesis to Roman women schooled in 'luxuria' (III.12), shows disdain for the gifts of amorous ambitions (III.13) and rejects 'lascivious Antinous' (IV.5).[11] Neither the gifts economy, nor the sexual purity comes from the *Odyssey*, where the threats to fidelity are not sexual. Ovid (predictably) explores precisely this angle in the *Heroides*.[12] In Penelope's epistle to Ulysses she talks of lying 'deserto ... frigida lecto' ('cold in my deserted bed', I.7), of her long widow's

nights spent weaving, and of the suitors as lustful: 'Eurimachique avidas Antinoique manus' ('the greedy hands of Eurymachus and Antinous', I.92).[13] Moreover, Ovid writes doubt and sexual jealousy into Penelope's thoughts. She accusingly wonders if Ulysses is 'captus peregrino amore' ('captive to a strange love') and if he speaks of her with contempt as a 'rustica coniunx' ('rustic wife') spinning her wool (I.76–7); she ends with a worry that she will seem an 'old woman' (I.116) to him when he returns. In the humanist response to the letter by Angelus Sabinus, regularly printed with Ovid's text, Ulysses responds to this jealousy, adding some of his own: 'Tot juvenis inter, tot vina liquentia semper/ Hei mihi quid credam? pignore casta manes[?]' ('Amid so many lustie laddes/ and Tossepots to be chaste?/ Alas what should I thinke herein?/ I am full sore agaste.')[14] Deconstructing the paragon, or fleshing out the woman behind it, Ovid crystallizes the issue of her faithfulness as an interior thing, a moral question of resisting temptation. And this Penelope was bequeathed to Renaissance readers, long before they could read Homer.

When Elyot wrote his entry, translation and printing were combining to make the Homeric epics available in the Latin West. Early modern readers' encounter with these works, however, was both motivated and preconditioned by later and better-known authors' rewritings of them. This meant that interest in Homer often brought his texts into cohabitation with un-Homeric sources and concepts. In the case of Penelope, her post-Homeric construction as a chaste paragon became a reason to turn to the second half of the *Odyssey* and rewrite Penelope's story in celebration of chastity. The earliest instance of this must be Giovanni Boccaccio's account of Penelope in *Of Famous Women* as a 'most hallowed example for wives, of inviolate chastity' ('intemerate pudicitie matronis exemplum sanctissimum').[15] Sponsor of the first post-classical Latin translation of Homer, Boccaccio was one of the *Odyssey*'s earliest modern readers.[16] In 'De Penelope', he delights in relating the details of Odysseus' return to Ithaca from the epic. Yet, turning to Penelope, he makes Homer's story pivot on an entirely un-Homeric fixed resolution in Penelope 'to grow old with old Laertes and her son Telemachus in steadfast and most chaste widowhood' ('inter senem Laertem et Thelemacum puerum in castissimam et perpetuam viduitatem senescere').[17] His Odyssean paraphrase in praise of the chaste Penelope marks the beginning of an enduring tradition of retelling Homer's epic.

An English example is Peter Colse's 1596 *Penelope's Complaint: or A Mirrour for wanton minions, Taken out of Homers Odissea*. Colse does paraphrase passages from the *Odyssey* but, where it does not oblige him in his project, he brings in other material, or invents liberally.[18] He makes Penelope, for example, internally debate the possibility of remarriage and decide, satisfyingly:

> No, no, my constant chastity,
> The world throughout about shal ringe
> In prayse of chast Penelope,
> From time, to time, shal al men sing:
> My fame shall mount vnto the skie,
> When Hellens vile defamd shall die.[19]

This is followed by the section 'Her commendation of chastity'.[20] Colse incorporates paraphrases of Ovid's and Sabinus' epistles in the narrative, showing their importance in supplying the drama of chastity that readers wanted to find in the story.[21] The epistles are worked into another such retelling: Giambattista della Porta's *La Penelope*, a play probably composed around 1580 and published in 1591, which stages the 'pudico e sviscerato amore/ di Penelope casta al suo marito' ('modest and passionate love of chaste Penelope for her husband'), from which 'imparar potran tutte le donne/ quali esser denno verso i lor mariti' ('all women may learn how they ought to be toward their husbands').[22] Della Porta paraphrases copiously from the *Odyssey*, but also adds much of his own material. This includes confrontations between Penelope and her father Icarius and between her and the suitors, where she refutes a battery of arguments against fidelity to her long-absent husband (I.823–1047, II.683–735). The accusation (from Ovid) that Ulisse is with a lover making fun of his rustic wife, is placed in the mouth of the suitor Antinoo and answered by the heroine with an unruffled appeal to a double standard for married men and women (II.732–5). There is a possible hint in Homer that the suitors were never going to string Odysseus' bow,[23] but this Penelope tells her trusted ones outright that the entire contest is a ruse, and that she will sooner kill herself than remarry (II.432–5, 599–600, IV.466–80). The mettle of her assertions is tested when, on Ulisse's instructions, Telemaco conceals the suitors' death, and tells Penelope that the bow-contest has produced a champion whom she

is now bound to wed. Thrillingly, she refuses, denounces her son when he insists, and offers her throat to his dagger (V.273–503). Near the end, Ulisse delivers a long eulogy of Penelope as the one woman born to make up for the failings of all the others (V.732–42), and predicts that he will be 'più … famoso e chiaro/ per la chiara e famosa castitade/ di sua moglie Penelope, che fusse/ nomato per le sue fatiche estreme' ('more famous and renowned in the renowned and famous chastity of his wife Penelope, than he was ever called for his greatest toils', V.750–3).

La Penelope's immediate influence can be traced, I believe, in William Gager's *Ulysses Redux* (*Odysseus Returned*), a play composed for performance at Christ Church, Oxford on 6 February 1592, and published the same year.[24] In many ways, Gager's play conforms to the pattern of Odyssean retellings explored thus far. Combining extensive Homeric paraphrase with invented episodes and borrowings from other sources, it shares this tradition's investment in the drama of Penelope's chastity. This heroine opposes arguments for remarriage put to her by the suitor Amphinomus which bear a close resemblance to the sequence of Icarius' case in della Porta; Amphinomus also uses the same Ovidian accusation as della Porta's Antinoo, and is answered with a similar appeal to a double standard (ll. 979–1014, 992–9). Both dramatists elaborate the handmaiden Melantho's dalliance with Eurymachus – in Homer, a betrayal of the integrity of Odysseus' *oikos* – turning her into a wanton foil for her chaste mistress. And moved by watching his wife's behaviour, Gager's Ulysses also muses that 'Non ipsa tamen me Troia…/ …/ Quam casta coniux posteris clarum dabit' ('Not even Troy itself will render me as famous to posterity as my chaste wife will', ll. 1058–60), though he does so here in soliloquy and still in disguise.

For all these similarities, Gager's project significantly differs from this tradition. By contrast with the works considered so far, the play's primary commitment is not to Penelope, but to the *Odyssey*. Gager writes: 'mihi vero, quoad licuit, Homeri vestigiis insistere … religio fuit' ('my fixed plan was to follow Homer's footsteps in so far as I could'), in which 'not tam acumine quam delectu … opus fuit' ('not cleverness but the ability to pick and choose was needed').[25] The 'Prologue' invites Homer to don the 'humilem … soccum' (ll. 21–2, 'humble slipper of comedy'), and a dedicatory epistle to Mary Sidney describes the work as bringing Ulysses 'in scenam iam primum' ('to

the stage for the first time').[26] Gager, that is, sees his play as a stage translation of the *Odyssey*. Indeed, the play works remarkably closely with the language of Homer. Its claim, that Homer 'domui struendae cuncta nobis dedit/ lignumque, caementumque, lapidesque optimos' (ll.2018-19, 'provided us with all the material for building our house: timber, cement, and the best of stone'), speaks accurately to the texture of a work which is an even denser pastiche of the *Odyssey* than its modern editor excavates. Homer's verses, often rendered word for word, are Gager's basic building block as he compresses, reshapes, and rearranges episodes or exchanges for dramatic economy. The sheer number of closely or loosely rendered passages can be said to make the play the first extant translation of the *Odyssey* in England. Beyond this, there is a genuine reluctance by Gager to contradict the plot of the *Odyssey*, even as he introduces changes that hammer home themes like Odysseus' patience or Penelope's chastity. This is what makes it most useful, I believe, to approach the play as a translation. For it opens up the question of the extent to which these changes are interpretations, explications or elaborations less far removed from the writing practice of early modern translation than we will assume if we emphasize the congruities between *Ulysses Redux* and *La Penelope*. How out of place is Gager's chaste heroine in the early modern *Odyssey*? If we compare the play's construction of her with contemporary translations, a striking answer to this question emerges. Considered in this light, Gager's mongrel imitation breaks down my neat distinction between Odyssean translation and whimsical retellings like Colse's, and helps us think closely about translation as the complex process by which the early moderns came to terms with Homer's heroine.

The chaste Penelope slipped into most early modern *Odyssey*s at a very basic level. Homer's heroine is, above all, wise. This is the common ground in the epithets used for her: she is 'περίφρων' (*periphrōn*, 'very prudent'), 'ἐχέφρων' (*echephrōn*, 'thoughtful'), 'πινυτὴ' (*pinutē*, 'discreet'), 'κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα' (*kedna iduia*, 'careful-minded').[27] *Periphrōn* and *echephrōn* are especially associated with Penelope, coupled formulaically with her name 52 and 8 times respectively. Early modern lexicography bears an imprint of this association. The first printed Greek-Latin dictionary renders *echephrōn* as 'prudens' ('prudent'), but Penelope's 'identifier' epithet, *periphrōn*, as 'casta, prudens' ('chaste, prudent').[28] The untypically feminine 'cast*a*' gives away

that Giovanni Crastoni, to whose editorial hand the entry is owed, was thinking of one instance in particular. The gender becomes regularized to 'castus' in later dictionaries,[29] but the interpretation persists. In 1552, moreover, a dictionary incorporating the work of Jacques Toussain brings back the hidden 'example': 'ὀδ. ξ περίφρων πηνελοπεία, i. συνετὴ sapiens, pudica' ('*Od.* 14 *periphrōn* Penelope, i.e., prudent, wise, chaste').[30] It also revises the entry for *echephrōn*, to: 'prudens … capitur & pro casto, vt ὀδ. Δ, ἐχέφρων πηνελοπείη, i. pudica' ('prudent … also taken as chaste, as in *Od.* 4 *echephrōn* Penelope, i.e. chaste').[31] Specifically in connection with Penelope, then, 'wisdom' cannot but alternatively, or additionally, or specifically mean 'chastity'. Steeped in the post-Homeric emblem, these readers project onto the surface of Homer's poem a concern with Penelope's sexual morality separate from (or singled out among) her extraordinary gifts of mind, and endow her with an internal reputation for purity. These things recalibrate the way the epic constructs her fidelity, and introduce connotations potentially at odds with the shrewdness and cunning ('κέρδεα', 'μήδεα', 'δόλους', 'μῆτιν', *Od.* 2.88, 117, 11.445, 19.137, 158) that Penelope epitomizes in her near-impossible feat of keeping Odysseus' household in place ('ἔμπεδ[ον]', *Od.* 11.178). To these lexicographers, Penelope's is an internal moral victory, at least as much as it is a war against the dangerous world narrowly outmanoeuvred by her husband. What they suggest is not simply that people in this period were ready to read the first story into Homer's text, but that they found it virtually impossible not to.

Toussain's interpretations become standard in the numerous dictionaries 'stitched together', in Henri Estienne's words, before his 1572 *Thesaurus linguae graecae*.[32] Estienne did leave out 'chaste' in his own entries, yet the earlier interpretation persisted long after that date.[33] The impact of this history, and of the interpretive phenomenon it captures, on translating the *Odyssey* is immense. As translators include, omit, vary or add Homeric epithets, the attribute of chastity is released like a free radical in the text, creating an underlying assumption about Penelope which it is difficult to overestimate. As late as 1604, the first complete translation into French by Salomon Certon replaced Penelope's attributes with 'sage', 'chaste', 'pudique', or 'prudente', used interchangeably.[34] Lodovico Dolce, in his 1573 *rifacimento* of the *Odyssey* in ottava rima, invented substitutes for Homeric epithets which likewise described Penelope

as 'casta', 'pudica', 'prudente', or 'saggia'.[35] On the other hand, *ad verbum* translations – in which a Latin equivalent was provided for each Greek word in sequence – had always rendered these words as 'prudens' or 'sapiens', showing that this was generally understood to be the literal meaning, with chastity coming in as a strong intended connotation deduced from what 'is known' about Penelope.[36] This 'exceptional' interpretive movement, captured by Toussain's 'also taken as chaste, as in *periphrōn* Penelope', is important. Ronsard, in referring to Hélène as a 'sage Penelope', recreates precisely such a Homeric metonymy: Penelope's 'wisdom' stands for sexual restraint.[37] The same understanding of Homer's language seems to be at work in the early Latin prose translation of Francesco Griffolini (1510), and the Latin hexameter version of Simon Lemnius (1549). Both of them render these words as 'prudens' or 'sapiens' when replicating a sense of the ubiquitous Homeric epithets, yet opt for 'pudica' or even 'castissima' when the context seems to them to activate Penelope's chastity in particular. Suggestively, this often happens when other characters refer to Penelope's fame, which is, in these *Odyssey*s, a fame for sexual modesty. When, for instance, Menelaus' heart is wrung by the thought of '*echephrōn* Penelope' grieving for the absent Odysseus (*Od.* 4.110–11), this is read as a clear reference to her (apparently well-known) chaste living – neither as an otiose adjective, nor as an allusion to the wisdom and resourcefulness that Agamemnon's ghost remembers as having always been her trait (*Od.* 11.445–6).[38] Indeed, Griffolini changes *periphrōn* in this case too, to 'pudica', making Agamemnon's memory coincide with his brother's current knowledge. For his part, Lemnius translates 'ἀγακλειτή' ('renowned', *Od.* 21.275), in Odysseus' address to the 'suitors of the renowned queen', to 'cuius super aethera fama casta uolat' ('whose chaste fame soars above the sky').[39] His readiness to draw in chastity to interpret or elaborate on other parts of the text creates a particularly forceful undertone in this version: here, Theoclymenus addresses Penelope not as 'ὦ γῦναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδησῦος' ('venerable wife of Odysseus', *Od.* 17.152), but as 'coniunx …Vlyssis/ casta' ('chaste wife of Ulysses'); Odysseus in disguise speaks to her not as 'ὦ γῦναι' ('O woman/wife', *Od.* 19.221), but as 'O foemina casta' ('O chaste woman'); and in one of Lemnius' elaborations, even Calypso comes to know that her captive's wife 'per Hellada…/ laude pudicitiae longe … claret' ('is renowned all across Greece for

the glory of her chastity').[40] His Penelope's reputation for chastity goes before her – it is not something the epic is in the process of making. Already an emblem, her actions unfold and are coloured by this moral backdrop. Other translators, too, like Girolamo Baccelli (1582), or, in the last half of his version, Gonzalo Perez (1556), work on the same assumption: Penelope's explicit attributes might denote wisdom, but chastity can be inferred and used in interpretive paraphrase, or ornamentally as metrical padding, surrounding Penelope with what is simply her natural key note.[41]

   This is the Penelope in Gager's stage translation. Hazarding no un-Homeric vow of eternal widowhood, as della Porta's heroine does, Gager's Penelope acts out the shape of life marked out for her by the *Odyssey*, when read as all these interpreters read it. The exchange with Amphinomus elaborates her defining virtue, and her choice to entertain herself with 'Phemii carmen …/ Quod castitati nuper is edidit' (ll. 772-3, 'Phemius' recent song in honour of chastity') sketches out the same moral frame for her existence as the translators' assumptions do. Her reputation for chastity is the talk of Gager's Eurymachus and Melantho, but also of the chorus (ll. 1153–78), who are torn between urging her to set aside 'famam … levem' ('insubstantial … reputation') in favour of marriage, and admiring her remaining 'invicta' by the 'dona … blanditiae, vota, precesque' ('gifts … flattery, oaths, and entreaties') of the suitors, and her own 'bis annis viduus/ Caelebsque torus' ('twenty-years-widowed and lonely bed'). This Penelope, victorious over temptation – over her own internal potential for giving in – is close to the Roman elegists' image, and indeed, she sometimes speaks paraphrases of Ovid's epistle. But it is worth noting that Lemnius also cobbles together his Latin hexameters with echoes of Roman poetry, including Ovid's epistle. Thus, when his Athene says of Penelope, 'Et queritur tardas luctu procedere noctes,/ Atque dies lacrymis sibi luget abire relictae' ('She laments, sorrowing, the slow passage of nights and, abandoned, bewails the passing of days'), this is less a translation of 'ὀϊζυραὶ δέ οἱ αἰεὶ/ φθινίθουσιν νύκτες τε καὶ ἤματα δάκρυ χεούσῃ' (*Od*. 13.337–8, 'her nights and days ever go by wretchedly as she weeps'), than clear allusion to the *Heroides*: 'nec quererer tardos ire relicta dies;/ nec mihi quaerenti spatiosam fallere noctem/ lassaret … manus' (I.8–9, 'I would not, abandoned, be lamenting the passage of long days, nor as I lament, would my hand tire beguiling the long night').[42]

Drawing the *Heroides* and its assumptions into the orbit of the *Odyssey*, Lemnius testifies and adds to the degree to which the worlds of these two works were miscible.

If Gager resists the vow that would short-circuit the plot of the *Odyssey*, he does follow della Porta in another change to Penelope's Homeric story. Commentators since antiquity have been puzzled by the incident in *Odyssey* 18.158–303, where Penelope, inspired by Athene, shows herself to the suitors, loosening their knees with desire, and after announcing that the dreaded time has come for her to remarry, elicits 'splendid gifts' from them. Her motivations (beyond the goddess' influence) are famously opaque: she could be playing for time as she always has done, or moving actively towards remarriage in the wake of Telemachus' maturity.[43] The thoughts of Odysseus, who is present there in disguise, are only a little clearer: 'he rejoiced, because she drew gifts from them, and charmed their heart with sweet words, yet her mind was set on other things' ('γήθησεν … / οὕνεκα τῶν μὲν δῶρα παρέλκετο, θέλγε δε θυμὸν/ μειλιχίοισ' ἐπέεσσι, νόος δέ οἱ ἄλλα μενοίνα', *Od.* 18.281–3). What he guesses her thinking to be exactly, there is no telling. But whatever else is on her mind, Penelope also succeeds in reversing the flow of property from the household brought about by the wooers' long demands on her hospitality. And in the *Odyssey*, which emphasizes the gifts Menelaus garnered on his travels back from Troy, and those prudently stowed away by Odysseus before he attempts to regain his home, a shrewd honour attaches to this achievement. Not so for the early modern Penelope. Reaching this episode, Orazio Lombardelli noted in his copy of the *Odyssey*, that it is decidedly inappropriate for women to accept gifts, referencing his own conduct-book for married women.[44] Sponde noted: 'Mirari soleo, cur hac de causa Vlysses laetaretur. Quid enim nisi omnia sinistra de vxore poterat suspicari, quae non solum suauitate verborum procos deliniret, sed dona etiam ab ipsis acciperet?' ('I am inclined to wonder why Ulysses could have rejoiced on this account. For what except every impropriety could he suspect of a wife, who not only seduced them with the sweetness of her words, but also accepted gifts from them?') To which he adduced this proverb: 'Femme qui donne/ Elle s'abandonne/ Femme qui prend/ Elle se rend.' ('A woman who gives, lets herself go; a woman who takes, gives herself up.')[45] Della Porta and Gager inherit this anxiety: both displace the idea of accepting gifts onto her handmaidens, in contrast to their chaste mistress.

   If this seems a violent departure from the *Odyssey*, a look at early modern translations should make us think again. In Dolce's *rifacimento*, for instance, Penelope's wheedling of gifts disappears. Instead, Penelope indicates that the hateful time for remarriage may be near, and launches into a tirade against the suitors, who contend for her hand at her expense, and who, she predicts, 'hauranno … nel fine/ Giusta punition' ('will receive just punishment … in the end'); much more understandably, these words 'Fur molto à Ulisse … grate' ('were very pleasing to Ulisse').[46] In removing Penelope's reference to gifts, Dolce is simply streamlining what he considers to be the drift of the *Odyssey* here. These are her words in Homer:

> μνηστήρων οὐχ ἥδε δίκη τὸ πάροιθε τέτυκτο,
> οἵ τ᾽ ἀγαθήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ ἀφνειοῖο θύγατρα
> μνηστεύειν ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἀλλήλοισ᾽ ἐρίσωσιν·
> αὐτοὶ τοί γ᾽ ἀπάγουσι βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα
> κούρης δαῖτα φίλοισι, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδοῦσιν·
> ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀλλότριον βίοτον νήποινον ἔδουσιν. (*Od.* 18.275–80)

(This has not been the custom (*dikē*), before, of suitors who wish to vie with each other in wooing a noble woman, and the daughter of a rich man. These men bring (*apagousi*) cattle and fine sheep to make feasts for the girl's family, and offer splendid gifts; they do not consume the wealth of another without paying anything back (*nēpoinon*).)

And this is how the *Odyssey*'s first non-*ad-verbum* translator, Raphael Volaterranus, rendered the passage:

Proci enim contra ius fasque iamdiu optimam foeminam ac fortunati uiri filiam in matrimonio certatim petunt atque inter se contendunt. Ipsi boues & oues pingues absumunt dantque epulas & egregia dona puellae amicis sed non impune alienam deuorant rem.[47]

(Against what is just and lawful, for a long time now the suitors seek and vie with each other to have a most noble woman and the daughter of a wealthy man in marriage. These men take away her cattle and sheep and offer feasts and splendid gifts to her friends – yet they are not consuming her livelihood with impunity.)

Instead of suggesting that the suitors should woo her properly, by vying with each other in their offers of gifts to herself and feasts laid out for her family, Volaterranus' Penelope denounces their unseemly competitive wooing, including corrupting her friends with gifts. Volaterranus' reading results from a mixture of ambiguous diction – '*apagousi*' could mean 'they take away [her cattle]' or 'bring [theirs] with them', '*nēpoinon*' could be 'without repayment' or 'with impunity' – and actual misprision: to take *dikē* as 'justice' rather than 'custom', Homeric usage, the pronoun 'ἥδε', and the switch from subjunctive to indicative in *Od.* 18.277–9, all need to be ignored.[48] It is a strikingly off-the-mark interpretation, underpinned by the 'context': the need to rescue the chaste Penelope from an unlikely indecency. And it persists through the epic's translations – from Griffolini, to Lemnius, to Perez, and Dolce – all the way to Baccelli in 1582.[49] The *ad verbum* translations follow suit up until Sponde's 1583 edition.[50] As translators pursue its implications, moreover, even stranger effects ensue. Lemnius' Penelope elaborates what is wrong with their wooing: 'driven by the flames of their lust, they pursue … a chaste wife in marriage, and urge an unlawful union and wedding' ('flammisque libidinis acti/ … castamque maritam/ Coniugio affectant, inconcessosque Hymenaeos/ Et taedas properant').[51] Their wooing is not only an indecorous affront to her status, but, more fundamentally, an assault on the chastity of her wedlock. Lombardelli, who was reading this version, understandably continued his comment on the suitors' gift-giving – no longer solicited, but presumably an ill-judged attempt to placate her – by approvingly noting 'Penelope's action in departing without giving thanks'. And Griffolini, considering that Penelope does not intentionally extract gifts from the wooers, makes Odysseus glad instead because he heard her '[put to one side, i.e.] scorn the wealth they made much of' ('eorum deam negligentem'), interpreting perhaps the verb 'παρέλκομαι' ('to draw aside') as rationally as he can.[52]

Until 1583, then, the early modern Penelope did not elicit gifts, and even came on occasion to scorn them by a process of translation. It is probably through a combination of translation and artistic embellishment that della Porta's heroine, conceived around 1580, does the same, in the context of rejecting an 'old maid's' intercession between her and the wooers (II.96–182). In 1592, Gager's Penelope is not directly involved in the gifts discourse. Rather, Melantho, who

acts as both lover and wooing-advisor to Eurymachus, says this to him: 'Parca … iuvenum cohors/ Venistis, et quos Veneris haud tantum iuvat,/ Quantum culinae cura. Munificas manus/ Diligimus[.]' (ll. 1093–6, 'Your stingy band arrived here not interested in love, but in our kitchen. We women adore generosity.') The Homeric Penelope's troubling words have been displaced onto her. What is utterly surprising, however, is how much Gager seems to enjoy what Homer's Penelope now seems to say to the wooers, even as he disambiguates his own heroine from her immodest predecessor. In the voice of a woman of the world, Penelope's tone as she wheedles back her property (a tone that sounds differently to Homer's Odysseus than to the suitors) comes across as witty, arch, altogether irresistible. Poised between suppression and translation, between disapproval and fascination with this new Penelope, Gager represents that shocked moment, shared by Sponde, before engagement with the passage begins to look for ways of making it palatable. The expansive prose translator Claude Boîtel captures this shift, when he incorporates Sponde's disapproving observations in his rendition of Odysseus' reaction, but continues: 'neantmoins Vlysse qui auoit vne grande confiance en sa femme, iugea qu'il y auoit de la tromperie & fallace' ('nevertheless, Ulysses, who had great faith in his wife, judged that there was guile and trickery [in her actions].')[53] In the margin, he reassures readers that: 'Penelope bien qu'elle receust les presens, neantmoins conseruoit sa chasteté, à preiudice du commun prouerbe, femme qui prend elle se rend. Vlysse n'estois pas jaloux.' ('Penelope, despite accepting gifts, nevertheless preserved her chastity, contrary to the common proverb "Femme qui prend elle se rend." Odysseus was not jealous.')

But Odysseus' 'jealousy' *is* aroused in the one other moment censored by both della Porta and Gager: the test of the bed. When Homer's Penelope first stands uncertain before the man who might be Odysseus – at what she will later describe as the juncture that Helen mistook – she reassures Telemachus that the truth will out: 'for there are tokens between us, which we two know, hidden from everyone else' (*Od.* 23.109–10, 'ἔστι γὰρ ἥμιν/ σήμαθ᾽, ἃ δὴ καὶ νῶϊ κεκρυμμένα ἴδμεν ἀπ᾽ἄλλων'). At this point, Odysseus smiles (*Od.* 23.111, 'μείδησεν'), little suspecting that she has a different plan. Later, as she still holds off, he exasperatedly asks the nurse to prepare him a bed, and this is when, instead of initiating the exchange of

tokens she had led him to expect, Penelope catches him off guard. She asks for a bed to be laid outside their bedchamber, implying that this bedchamber, built by Odysseus, and into which only he, Penelope and the maid Actoris have ever been allowed, has been interfered with. Her 'ἔπος θυμαλγές' (*Od.* 23.183, 'heart-grieving words') elicit a 'spontaneous indignation' from him that betrays not just his private knowledge, but also the 'authenticity of his knowledge'.[54] She accesses the emotional correlative only Odysseus could feel. To prove who he is Odysseus needs to feel pain.

This is all the more strange, and all the more awkward for Odysseus, because she seems also to accept that he is her husband.[55]

> δαιμόνι᾽, οὔ γάρ τι μεγαλίζομαι οὐδ᾽ ἀθερίζω
> οὐδὲ λίην ἄγαμαι, μάλα δ᾽ εὖ οἶδ᾽ οἷος ἔησθα
> ἐξ Ἰθάκης ἐπὶ νηὸς ἰὼν δολιχηρέτμοιο.
> ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε οἱ στόρεσον πυκινὸν λέχος, Εὐρύκλεια,
> ἐκτὸς ἐϋσταθέος θαλάμου, τόν ῥ᾽αὐτὸς ἐποίει· (*Od.* 23.174–8)

(*Daimonie* [answering Odysseus' reproach of her as *daimoniē* (roughly, 'strange creature' at *Od.* 23.166)], I am not at all acting proud or being contemptuous, nor am I unduly impressed [by you], for I know very well what kind of man you were when you went away from Ithaca on the long-oared ship. But come, Euryclea, lay a thick bed for him outside the well-pillared chamber which he himself built.)

Her echo of his *daimoniē*, her reference, using the second person, to the memory of their separation, her stress on this present man's claim to the bedchamber, all establish the old relationship so that crisis can be created within it: first because of her un-abating cold-ness, and then by what she reveals, with such unthinkable matter-of-factness. The closeness gives this moment a distinctly awkward edge. Even more than her false suggestion of betrayal, this fabricated conjugal estrangement jars gratuitously in the move toward reunion. Her unflinching determination in creating it, commensurate with the threat she is fighting, is a suggestion of what it took to get Penelope this far. Arguably, the recognition never fully recovers from the implications of her mistrust. 'The scene of disclosure,' writes

Michelle Zerba, 'remains so embedded in the circumstantial and conditional nature of the world of which it is a part, that the faith of its protagonists continues to appear as an element of a scenario that could have been otherwise.'[56]

Renaissance readers were ill at ease with all this. With the memory of the Martin Guerre affair still fresh, Sponde comments approvingly on Penelope's wariness but stays silent about her tactics.[57] Boccaccio chose to forget about this episode in the heroine's life, and Dolce replaced it with an epiphany in which Athene, praising Penelope's chastity, assures her of Ulisse's identity.[58] Most often, translators mitigate the extent of Penelope's deception, and therefore of Odysseus' disorientation and distress. For example, by correcting two of Homer's prepositions, Volaterranus makes Penelope address this man as the beggar she knows him for: 'noui qualis fuisti quum apud Ithacam e naue descendisti' ('I know what sort of man you were when you landed on Ithaca from your ship').[59] Perez has her speak to him first as 'Señor' ('Sir'), and then pointedly say 'se ben qual era mi marido' ('I know well what sort of man my husband was'), this same true husband also being the man who built the bed.[60] Her distinction, unwarranted by the text, gives Odysseus a hint of warning and softens the sheer cold nerve of her performance. Certon does something similar by re-interpreting the first part of her speech. His Penelope explains that though she will not 'aller si viste faire chere/ Ny caresser vn homme' ('hasten to make much of or entertain a man'), neither is she 'Si pleine de dedain, que de ne faire cas/ Des homes de respect' ('so full of disdain as to pay no attention to respectable men').[61] Her offer of a bed is framed as general good manners, before the test is administered. It is only a small step from here to Boîtel, who, ever happier to depart from the words of the text, simply makes the whole speech addressed to an 'homme de merite' ('a man of merit'), with whom Penelope plainly confesses not to have 'aucune cognoissance' ('any acquaintance').[62]

There is a strong urge, then, to sweeten and indeed rationalize the episode, to temper the bitter perversity of Penelope's mistrust. The sheer variety of ways by which translators arrive at the same effect suggests that this interpretive desire, a sense of what Penelope would say, precedes the reading of her language. The same urge is given freer rein in della Porta and Gager. Della Porta's Penelope shows her hand by admitting up front that 'Che Ulisse sia no 'l niego né 'l

consento' ('That he is Ulisse, I neither deny nor accept', V.669), and even explains in advance that she will not be like Helen, who 'sol per aver troppo creduto cadde/ … nell'error dove ella cade' ('only for believing too easily fell into the error she fell into', V.662–3). Thus forewarned, Ulisse both passes the test of the bed and immediately sees through it: far from being 'heart-grieving', her lie causes no real pain, and the test goes immediately to her credit. Gager goes even further in the direction of rationalization. Addressing the man as 'quisquis es' ('whoever you are'), his Penelope also notes that 'praepropera saepe foeminis nocuit fides/ Et castitati saepe tendun-tur plagae' (ll. 1933–4, 'hasty trust is often harmful, and snares are often being set for a woman's chastity') – abstracting, that is, the moral from Helen's story – before going on to ask openly for a 'nota/ quae lateat omnes, et virum verum arguat' (ll.1940–1, 'token which is unknown to everyone else, and which would prove you my true husband'). She resolves the plot in exactly the way Homer's Penelope had said she would do, when she caused Odysseus to 'smile'. The bitter tinge of the episode is entirely removed.

Another way of coming to terms with Penelope's test is to interpret what it shows or confirms about the heroine. Della Porta's Ulisse does this most profusely, when he bursts at this point into his eulogy of Penelope as a pearl of chastity. We do, in fact, get something like Odysseus' perspective on the test in Homer, and this is where transla-tors can create a similar effect. As Penelope throws her arms around him and explains, in tears, why she hesitated, Odysseus 'wept, hold-ing his [or 'having a'] dear, *kedna iduian* wife' (Od. 23.232 'κλαῖε δ'ἔχων ἄλοχον θυμαρέα, κεδνὰ ἰδυῖαν'). The last attribute, which has always elicited varying interpretations, can make a great differ-ence to the shape of Penelope's story.[63] *Ad verbum* translators of this period render it as 'prudentias sciens' ('knowing prudence'), a focus often retained in other versions.[64] To some interpreters, however, it seemed that particular aspects of Penelope's wisdom are being singled out at this moment of closure. Boîtel's Ulysses, for instance, was reassured of his wife's kindness: 'il pleuroit voyant sa Penelope si sage & courtoise, auec l'amitié qu'elle lui portoit, encores bien qu'il fust en vieillesse' ('he wept, seeing his Penelope so prudent and courteous, who was so kind to him, even as an old man').[65] Others hesitated between wisdom and chastity, opting for both.[66] Thus, Chapman Englished Penelope's attributes as 'a wife so fit/ For his

grave minde, that knew his depth of wit, / And held chaste virtue at a price so high'.[67] Lemnius went for 'virtutis amantem' ('who loved virtue'), before dwelling on the chaste bedchamber Odysseus was regaining.[68] The difference translation makes here to the ending of Penelope's story can perhaps best be described as a question of genre. If Odysseus and/or the narrator are thinking back here to the virtues tested and found good in the heroine – her chastity, courtesy or good sense – then the mood is one of celebration. But if they reflect, by an emphasis on her prudence, on the extraordinary situation that makes Penelope's 'heart-grieving' cunning and mistrust necessary, then Penelope's story ends very differently. This then becomes one of several moments when the reunion of Book 23 feels strongly like a 'scenario that could have been otherwise'. Penelope's shunning of the returned Odysseus, the precautionary mock-celebrations that make Ithacans imagine she has remarried, her own false allusion to betrayal, all insist, as Penelope's comparison to Helen does, on the palpable reality of the possibility that did not come to be. Odysseus' mingling of joy and tears in this case has a different quality from that in della Porta's story of the chaste Penelope. Most early modern *Odyssey*s, as we have seen, told an admixture of both stories.

This matters especially because the *Odyssey* was seen in contemporary genre theory as a classical precedent for what Giambattista Giraldi Cinzio called 'tragedie liete' ('happy tragedies') or 'tragedie di fin lieto' ('tragedies with a happy ending').[69] Della Porta and Gager were both aware of this. *La Penelope*, touted in the 'Prologo' as the first modern 'tragicomedia', no doubt influenced Gager's defence of *Ulysses Redux* as a 'tragedia' with a 'laetum … exitum' ('happy ending') in an epistle 'Ad Criticum'.[70] Gager goes on pointedly to offer Homer the 'soccum' of comedy rather than the 'cothurnum' of tragedy, and declares that no one would dress up the *Odyssey* in Senecan garb. The mingling of tragedy and comedy in his staged *Odyssey* was evidently something he thought about with care. In constructing his own happy ending, he went in a different direction from della Porta. Where, in della Porta's play, the tragicomic quality of the *Odyssey* comes to be defined by the move from suffering to the triumphal celebration of Penelope as a miracle of chastity, Gager's stage *Odyssey* ends quietly, with Ulysses and Penelope reflecting on the 'limitless joy' and 'endless weeping' of having 'attained the threshold of old age with shared hope' (ll.1973–4, 'mutua spe

limen hoc aevi ultimum/ attigimus'). A lot in Homer's final books could have set this tone of quiet joy and moving reserve. But I think Penelope's comparison of herself with Helen played a part too. For, having abstracted an untroubling moral lesson from it in his sweet recognition scene, Gager returns to it in the final chorus. Striking a light note, the chorus here playfully muse that, in fact, Penelope and Helen are quite similar, since both of them were the cause of bloodshed; then, thinking again, they decide that it was men who brought about the slaughter: 'And so, if neither a good wife or a bad is harmful, I pray that God bless us with both these good things' (ll.2007–8, 'ergo si noceat nec bona nec mala/ nos utroque Deus quaeso beet bono'). Gager draws the paradox of Penelope's comparison to Helen on the basis of 'consequences' to its absurd limits: he did not stop thinking about it after explicating it morally, but mulled over its strangeness and the implications of this strangeness. One of the greatest rewards of looking at the *Ulysses Redux* as a stage translation of the *Odyssey* is that it captures that moment in the work of translation when the text points the translator towards mysterious and unsettling possibilities, which may end up being censored, but which nevertheless leave a trace. It shows Homer's heroine forcing her early modern readers to recognize that the chaste Penelope may have more tricks up her sleeve.

Notes

1 Pierre de Ronsard, *Oeuvres Complètes*, edited by J. Céard *et al.*, 2 vols (Paris, 1993), Vol. I, p. 386 (ll. 9–14); translation adapted from Pierre de Ronsard, *Selected Poems*, edited and translated by Malcolm Quainton and Elizabeth Vinestock (Harmondsworth, 2002), p. 41. Where not otherwise indicated translations in this chapter are by the present author.

2 All references are to Homer, *Odyssea*, edited by P. Von der Mühll (Berlin, 2010).

3 Compare *Od*. 11.436–9, the one other juxtaposition. See Homer, *Quae extant omnia*, edited by Jean de Sponde, 2 vols (Basle, 1583), Vol. II, p. 327; henceforth, Sponde. For an important analysis of the Helen paradigm in the epic, see Marilyn A. Katz, *Penelope's Renown: Meaning and Indeterminacy in the 'Odyssey'* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), pp. 183–91 and *passim*. Recent readings include Hanna M. Roisman, 'Penelope's Indignation', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 117 (1987), 59–68, Patricia

Marquardt, 'Penelope ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΠΟΣ', *American Journal of Philology*, 106 (1985), 32–48 (pp. 42–6), and H. C. Fredricksmeyer, 'Penelope *Polutropos*: The Crux at *Odyssey* 23.218–24', *American Journal of Philology*, 118 (1997), 487–97.

4　As emphasized in Kathleen Morgan, '*Odyssey* 23.218–24: Adultery, Shame, and Marriage', *American Journal of Philology*, 112 (1991), 1–3.

5　Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, edited by J. G. Stallbaum, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1825), II, 305 ('οὐ πόθῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀλλὰ φόβῳ τοῦ ἐπανακάμψαι εἰς αὐτὸν'; 'ἀνάγκη πάντως ἦν ἐπανασωθῆναί με ζῶντι τῷ κουριδίῳ ἀνδρί').

6　G. Chapman, *The Odyssey*, edited by Allardyce Nicoll (Princeton, NJ, 2000).

7　On Penelope's choices, see Sheila Murnaghan, *Disguise and Recognition in the 'Odyssey'* (Princeton, NJ, 1987), pp. 118–47; Katz; Nancy Felson-Rubin, *Regarding Penelope: From Character to Poetics* (Princeton, NJ, 1994); Helene P. Foley, 'Penelope as Moral Agent', in *The Distaff Side: Representing the Female in Homer's 'Odyssey'*, edited by Beth Cohen (Oxford, 1995), pp. 93–115; and Richard Heitman, *Taking Her Seriously: Penelope and the Plot of Homer's 'Odyssey'* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2005). Notably, Murnaghan sees in Penelope 'the difference between a character's actions when they are seen as part of a coherent and finished plot and as experienced by that character as events unfold' (p. 128). For Katz, who positions herself between neoanalysis and the unitarians, 'the interpretive issue in the poem is constituted by the disjunction between the two conflicting directions of narrative action, and … this discordance should be regarded as meaningful.' (p. 10). On Penelope and cunning or *mētis*, see Ioanna Papadopoulou-Belmehdi, *Le Chant de Pénélope* (Paris, 1994) and Barbara Clayton, *A Penelopean Poetics: Reweaving the Feminine in Homer's 'Odyssey'* (Lanham, MD, 2004), pp. 21–52.

8　Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (London, 1542), sig. Bb iii^v (*s.v.* 'Penelope').

9　Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, edited by Colin Austin and S. Douglas Olson (Oxford, 2004), ll. 548–49 and pp. 214–15. On *sōphrōn* here, see Helen North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Ithaca, NY, 1966), p. 99. The fact that *sōphrōn* can mean both 'chaste' and 'wise' (though always the latter in Homer, as noted in ibid. pp. 1–9), may have contributed to the lexicographical phenomenon described below.

10　See Marie-Madeleine Mactoux, *Pénélope: légende et mythe* (Paris, 1975), esp. pp. 127–40.

11　Propertius, *Elegiae*, edited and translated by G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1990).

12　See H. Jacobson, *Ovid's 'Heroides'* (Princeton, NJ, 1974).

13　Ovid, *Heroides, Amores*, edited by G. P. Goold and translated by G. Showerman (Cambridge, MA, 1977).

14　Ovid *et al.*, *Amatoria: Heroidum Epistolae. Auli Sabini, epistolae tres [etc.]* (Basle, 1541), p. 169; G. Turberville, *The Heroycall Epistles of the Learned*

Poet Publius Ouidius Naso with A. Sabinus Aunsweres ([London], [1567]), p. 149ᵛ. On Angelus Sabinus and the Ulysses reply, see P. White, *Renaissance Postscripts: Responding to Ovid's 'Heroides' in Sixteenth-Century France* (Columbus, OH, 2009), pp. 191–9, 223–9.

15 Giovanni Boccaccio, 'De Penelope Ulixis coniuge', in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vol. 10: *De mulieribus claris*, edited and translated by Vittorio Zaccaria (Milan, 1967), pp. 160–5 (p. 160).

16 Marianne Pade, 'The Fortuna of Leontius Pilatus's Homer. With an Edition of Pier Candido Decembrio's "Why Homer's Greek Verses are Rendered in Latin Prose"', in *Classica et Beneventana: Essays Presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday*, edited by F. T. Coulson and A. Grotans (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 149–72 (pp. 149–52).

17 Boccaccio, p. 162.

18 Peter Colse, *Penelopes Complaint: or, A Mirrour for Wanton Minions. Taken out of Homers Odissea, and written in English Verse* (London, 1596); see sigs Fʳ–ᵛ, G3ᵛ–Hᵛ for the passages closest to the *Odyssey*.

19 Ibid., sig. Eᵛ.

20 Ibid., sigs Eᵛ–E2ʳ.

21 Ibid., sigs E4ʳ–Fʳ, F3ᵛ–Gʳ.

22 Giambattista della Porta, *La Penelope, tragicomedia* (Naples, 1591). On the date of the play, see Louise George Clubb, *Giambattista della Porta: Dramatist* (Princeton, NJ, 1965), p. 88. My references are to act and line numbers in Giambattista della Porta, *Teatro*, Vol. 1: *Tragedie*, edited by Raffaele Sirri (Naples, 1978), 'Prologo' 52–3, 56–7.

23 The disguised Odysseus ambiguously advises Penelope to set the contest because her husband will be back 'before they ever handle the well-wrought bow and bend the string' (*Od.* 19.584–7).

24 The only critical edition of the play is William Gager, *The Complete Works*, Vol. 2: *The Shrovetide Plays*, edited and translated by Dana F. Sutton (New York, 1994). References are to line numbers in this edition and translations adapted from those of Sutton. Critical accounts of the play are scarce. See (the still indispensable) Frederic S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 201–19; James W. Binns, 'William Gager's *Meleager* and *Ulysses Redux*' in *The Drama of the Renaissance: Essays for Leicester Bradner*, edited by Elmer M. Blistein (Providence, RI, 1970), pp. 27–41; and Howard B. Norland, *Neoclassical Tragedy in Elizabethan England* (Newark, DE, 2009), esp. pp. 180–92.

25 Gager, pp. 22, 24.

26 Ibid., p. 14.

27 The entries in Liddell, Scott and Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (*LSJ*) and Georg Autenrieth, *A Homeric Dictionary* (New York, 1891) have: 'περίφρων' 'very thoughtful or prudent'; 'ἐχέφρων': 'thoughtful, prudent' (Autenrieth), 'sensible, prudent' (*LSJ*); 'πινυτὴ' 'prudent, discreet'; 'κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα': 'careful-minded' (Autenrieth), 'true-minded' (*LSJ*). Many translations have captured the feel or aspects of these words more acutely than these, but this seems not the place to discuss them.

28   Giovanni Crastoni, ed. [*Lexicon graeco-latinum*] ([Milan], [before 1478]), sigs Sii[v], CC vii[v]. It persists in further dictionaries based on Crastoni: e.g. *Dictionarium grecum copiosissimum* (Venice, 1498), sigs i ii[r], E ii[v]; and *Lexicon Graecolatinum* (Paris, 1512), pp. 171, 330. On Greek lexicography in this period, see Paul Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts* (Philadelphia, PA, 2010), pp. 61–70, 155–62 and Pascale Hummel, *De lingua Graeca: histoire de l'histoire de la langue grecque* (Bern, 2007), pp. 526–40, though the latter is not free of errors.

29   Probably starting with *Dictionarium graecum*, edited by Valentinus Curius (Basle, 1519), fol. 119[r].

30   Jacques Toussaint, *Lexicon Graecolatinum* (Paris, 1552), sig. EEe iii[v]. Toussain died before the *Lexicon* was printed by Charlotte Guillard. On his sources, see Considine, pp. 37–38.

31   Ibid., sig. zz iii[r].

32   They appear in *Lexicon sive Dictionarium Graecolatinum*, edited by Robertus Constantinus ([Geneva], 1562), which becomes the basis for numerous dictionaries into the next century; see pp. 800, 1425. For Estienne's predecessors as 'miseri isti βαρβαρολεξικοσυρραπτάδαι' ('that miserable kin of stitchers-together of barbaric dictionaries'), see H. Estienne, *Epistola … de suo Thesauro linguae graecae* ([Geneva], 1569), p. 15.

33   H. Estienne, *Thesaurus linguae graecae*, 5 vols ([Geneva], 1572), IV, 201, V (= *Appendix*), 997. Only Johannes Scapula's dictionary, intended as the poor man's *Thesaurus*, seems to have adopted Estienne's correction.

34   See Salomon Certon, *L'Odyssee d'Homere* (Paris, 1604), e.g., fols 165[v], 233[r], 234[r], 249[r], 253[v] ('sage'), 231[v], 247[v], 248[r] ('chaste'), 63[r], 192[r], 197[v] ('pudique'), 72[v] ('dont grande est la pudicité'), 308[v] ('prudente'), 261[v] ('celebree en prudence'), 266[r] ('prudente et sage'), 266[v], 309[v] ('chaste et sage'), 282[r] ('sage Penelope en pudicité rare'), and 165[v] ('toute honnesteté/ Tout honneur loge en …/ La sage Penelope' at *Od.* 11.445–6).

35   Lodovico Dolce, *L'Ulisse* (Venice, 1573), see, e.g., pp. 3, 113, 115, 125, 144, 151, 168, 171 ('casta'), 164 ('castissima'), 3, 171 ('pudica'), 42, 132, 155 ('prudente'), 121 ('buona e di chiaro intelletto'), 151 ('bella, saggia, e pellegrina'), 6 ('la più saggia matrona,/ e la più casta e più gentile'), 96 ('casta e púdica', 'sen viue con modesta/ vita, e ogni lasciuia gliè nimica'), 125 ('vi[v]e casta e paziente'), 150 ('di senno di valor di castitate').

36   Starting with Leonzio Pilato, who always uses 'prudens', 'sapiens' or 'scientifica'; see Cambridge UL MS Mm.3.4 e.g. fols 6[r], 127[v] and 132[v] respectively. The first *ad verbum* translation almost always has 'prudens', less frequently 'perprudens' or 'prudentia sciens', and 'casta' just once, in what must be a telling oversight: see Andreas Divus, *Homeri poetae clarissimi Odyssea* (Venice, 1537) e.g., fols 8[v], 155[v], 202[r] and 129[r]. Sponde regularizes to 'prudens' (for all of these words) and 'prudentias sciens' for 'κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα' (e.g., p. 323).

37   All the examples in Robert Estienne, *Dictionaire francoislatin* (Paris, 1539), p. 442 *s.v.* 'sage' relate to prudence. Note, however, that Randle Cotgrave,

A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (London, 1611), sig. Bbbb iiiʳ *s.v.* 'sage' has 'sage, wise, discreet, advised, understanding' but also the example '*Elle est bien sage.* She is very honest.'

38   [Francesco Griffolini], *Homeri poetarvm clarissimi Odyssea*, edited by Georgius Maxillus (Strasbourg, 1510), fol. 8ᵛ (compare, e.g., fols 3ᵛ, 31ʳ, 42ʳ); Simon Lemnius, *Odysseae Homeri libri XXIIII* (Basle, 1549), p. 83 (compare, e.g., pp. 530, 556, 594).

39   Lemnius, p. 592.

40   Ibid., pp. 471, 532, 139. Examples could be multiplied.

41   In the first half of his *Ulyxea*, Perez rendered all of Penelope's attributes as 'casta'. He then 'corrected' this to 'prudente' and 'sabia', but suggestively, 'casta' re-emerges at this stage, not as a translation of the epithets but as an elaboration authorized by the context. (Gonzalo Perez, *La Ulyxea de Homero* (Antwerp, 1556), 'casta' from fol. 14ʳ; 'prudente' from fol. 200ᵛ; 'sabia' from fol. 308ʳ with 'casta' recurring, e.g., on fols 254ᵛ, 363ᵛ, 386ᵛ.) Baccelli drew on his Spanish predecessor, but carefully rendered the Homeric epithets from the start as 'saggia' or 'prudente'. At the same time, he allowed in any number of added ornamental references to the heroine 'casta' (Girolamo Baccelli, *L'Odissea d'Homero* (Florence, 1582), e.g., pp. 20, 88 ('saggia' for *periphrōn*), 124, 132 ('casta' added ornamentally).

42   Lemnius, p. 376.

43   On Penelope's appearance before the wooers, see, e.g., Katz, pp. 78–93 (including an account of the episode's critical reception); Murnaghan, pp. 130–3; Felson-Rubin, pp. 28–9; Foley, p. 103; Froma I. Zeitlin, 'Figuring Fidelity in Homer's *Odyssey*', in *The Distaff Side*, pp. 117–52, (pp. 138–41); Irene J. F. de Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the 'Odyssey'* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 444–51; and Heitman, pp. 43–9.

44   BL C.66.b.2 (= Lemnius), p. 515 (note at *Od*. 18.287): '"Turpe recusare munera." Sed num deceat excipere foeminam, in dubio est; uel potius non dubium, dedecere. Vide opusculum de officio muliebris nuptae; & Penelopes actum abeuntis non actis gratijs, perpende. Opusculum illus scripsit Horatius Lombardellus qui et haec scholia.' ('"It is shameful to refuse gifts." Yet it is doubtful if whether it befits a woman to accept gifts, or rather it is undoubtedly not appropriate. See the little work on the duties of a married woman; and note Penelope's action in departing without giving thanks. The little work [i.e., Orazio Lombardelli, *Dell'uffizio della donna maritata* (Florence, 1583)] was written by the same Orazio Lombardelli who is the author of these comments.')

45   Sponde, Vol. II, p. 268.

46   Dolce, p. 142.

47   Raphael Volaterranus, *Odissea Homeri* (Rome, 1510), sig. Nviᵛ.

48   On the Homeric meaning of *dikē*, see Joseph Russo, *et al.*, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, Vol. 3: *Books XVII–XXIV* (Oxford, 1993), p. 66.

49   Griffolini, fol. 40ʳ; Lemnius, pp. 514–15; Perez, fols 334ʳ–ᵛ.

50   Sponde, Vol. II, p. 165.

51 Lemnius, p. 514. Compare Perez, fol. 334[r]: 'quieren, y procuran, que por fuerça/ Se case vna muger de mi manera,/ Y de mi honestidad, hija de vn hombre/ Tan rico, y de valor'.

52 [Griffolini], fol. 40[r]. If this is in any way a translation of the Greek, the suitors' 'dea' ('goddess') is presumably Pecunia, the goddess of riches.

53 Claude Boîtel, *L'Odissee d'Homere* (Paris, 1617), pp. 142–3.

54 Zeitlin, p. 122. Other analyses include Chris Emlyn-Jones, 'The Renunion of Penelope and Odysseus', *Greece and Rome*, 31 (1984), 1–18; Murnaghan, pp. 139–44; Katz, pp. 154–91; Felson-Rubin, pp. 38–9; Heitman, pp. 85–100; and Michelle Zerba, 'What Penelope Knew: Doubt and Scepticism in the *Odyssey*', *Classical Quarterly*, 59 (2009), 296–316, (pp. 313–16).

55 This aspect of the episode's dramatic dynamics is not often discussed, though de Jong notes that: 'Penelope admits that she recognises him, but still does not acknowledge him.' (p. 556)

56 Zerba, p. 315.

57 Sponde, Vol. II, p. 326.

58 Dolce, p. 170.

59 Volaterranus, sig. Q iii[v].

60 Perez, fol. 415[r]. Less intrusively, Lemnius makes her name Odysseus at the end, as the maker of the bed (p. 635).

61 Certon, p. 308.

62 Boîtel, p. 117.

63 The attribute is only used by Homer of Penelope and Euryclea, Odysseus' old nurse and another pillar of loyalty and right sense in his *oikos*. Significantly, the narrator also describes Penelope thus as she issues the test (*Od.* 23.182). It is sometimes somewhat cloudily rendered as 'careful-minded' (as in my note above). Of its constituent parts, *iduia* ('knowing') can have a moral rather than simply intellectual quality, and the adjective *kednos* (whence 'things that are *kedna*') means 'originally "careful", but extends to "good" in general'. (Alfred Heubeck *et al.*, *A Commentary on Homer's 'Odyssey'*, Vol.1: *Introduction and Books I–VIII* (Oxford, 1988), p. 126; Euripides, *Alcestis*, edited by L. P. E. Parker (Oxford, 2007), p. 176.) Translators differ widely in their renditions, with reason.

64 For example, Divus, p. 323; Sponde, Vol. II, p. 324. Volaterranus has 'sapientem' (sig. Q iiii[r]), Perez 'la gran prudencia, que tenia su dulce mujer, y su gran seso' (p. 417[r]), and Baccelli 'quant' altra mai prudente e saggia' (p. 635).

65 Benoît, p. 120.

66 Griffolini has 'pudicae' (fol. 49[r]); Certon '& si chaste & si sage' (p. 645).

67 Chapman, p. 399.

68 Lemnius, p. 638.

69 Giambattista Giraldi Cinzio, *Discorsi … intorno al comporre de i romanzi, delle comedie, e delle tragedie* (Venice, 1554), p. 225. See Sarah Dewar-Watson, 'Aristotle and Tragicomedy', in *Early Modern Tragicomedy*, edited by Subha Mukherji and Raphael Lyne (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 15–27 and Tanya Pollard, 'Tragicomedy', in the forthcoming *Oxford History of*

Classical Reception in English Literature, Vol. 2, edited by Patrick Cheney and Philip Hardie.

70 Gager, p. 22. Della Porta added the 'Prologo' in 1591, thus inserting *La Penelope* into the current debate on tragicomedy sparked by the publication of Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* in December 1589. In 1591, Thomas Wolfe printed Guarini's play for Giacopo Castelvetro, thereby bringing the debate to England. In the same year, the same pair brought out a book on cryptography by della Porta; this makes them the likeliest conduit to England for the latter's 'tragicomedia' as well. See Clubb, pp. 88–101 and Soko Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England, 1558–1603* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 334–6 (Items 195, 196). For a discussion of Gager's tragicomic theory without any reference to della Porta, see Marvin T. Herrick, *Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development in Italy, France, and England* (Urbana, IL, 1962), pp. 221–4.

6
Richard Stanihurst's *Aeneis* and the English of Ireland

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In 1582, Richard Stanihurst, a Dublin recusant living in exile in the Spanish Netherlands, published *The First Four Books of Virgil's Aeneis translated into English Heroical Verse* in Leiden. Nobody, and certainly not Virgil, had sung of 'arms and the man' quite like this before:

> Now manhood and garbroyls I chaunt, and martial horror.
> I blaze thee captayne first from Troy cittye repairing,
> Lyke wandring pilgrim too famosed Italie trudging,
> And coast of Lauyn: soust wyth tempestuus hurlwynd
> On land and sailing, bi Gods predestinat order.[1]

Three-and-a-bit lines –

> arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
> Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit
> litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
> vi superum[2] –

have swelled to five; lexical simplicity – arms, a man – has given way to abstraction ('manhood'), etymological retooling ('gar*broyls*' for 'garboils') and overkill ('martial horror'). Neither 'chaunt' nor 'blaze' sings with the clarity of 'cano', and together they sound distinctly off-key. Even more defiantly un-Virgilian is the colloquialism 'soust' and the compound mimetic 'hurlwynd'. The syntactical economy of the original is lost: actions that are completed in Virgil's indicative (e.g. 'venit') drag on in Stanihurst's present participles ('repairing',

'trudging'); moreover, the quick brushstrokes of the original are lost as Stanihurst toys with grammatical function, turning an adjective into a past participle, 'famosed', which is then used adjectivally.

In the 'Dedication' to his brother-in-law, Patrick Plunkett, the Baron of Dunsany in County Meath, Stanihurst explained that he translated Virgil into 'heroical verse' out of a desire 'too execute soom part of mayster Askam his wyl'.[3] In *The Schoolmaster*, Roger Ascham declared that the discerning writer would know that 'to follow rather the Goths in riming than the Greeks in true versifying were even to eat acorns with swine when we may freely eat wheat bread amongst men'.[4] Stanihurst, in abjuring rhyme and accentual stress in favour of hexameter's syllabic count, rose to a challenge that would briefly attract Sidney and Spenser as well: to apply the rules of Greek and Latin versification to English.[5] But to 'execute' Ascham's prescription, Stanihurst had to set his face against the natural rhythms of English speech, inventing the 'quantitees of syllables' according to his own 'priuat preceptes'. Embracing the very obstacles which quickly deterred Sidney and Spenser, he made up the rules, considering vowels before 'G', for example, short, except when they were 'long by *position* where D may bee enterserted, as *passage* is short, but yf you make yt long, *passadge* with, D. would bee written'.[6]

In resolving to 'flap' away '*wooden rythmours*' and the composers of 'balducktoom ballads' from the 'sweete senting hiues of *Poëtrye*', Stanihurst was putting clear blue water between his translation and that of his immediate predecessor, Thomas Phaer.[7] Phaer published his version of *Aeneid* 1–7, 'conuerted in Englishe meter', in 1558. Phaer's 'English meter' of choice had been rhyming iambic heptameters, or 'fourteeners'. The contrast with Stanihurst's opening quatrain couldn't be greater:

> Lo now of **Mars** and dreadfull warres I singe,
> Of armes, and of the man of *Troy*, that first by fatall flight
> Did thence arriue to *Lauine* lande, that now *Italia* hight.
> But shaken sore with many a storme by seas and land ytost,
> And al for **Iunos** endles wrath that wrought to haue had him lost (1.4-8).[8]

Phaer's selection of the fourteener, the great workhorse of the native verse tradition, was consistent with his promotion of the vernacular.

For he was a translator in the democratizing, Wycliffite tradition: he translated Jehan Goeurot's *L'Entretènement de vie* and Nicholas de Houssemaine's *Régime contre la peste* in his handbook-compilation *The Regiment of Life* (1544) out of a conviction that to shut up knowledge in a foreign language was 'excedying damnable and deuylyshe'.[9] His *Eneidos* fits within a popularizing imperative which is, ultimately, indissociable from nationalism. He produced it, he averred, in:

> defence of my countrey language (whiche I haue heard discommended of manye and estemyd of some to be more than barbarous) as also for the honest recreation of you the nobilitie, gentlemen and Ladies, that study not Latine.[10]

Despite the improbability of there being much overlap between two works so dissimilar in form and intention, Stanihurst dealt with his 'anxiety of influence' with characteristic hyperbole. Only the 'vtterlie ignorant', he declared, would reckon that, in having 'broken thee ice' for him, Phaer had made his task any easier. '[T]hey are altogeather in the wrong box', he insisted, since

> I stand so nicelie on my pantofles that way...Truely I am so far from embeazling his trauailes, as that for thee honoure of thee English, I durst vndertake, too renne ouer theese bookes agayne, and too geeue theym a new liuerie in such different wise, as they should not iet with M. *Phaer* his badges, ne yeet bee clad with this apparraile.[11]

So, he took it upon himself to abjure Phaer's vocabulary altogether. But Stanihurst's lexical singularity arose from much more than competitive rephrasing.[12] For the Dubliner didn't just seek to squeeze the square peg of accentual English into the syllabic round holes of classical versification; as his opening lines show, he couched elite hexametrical form in low-style demotics. The resultant translation is almost invariably dismissed as an oddity.[13] But the historical circumstances of its production suggest that Stanihurst's linguistic experimentation was shaped by politics as well as poetics. For the young Edmund Spenser, quantitative verse advanced the project of nationhood: 'why a God's name may not we, as else the Greeks, have the kingdom of our own language and measure our accents by the sound,

reserving the quantity to the verse?'[14] Yet while Spenser abandoned the theory and rewrote the literary language of his 'kingdom' as a colonist in Ireland – and in the accentual rhyme of *The Faerie Queene* – Stanihurst, in exile from Ireland, drew on, and transformed, the dialect of his imperilled community to 'aduance thee riches of oure speeche'.[15] The specifically Old-English identity of that 'oure' is crucial to understanding the origins of Anglophone writing in Ireland.

Richard Stanihurst was born in Dublin in 1547, the scion of a Pale[16] family which for generations had played a prominent role in administering England's forgotten colony; his father, James, was the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. Stanihurst enjoyed an impeccable humanist education, first at Peter White's Grammar School in Kilkenny and then at University College, Oxford and at the Inns of Court. He returned to Dublin in 1570, accompanied by his old tutor, Edmund Campion, who was in retreat from a religious dispensation in Oxford which he found increasingly uncongenial. As a guest in the home of his former student, Campion worked on a *History of Ireland*, 'norished' by Speaker Stanihurst's 'owne librarie' and by 'daly table talke' with him.[17] Campion influenced Stanihurst in enduring ways. When Campion was arrested in London in 1580, Stanihurst – by then in London as tutor to the heir of the most prestigious magnate in the Pale, the Earl of Kildare – was also interrogated on the grounds of being 'a great enemy to religion' and 'an ill member of the commonweal'.[18] On his release, he fled to the Continent, where he made his reputation as a scholar and alchemist; during the early 1590s, he worked in the laboratory which Philip II equipped for him in El Escorial, searching for a pharmaceutical treatment for the king's oedema.[19] On the death of his second wife in 1602, he followed his mentor into the Jesuits, serving as Albert and Isabella's *capellán de oratorio* at the archducal court in Brussels until his death in 1618.[20]

Stanihurst's version of *Aeneid* 1-4 quickly drew fire, and criticism became indistinguishable from ridicule. Stanihurst praised Virgil's '*decorum*' but *in*decorum came to define his own translation.[21] The pattern was set by George Puttenham who, in his discussion of stylistic solecisms, insisted that 'in speaking or writing of a Princes affaires & fortunes there is a certaine *Decorum*' to be observed:

> As for example, if an Historiographer shal write of an Emperor or King, how such a day hee ioyned battel with his enemie, and

being ouer-laide ranne out of the fielde, and tooke his heeles, or put spurre to his horse and fled as fast as he could: the termes be not decent, but of a meane souldier or captaine, it were not vndecently spoken.

An exemplary breach of decorum came trippingly to hand:

as one, who translating certaine bookes of *Virgils AEneidos* into English meetre, said that *AEneas* was fayne to trudge out of Troy: which terme became better to be spoken of a beggar, or of a rogue, or a lackey: for so wee vse to say to such maner of people, be trudging hence.

Puttenham didn't have to read much further to find another flagrant transgression:

The same translatour when he came to these words: *Insignem pietate virum tot voluere casus tot adire labores compulit*. Hee turned it thus, what moued *Iuno* to tugge so great a captaine as *AEneus*, which word tugge spoken in this case is so vndecent as none other coulde haue bene deuised, and tooke his first originall from the cart, because it signifieth the pull or draught of the oxen or horses.[22]

The assault on decorum to which Puttenham alludes comes from Stanihurst's rendition of Virgil's Invocation:

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae? (1.8–11)

My muse shew the reason, what grudge or what furye kendled
Of Gods thee Princesse, through so cursd mischeuus hatred,
Wyth sharp sundrye perils too tugge so famus a captayne.
Such festred rancoure doo Sayncts celestial harbour? (1.14–17)

Phaer, avoiding such 'indecency', had rendered 'impulerit' as 'dryue' rather than 'tugge', and the limpid directness of his translation –

> Now **Muse** direct my song to tell for what offence and why:
> What ayled so the quéene of gods to dryue thus cruelly,
> This noble prince of virtue mylde from place to place to toile,
> Such paines to take? may heauenly mindes so sore in rancour
> boile? (1.11–14) –

points up the tautologies, adjectival overload and general linguistic corrugations of his successor's version.

But there was more at issue in caricaturing Stanihurst as 'vndecent' than upholding stylistic propriety. Those 'Sayncts celestial' into which the exiled Palesman translates 'animis caelestibus' remind us that, for Stanihurst's contemporaries, he wasn't simply 'a great enemy to religion' but was a papist of a distinctly Irish stripe. Barnabe Rich's damning verdict on Stanihurst – 'He tooke vpon him to translate *Virgill*, and stript him out of a Veluet gowne, into a Fooles coate, out of a Latin Heroicall verse, into an English riffe raffe' – borrows Stanihurst's own strange phrasing as a stick with which to beat his back: the Irishman had translated the measured alliteration of 'magno misceri murmure pontum / emissamque hiemem' (1.125) into 'Theese vnrulye reuels and *rif rafs* wholye disordred' (1.134; my emphasis).[23] But Rich who had seen sustained service in Elizabeth's Irish wars was hardly a disinterested critic: for him, Stanihurst's stylistic transgressions are inseparable from his status as the leader of the 'lying' confederacy of 'Irish Writers'.[24]

Colin Burrow has suggested that, for 'writers on the margins of England', 'the act of translating Virgil gives English writers the sense of writing an empire even if they could not themselves participate in one'.[25] Burrow's formula works perfectly for the Norfolk-born Phaer.[26] But the 'margins' from which Stanihurst wrote – a Catholic Palesman in continental exile who would publish nothing more in English – radically destabilize coordinates of 'margins' and 'centres' which take their bearings from London.[27] Rather, I would argue that Richard Stanihurst is the first person who can be called an 'English writer' in the purely linguistic sense of one whose language is English but whose nation is not (or not any longer) England. His *Aeneis* is an experiment not just in hexameters but in finding a language for a Catholic, Old English community; he is less 'writing an empire', as Burrow suggests, than resisting one.

Two years after publishing his *Aeneis*, Stanihurst returned to print with *De rebus in Hibernia gestis*. Fruit, like his Virgilian translation, of exile, he uses it to reposition the Old English community from which he sprang as an *Irish* community. He uses their origins as Anglo-Norman colonists, paradoxically, to establish them as the pre-eminent community in a *patria* whose 'glory' he seeks 'to spread abroad among foreign nations, establishing a magnificent foundation of name and reputation'.[28] To consolidate that re-calibrated identity, he renames the 'English of Ireland' the 'Anglo-Hiberni'.[29] Stanihurst then copper-fastens this shift from a predominantly (Old) English identity to a hyphenated Hibernian one by insisting on his community's linguistic separateness from England. The Anglo-Irish are native English speakers:

> In daily life they use no other language to express their thoughts. Although it is true that they are far removed from this new and all too foreign grandiloquence which is put together by thieving from the tongues of other nations, nonetheless they preserve uncorrupted the antiquity of the English language. This is the tongue that Chaucer wrote in: he was, beyond doubt, the Homer of the English, using English in such a way that you would not believe that England itself was more English. Nothing in his writings will strike the reader as being redolent of disgusting newness … He does not borrow words from foreign languages, as is the practice in our time of those wordsmiths who think that they use the most fluent English at the point when they use English least.[30]

His piety to 'the dregs of the olde auncient Chaucer English'[31] which survived in the Pale shows up in the splashes of Middle-English colour which he gives to Virgil's characters, turning the *dramatis personae* of classical epic into 'lemmans' and 'lordinges', 'elfshow[s]', 'coystrel[s]', 'swinckers', 'swad[s]', and 'rustical hoblobs'.[32] This is an altogether different project from Spenser's 'studied archaisms' in *The Shepheardes Calender* or *The Faerie Queene*.[33] Laureate of a transformed political and religious dispensation, Spenser was reaching back into an imaginary British past to find, in Arthurian legend, a mythology for a Protestant, imperial future. The radicalism of the rupture to which Spenser gave voice is, at once, rhetorically obscured and naturalized under a comforting cloak of Chaucerian archaism.[34] The

ideological import of Stanihurst's Chaucerianisms, however, is precisely that they are *not* archaisms. Stanihurst offers them not as an invented tradition but as an index of continuity.

Stanihurst's alienation from the 'peregrina magniloquentia'[35] of the metropole was shaped by confessional as much as linguistic considerations. Chaucer provided Stanihurst with an impeccably Catholic literary genealogy with which to counter the 'tradition' which Spenser and his cohorts were inventing for a new, exclusively Protestant nation. The translation of 'animis caelestibus' (1.11) into '*Sayncts* celestial' (1.17) is emblematic of Stanihurst's thoroughgoing Catholicizing impulse. Indeed, the opening passage into which those unlikely 'Sayncts' stray illustrates how Stanihurst's vocabulary is coloured by the reflex devotional formulae of traditional Catholicism. Classical warfare and the fortitude of pagan exile are recast as steps along the *via crucis*. Aeneas is no longer the plaything of impersonal forces, 'fato profugus' (1.2), but a 'wandring pilgrim' (1.7). Driven not by Juno's savage wrath but 'bi Gods predestinat order' (1.9), Aeneas does not endure war (as in 'bello passus', 1.11) but is 'Martyred' (1.5) by those rancorous 'Sayncts'. This reflex runs right through his translation. At its end, the distraught Dido enters a 'chapel' (4. 481) rather than a 'templum' (4.457); where Virgil's heroine acknowledges that she is sending her soul 'sub umbras' (4.660), Stanihurst's consigns hers 'too pits of lymboe' (4.705).[36] Stanihurst is not just lightly Christianizing the text; as his mention of Limbo makes clear, he is consistently doing so in the terms of the old Catholic dispensation. In Latin, Aeneas may have been flinging out words, 'iacanti' (1.102), but in the Dubliner's English he cleaves to the old liturgy, 'This kyrye sad solfing' (1.113). The Libyan nymphs live not in a 'domus' (1.168) but a 'Nunry' (1.176); Dido's pedigree is inscribed on the 'bedrol' (or 'beadroll') which recorded the names of those to be prayed for at Mass (1.648).

Of itself, such linguistic adherence to the old pieties was entirely consonant with an unbroken identity of Englishness. But Stanihurst's estrangement went further than the purely confessional. In a dedicatory poem for Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605), he commends the English recusant and antiquarian for 'restor[ing] the mother-tongue to his motherland', and he chides Verstegan's countrymen for not knowing 'the first elements of their tongue'.[37] The third-person pronoun ('his'/'sua') keeps not only England but English

at arm's length. This is not surprising: the voice – anarchic, tonally ambivalent, irrepressibly demotic – that rings throughout Stanihurst's translation is a very un-English voice.

Once we recognize Stanihurst's displaced, 'Hiberno-English' positioning, it becomes easier to identify the impact Stanihurst's 'strange language' has on Virgilian epic's imperial impulse.[38] Translating the *Aeneid* into hexameters, Burrow argues, offered 'a means of effecting not just translation, but a full *translatio imperii* from Greece, to Rome, to England by grafting Roman versification onto the native tongue'.[39] But Stanihurst, for whom imperial expansion had brought only loss, imprisonment and exile, would make an unlikely laureate of English colonialism. Nor are we limited to inferring Stanihurst's resistance to the Elizabethan imperial turn merely from his biography; that resistance is played out in the meandering convolutions of his translation. David Quint identifies 'two rival traditions of epic': 'the epics of the imperial victors and epics of the defeated'. Imperial epic marches in step with history; the epic of the defeated is trapped in romance digression and inconclusive wanderings.[40] Stanihurst's 'strange language' plays havoc with the propulsive drive of imperial epic in precisely the way Quint allows us to predict. But it does so not narratively but linguistically. Central to the *Aeneis*'s subversion of Virgil's purposeful *iter longum* is the way its dense linguistic experimentation brings the onward thrust of the original up short, turning narrative momentum into lexically induced stasis. In Stanihurst's resistant text, word games and clotted syntax acquire ideological force.

Puttenham objected to Stanihurst calling Aeneas a 'captayne' because so unexalted a designation was inappropriate for 'an Emperor or King'. The scandal of the Dubliner's 'vndecent style' is precisely that it subverts epic grandeur.[41] Heroic characterization and epic action alike cannot survive their demotion into Stanihurst's idiosyncratic demotic. Even the gods are given a bizarre hallucinatory dialect, one part street slang, one part archaism. Jupiter no longer issues magisterial warnings of future penalties ('poena commissa luetis', 1.136) to the East and West Wind for battering Aeneas's fleet; instead, sounding like an early speaker of *nadsat*, he snarls 'Bee sure, this practice wil I nick in a freendlye memento. / Pack hence doggye rakhels' (1.145–6).[42] Moreover, this has clearly gone beyond 'vndecent' colloquialism; the register has not just tipped into the inappropriate but the

linguistic balance has shifted drastically from the semantic to the acoustic. Stanihurst's disconcerting idiolect does not just obscure the referent; it is built on an option for the sign over the signified. Almost as if losing sight of the symbolic nature of language, of the necessary separation of signifier and signified, Stanihurst tries to collapse the referent into its representation – and shorts the circuit. Through a frenzied deployment of special effects – consonantal recombinations, sibilance, assonantal overdrive, alliteration – he strains to make meaning inhere in the signifier itself. As Derek Attridge reminds us, onomatopoeia entails 'a mutual enforcement that intensifies *both* [the material and the semantic] aspects of language'.[43] But with Stanihurst's 'mimetics', there is no movement from word to thing; sound-effect wins out over sense every time, giving us noise but not mimesis. When deadly sea-snakes tighten their lethal grip around Laocoön's waist, they do not do so with the geometrical abstraction of the Latin ('bis medium amplexi', 2.218) but with a sound-signature that obscures rather than illustrates the action: 'His midil embracing with wig wag circuled hooping' (2.231). 'Rapfulye frapping' (for 'fractasque ... voces') and 'with rufflerye rumboled' (for 'tonat') (3.566/3.556, 3.582/3.571), Stanihurst repeatedly offers an acoustic rather than a semantic equivalence for Virgil. Virgil's simile comparing the Greek onslaught to a river bursting its banks captures the ferocity of Pyrrhus breaking his way into Priam's chamber:

> non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis
> exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
> fertur in arva furens cumulo (2.496–8).

Phaer keeps the momentum going through the combined effects of his regular, seven-beat ballad metre, his busy verbs, and his propulsive alliteration:

> Not half so ferce the fomy flood whose rampier bankes are torne,
> With rage outronnes, whan diches thwart and piers are
> ouerborne
> With waues, and forth on féelds it fals, and waltring downe
> the vales,
> And houses down it beares withall, and heardes of beastes it
> hales (2.499–502).

Stanihurst, however, abandons the end-directed movement of Virgil's lines and concentrates on evoking the sound effects instead:

> Not so great a ruffling the riuer strong flaßhye reteyneth
> Through the breach owt spurging, eke against bancks sturdely shogging
> It brayeth in snorting (2.510–12).

The resolute materialism that favours phonetics over semantics blocks our access to the bigger picture (indeed, often, to any picture at all). This preference for the backing track over the action is particularly disconcerting when extended to the silent domains of thought. When Jupiter condemns the waves for raising 'such confusion', 'tantas ... moles' (1.134), the abstraction 'moles' works on the mind rather than the ear; its associations are conceptual rather than acoustic. Stanihurst's reflex, however, is to translate concepts into acoustics: the confusion raised by the winds becomes a 'rif rafs' and a 'raks iaks' which produce a confusing sound at the expense of nailing down the concept (1.134, 143).

The combination of indecorous demotic and pseudo-onomatopoeia can be startling, as when Dido dismisses Aeneas:

> I stay not thye body, ne on baw vaw tromperye descant.
> Pack toe soyl Italian: crosse thee seas: fish for a kingdoom
> (4.402–3).

In Latin, the dismissal is steely: 'neque te teneo neque dicta refello', 'I neither detain you not dispute your words' (4.380). Stanihurst's curious idiolect plays havoc with such cool symmetries and Dido's 'dicta' swells into the catcalling of 'baw vaw tromperye'. Virgil offers the tight-lipped restraint of cold fury: 'i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas' (4. 381), which Phaer's 'Go, séeke *Italia* through the winds, hunt kingdoms out at sea' faithfully reproduces (4. 414). Stanihurst forgoes the imperative minimalism of 'i', 'go', for the colloquial punch of 'Pack' and turns a witheringly regal command, 'pete', 'seek', into the colourful demotic of 'fish'.

Note, too, how a 'body' has muscled in; the pronominal restraint of Virgil's 'te' is corporealized: 'stay not thye *body*'. Central to Stanihurst's preference for the material properties of language over

their referential function is this inclination to make Virgilian abstraction robustly physical. In his introduction, he chided Phaer for dropping the epithet 'Saturnia', thereby losing 'a terme that carieth meate in his mouth … in effect chocking of thee poet his discourse, in suche hauking wise, ac yf hee were throtled with the chincoughe'.[44] The physicality with which he conceives of language continues in the way he deconstructs abstractions by breaking them down into the bodily functions which produce them. Juno's guileful poise in directing Cupid to assume Ascanius's form and to pierce Dido with a love dart as soon as the queen kisses the changeling ('oscula dulcia figet', 1.687) collapses when Stanihurst has her instruct Cupid to 'smacklye bebasse' him with 'lyplicks' instead (1. 692–4). The anatomizing of a kiss into a 'lip-lick' is typical of the delight Stanihurst takes in literalizing even the most light-touch innuendo. The austerity and elevation on which epic characterization rests cannot survive its translation into such incontinent physicality.

But it is not just that Stanihurst's 'Rabelaisian' touch brings epic low.[45] Rather, his experimentation, *copia*, and disarticulated syntax bring it nowhere at all, bogging epic down in a linguistic quagmire. The linearity and momentum necessary for epic teleology cannot survive Stanihurst's delight in turning his syntax 'top syd turuye' (2.507). The languorous but purposeful movement of Virgil's verse inscribes the downward arc of Dido's melancholy longing:

> nunc eadem labente die convivia quaerit,
> Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores
> exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.
> post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim
> luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,
> sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis
> incubat (4.77-83).

The parallelism of 'iterum … iterum' and the sequential dimming of the lights, managed by 'vicissim', 'in turn', give momentum to the falling cadence. That movement is vitiated in Stanihurst's transposition:

> Now fresh agayne crauing of Troian toyle the recital,
> From lyps of Chronicler with blincking listenes hanging.

> When they be departed, when light of mooneshine is housed,
> And stars downe gliding at due tyme of slumber ar ayming,
> Restles aloane sobbing on left benche soalye she sytteth
> (4.81–5).

Grammatical functions are thrown into chaos: a past participle ('left') becomes an adjective; a preference for *of*-constructions – 'lyps of Chronicler', 'light of mooneshine', 'tyme of slumber' – at the expense of possessives clogs up the lines. Articles, definite or indefinite, which could have oiled the flow of the lines are dropped. Passive constructions and a clutch of phrasal verbs replace movement with stasis, an effect only intensified by the disarticulated word order. At every turn – 'Restles aloane sobbing on left benche soalye she sytteth' (4.85) – linguistic entropy dismantles epic energy.

Stanihurst's version ends on a fragment, 'With nodil vniointed' and 'the begun wurck' (8.31–2). It ends, by common agreement, in failure. But there is another way of looking at Stanihurst's 'strange language'. Andrew Carpenter stands the old critical dispensation on its head by insisting that if we recognize the 'torrent of words and sounds, the irregular grammar, the use of nouns as verbs ... [and] surprising changes of register' as 'bold and imaginative' rather than outlandish and eccentric, we can see Stanihurst for what he was, 'the most remarkable Irish writer of the age'.[46] In Chapter 7 of the *Irish Chronicle* which he contributed to Holinshed's *Chronicle of England Scotland and Ireland*, Stanihurst drew up a genealogy of Irish writing: 'The names and surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland'. Many of the theologians, philosophers, and hagiographers in his roll-call were teachers rather than writers; overwhelmingly, the writers whom he did include wrote in Latin.[47] Paradoxically, two of the five founding texts of Irish writing in English listed by Stanihurst – Dormer's *The Decay of Rosse* 'in ballade royall' and Sir William Darcy's *The Decay of Irelande* – speak not of a future which they could not know they were heralding, but of failure and the sense of an ending. Yet they stand not at an end-point but at an inaugural moment. Stanihurst, who pieced together a tentative canon of Irish writing in his *Chronicle*, would supply in his *Aeneis*, the first major Anglophone work in the Irish tradition. With defiant originality, Stanihurst 'hudled vp' – dashed off – the founding text of modern English writing in Ireland in his translation of Virgil's imperial text.

Notes

1 Richard Stanihurst, *Aeneis*, edited by Dirk van der Haar (Amsterdam, 1933), 1.5–9. Subsequent verse references are in-text.

2 Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, translated by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 1.1–4. Subsequent verse references in-text.

3 Stanihurst, *Aeneis*, p. 54.

4 Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, edited by Laurence V. Ryan (Ithaca, NY, 1967), p. 145.

5 For this episode in literary history more generally see Richard Helgeson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, IL, 1992), pp. 25–40, and Derek Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables: English Verse in Classical Metres* (Cambridge, 1974).

6 Stanihurst, *Aeneis*, pp. 58, 61.

7 Ibid, p. 57.

8 *The Aeneid of Thomas Phaer and Thomas Twyne: A Critical Edition Introducing Renaissance Metrical Typography*, edited by Stephen Lally (New York, 1987). Subsequent verse references are in-text.

9 Jean Goeurot and Thomas Phaer, *The Regiment of Life. Whereunto is added a Treatise of the Pestilence* (London, 1550), sig. A4^r.

10 Thomas Phaer, *The Seuen First Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgil, Conuerted in Englishe Meter* (London, 1558), sig. X2^r.

11 Stanihurst, *Aeneis*, p. 54.

12 He exhibited the same prickliness when he folded some of Campion's unfinished *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland* into his own 'Irish Chronicle', published as the sixth part of Ralph Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1586): at first, 'I would neyther openly borrow, nor priuily imbezell, ought ... taking it not to stande with good maners, lyke a flittering flye, to fall in an other man his dishe', in Richard Stanihurst, *Holinshed's Irish Chronicle* [1577], edited by Liam Miller and Eileen E. Power (Dublin, 1979), p. 8.

13 W. T. Stanford, in a more than usually sympathetic reading, character- izes Stanihurst's vocabulary as 'outlandish', in *Ireland and the Classical Tradition* (Dublin, 1984), p. 162. More sternly, his achievement was pronounced 'preposterous', his word-forms 'monstrous', and his hexam- eters 'hideous' by the anonymous contributor on 'Richard Stanihurst' in *Chambers Cyclopaedia of English Literature*, 3 vols (London, 1901), Vol. I, pp. 332–3.

14 *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, Vol. 10: *The Prose Works*, edited by R. Gottfried (Baltimore, MD, 1949), p. 16.

15 Stanihurst, *Aeneis*, p. 54.

16 The 'Old English' were the descendants of the twelfth-century Anglo- Norman colonists; their heartland was 'the Pale', comprised of Dublin and surrounding counties. While culturally distinct from the Gaelic Irish, their traditional Catholicism set them on a collision course with the 'New English' who arrived in the vanguard of the Elizabethan conquest. See

'Hiberniores Ipsis Hibernis', in *Studies in Irish History Presented to R. Dudley Edwards*, edited by Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (Dublin, 1979), pp. 1–14.

17 Edmund Campion, *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland*, edited by Alphonsus F. Vossen (Assen, 1963), p. 6.

18 *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1575–88*, edited by J. S. Brewer and William Bullen (London, 1868), pp. 485–9; see also Colm Lennon, *Richard Stanihurst the Dubliner, 1547–1618* (Dublin, 1981), pp. 35–44 and Vincent P. Carey, *Surviving the Tudors: The 'Wizard' Earl of Kildare and English Rule in Ireland, 1537–1586* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 190–1.

19 See Stanihurst, '*Toque de Alquimia* [edited by Pedro Rojas García]', *Azogue*, 4 (2001), http://www.revistaazogue.com/toquealq.htm; and José Rodríguez Guerrero and Pedro Rojas García, 'La *Chymica* de Richard Stanihurst en la Corte de Felipe II', *Azogue*, 4 (2001), http://www.revistaazogue.com/stanihurst.htm.

20 Harry R. Hoppe, 'The Period of Richard Stanihurst's Chaplaincy to the Archduke Albert', *Biographical Studies*, 3 (1955), 115–17.

21 Stanihurst, *Aeneis*, p. 53.

22 George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, edited by G. D. Willcock and A. Walker (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 273–4.

23 Barnabe Rich, *The Irish Hvbbvb* (London, 1617), p. 3.

24 Barnabe Rich, *A New Description of Ireland* (London, 1610), p. 10.

25 Colin Burrow, 'Virgil in English Translation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, edited by Charles Martindale (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 21–37 (pp. 23–4).

26 Phaer's marginality is principally geographical: he moved from the Inns of Court to work as a solicitor in the Welsh Marches. There is little evidence that his Catholicism ever amounted to defiant recusancy. Interestingly, those who savaged Stanihurst's *Aeneis* heaped praise on Phaer. See Rick Bowers, 'Thomas Phaer and the Assertion of Tudor English', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 21 (1997), 25–40; see, e.g., Thomas Nashe, 'Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589', in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, edited by G. Gregory Smith, 2 vols (Oxford, 1904), Vol. I, pp. 307–20 (pp. 315–16).

27 On the anglocentric bias of literary-critical forays into early-modern Ireland, see Patricia Palmer, 'Missing Bodies, Absent Bards: Spenser, Shakespeare and a Crisis in Criticism', *English Literary Renaissance*, 36 (2006), 376–95.

28 Richard Stanihurst, *Great Deeds of Ireland: De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*, edited and translated by John Barry and Hiram Morgan (Cork, 2013), p. 81.

29 Stanihurst, *De rebus*, p. 108. This usage is very different from the post-eighteenth-century meaning of 'Anglo-Irish', where it refers to the descendants of the 'New English', i.e., Elizabethan and, subsequently, Cromwellian planters.

30 Ibid., p. 107.

31 Stanihurst, *Chronicle*, p. 13.

32 Stanihurst, *Aeneis*, 2.518, 3.107, 1.412, 4.317, 2.642, 3.672, 4.150.

33 See Andrew Zurcher, 'Spenser's Studied Archaism: The Case of "Mote"', *Spenser Studies*, 21 (2006), 231–40.

34 Spenser's archaisms are, moreover, of a piece with his embrace of contemporary Italian and French influences, influences which Stanihurst shows no inclination to emulate. As David Scott Wilson-Okamura demonstrates, 'Spenser's archaisms … show him once more to have been a sailor in international waters', in *Spenser's International Style* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 59.

35 Stanihurst, *De rebus*, p. 106.

36 Phaer, in contrast, has, respectively, 'temple' and 'vnder ground' (4.499, 4.729).

37 Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (Antwerp, 1605), sig. ††3ʳ: 'restitue[re] patriae patria verba suae … linguae prima elementa suae'. On Verstegan's co-option of Anglo-Saxon to counter-reformation polemic and on his relationship with Stanihurst, see Donna B. Hamilton, 'Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605): A Catholic Antiquarian Replies to John Fox, Thomas Cooper, and Jean Bodin', *Prose Studies*, 22 (1999), 1–38.

38 For Thomas Nashe's assault on Stanihurst's 'strange language', see Nashe, 'Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589' in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, p. 316. For his attack on his 'foule lumbring boystrous wallowing measures', see Nashe, '(from *Strange Newes, or Foure Letters Confuted*), 1592' in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Vol. II pp. 239–44 (p. 240). On epic's imperial bias, see David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton, NJ, 1993), pp. 8–9, 41.

39 Burrow, 'Virgil in English Translation', p. 25.

40 Quint, *Epic and Empire*, pp. 8–9.

41 Puttenham, *Arte of Poesie*, p. 273.

42 'Nadsat' of course is from Anthony Burgess, *Clockwork Orange* (London, 1962). As ever, Phaer's directness is instructive: 'after this for your deserts be sure I shall you pay' (1.126).

43 Derek Attridge, *Peculiar Language*: *Language as Difference from the Renaissance to James Joyce* (London, 2004), p. 155.

44 Stanihurst, *Aeneis*, p. 55.

45 The phrase is Thomas S. Omond's, in *English Metrists* (Tunbridge Wells, 1903), p. 16.

46 *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland*, edited by Andrew Carpenter (Cork, 2003), p. 70.

47 Stanihurst, *Aeneis*, p. 56. Apart from a glancing reference to 'Dauid fitz Giralde' and 'Owen Odewhee', both 'maker[s] in the Irishe', Stanihurst completely ignores the immemorial tradition of Gaelic literature. See Stanihurst, *Irish Chronicle*, pp. 100, 106.

7

Women's Weapons

Country House Diplomacy in the Countess of Pembroke's French Translations

Edward Wilson-Lee

For three nights at the end of the dry summer of 1592, Queen Elizabeth took up residence at the Herbert family estate of Ramsbury with the retinue of political advisors and personal attendants who were accompanying her on her summer progress through Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.[1] The royal progress played a key role in late-Elizabethan politics and culture: it provided an opportunity for the largely metropolitan monarch to survey (and display herself to) the regions (although poor roads meant she rarely saw the further reaches of the kingdom), while also passing on the beggaring expenses of the royal household to those prominent local families who acted as hosts. If the overblown gratitude displayed by these hosts was not entirely insincere, this was because a visit from the queen gave hosts a few days of uncontested attention from the wellspring of all power and patronage.[2]

William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and his Countess Mary Sidney Herbert had, of course, hosted the queen before – they were, after all, part of a loose alliance of powerful families which made up one of the major political forces at the Elizabethan court – and they knew how to use the queen's attention to full effect.[3] Mary Sidney Herbert's uncle, the Earl of Leicester, had staged perhaps the most famous progress entertainment of the Elizabethan age at Kenilworth in 1575, and her brother (the late courtier poet Philip Sidney) had written his *Lady of May* for another such occasion. And though no record has been found of the entertainments laid on for the queen at Ramsbury between 26 and 29 August 1592, the fragmentary evidence that does survive of those days and the months leading up to

them suggests an intricate mesh of agendas and material and social contexts that would have served as background to the royal visit. These contexts can be used to shed light on Mary Sidney Herbert's first print publication, which she had set in motion a few months previously through her preferred publisher William Ponsonby.[4] This volume brought together translations of two French texts unrelated by genre and subject matter and indeed so opposed in the ideological positions they represent as to make the discernment of any coherent position on the part of the translator very tricky. Recent scholarship on the key role played by translated texts in Tudor political debates, however, provides a new perspective on Mary Sidney Herbert's work, for all that her social position, as woman and aristocrat and a host to royalty, necessarily meant variations on established polemical practices.[5] The first text, the *Excellent discours de la vie et de la mort*, was written in 1576 by the French Huguenot Philippe de Mornay; it is a Christian neo-stoic dispraise of this life and of man's affection for it, though importantly it also condemns suicide as a means of passing beyond this life into the next. The second, the neoclassical tragedy *Marc Antoine* by Robert Garnier (1578), represents the noble suicides of the lovers Antony and Cleopatra, and was written by an author whose sympathies allowed him to join, for a few weeks in 1588, the ultra-Catholic Guisard League. I will suggest that this pair of texts, far from being an odd couple, combine to create a general case for the queen's continued reliance on Mary Sidney Herbert as a counsellor, as well as being a specific intervention in a key moment of Anglo-French relations, and one that works by harmonizing the acts of translation, embassy and hospitality, practices which were powerfully linked in the late-Elizabethan mind.

Recent scholarship has begun to correct insular readings of early modern English literature by reinstating the contexts of continental events and intellectual currents from which the English rarely looked away.[6] This was especially true in the early 1590s, when the balance of power on the continent was close to equilibrium and could at any moment turn to triumph or disaster for the Elizabethan state.[7] England's longstanding precarious position, alienated from the major continental powers by the schism of the Reformation, had undergone a transformation which seemed near-miraculous, beginning with the failure of the long-dreaded Spanish invasion in 1588 and followed up in 1589 by the accession to the French throne

of the Protestant Henry of Navarre as Henri IV. These were not, however, silver linings without clouds: even if Henri's conversion to Catholicism still lay in the future, the threat to England of Spanish invasion had diminished but not disappeared after 1588, and Henri IV's accession did not mean his uncontested control of France. The securing of these tentative victories looked to require massive military assistance from Queen Elizabeth – in France to secure Henri's reign, and in the Netherlands to deny the Spanish breathing room to attempt another invasion – and Elizabeth was notoriously reluctant to commit troops or money to those continental ventures which had proved so unprofitable for her father and sister. Elizabeth's initial willingness to capitalize on the situation quickly diminished as it became clear that the alliance with France was almost as antagonistic as their former enmity, and that Henri was willing to make few concessions to specifically English interests in return for their military support. This souring of relations had led to the effective withdrawal of English military support early in 1592, following a failed last-ditch embassy in January to secure continuing support.

The reversals of fortune on the continent also complicated the moral and providential narratives through which various European groups represented these events to themselves. As Anne Lake Prescott has suggested in an article that deftly outlines the complexities of recent French history as they confronted Mary Sidney Herbert during her task of French translation, the Wars of Religion which wracked France in the middle of the sixteenth century left few un-muddied positions, making allegiance to any particular group difficult for English observers.[8] For those who did remain optimistic that Henri's accession was a godsend for Protestant England, adjusting to the new situation involved an uncomfortable pivot from Huguenot resistance theories, which justified the antagonism of tender consciences to (implicitly Catholic) monarchs on the grounds of faith, to assertions of Henri IV's right to the unquestioning allegiance of his (largely Catholic) subjects. As Lisa Ferraro Parmelee has shown, vast swathes of topical French material were translated and printed in London from 1589 onwards, reporting French news with a heavy bias towards Henri and giving public voice to the swiftly evolving positions underpinning the argument for military intervention on the continent.[9]

As was almost always the case in early modern Europe, these large-scale geopolitical and ideological movements stood in complex

causal relation to the myriad personal relationships that were created by matters of state and influenced them in turn. Mary Sidney Herbert sat at a particularly well-connected intersection of this social network. Her uncle the Earl of Leicester had led the English troops as Governor-General of the Netherlands in the intervention of the mid-1580s; her brother Philip Sidney had died in this conflict and had since served as the patron spirit of the militant Protestant movement; her brother Robert was even then, as Governor of Flushing, attempting to hold a key piece of the interventionist continental strategy in place. Robert Sidney's constant letters to Lord Burghley in 1592 suggest the complexity of his position. It required him to lobby for continued English support of France, while incessantly averting the queen's attempts to do this on the cheap by siphoning troops from the Netherlands, an outcome which threatened tactical disaster on that front of the campaign and personal failure for Robert Sidney if the depletion forced him to retreat from Flushing. A letter from the Queen written during her visit to Ramsbury makes no mention of the entertainment that was laid on for her, but does represent a small victory for the Sidneys, in the form of extra troops for France which were importantly not to be drawn from the Netherlands.[10] These personal relationships which joined Mary Sidney Herbert to the major English players on the Continent fanned out into a number of other links with less prominent (though perhaps equally important) actors in the affairs. The most significant London publisher of the pro-French propaganda pamphlets from 1580s and early 1590s was John Wolfe, who had signed himself during her brother's lifetime the 'servitore dell'illustrissimo Signor Filippo Sidnei', and her own client-publisher Ponsonby collaborated closely with Wolfe and worked on Francophone volumes of his own.[11] These relationships were not exclusively English either. The French ambassador who departed in failure in early 1592 was none other than Philippe de Mornay, author of the first of Mary Sidney Herbert's translated texts; but before that he was also a close family friend. Mornay had lived in England as a Protestant exile under the protection of members of the Sidney-Dudley circle in the 1570s and 1580s, during which time Philip Sidney had stood godfather to his daughter and had begun to translate his tract *De la verité de la religion chrestienne*. And although Mornay served as emissary from Henri before his accession and ambassador after it, he had spent 1591 travelling England with

a letter of recommendation from Essex (another prominent Sidney ally), staying (among other places) with Lord Hunsdon, one of the Privy Councillors present with Elizabeth during her Ramsbury visit. For all that contemporary diplomatic manuals insisted on ambassadors having their own residences, to prevent them from incurring obligation and joining sides with foreign factions, the reality was that ambassadorial travel inevitably meant hospitality.[12] Mary Sidney Herbert's biographer suggests that she was likely among those 'old friends' whom Mornay delighted in seeing on his return in January 1592.[13] So when Elizabeth arrived at the relatively humble Herbert summer retreat at Ramsbury, with its nine-gabled front and irregular medieval inner courtyards, Mary Sidney Herbert would have had freshly printed copies of her translation of de Mornay, copies which allowed for the continued representation of de Mornay (and by extension of France) in England after his departure, and which gave him presence as a guest during Elizabeth's stay.[14]

If thinking of Mary Sidney Herbert's translations as acts of embassy and of hospitality, acts continuous with the international negotiations and the country house visits of that summer, seems to be only so much associative wordplay, these are nevertheless associations which Elizabethans themselves consistently made. The association between hospitality and translation, and the virtue that could be made of women's confinement to these acts of sociability and writing in which the agency apparently resided safely with a male householder or author, had long since been made by another pioneering female translator. In a prefatory letter to the reader of her *Mirrour of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* (published in 1578), the first prose romance to be translated by a woman, Margaret Tyler stages a defence of female translation which steps beyond the safer territory of spiritual treatises to 'a matter more manlike than beco[m]eth my sexe'. A central hinge is the image of woman as host:

> The invention, disposition, trimming, and what else of this storie, is wholy another mans, my part therein none but the translation, *as it were onely in giving enterteinment to a straunger*, before this time unacquainted with our country guise.[15]

The female host, like the female translator, is not transgressing upon the province of male authority, but merely playing her allotted role

as facilitator of male sociability and culture. This coy assertiveness, which made a vanguard of domestic retirement, was very much the same sleight performed by hosts of royal progresses, and is indeed everywhere in Sidneian poetics: from the *Arcadia* which advertises its origins in Mary Sidney Herbert's household and is said to wear her 'livery', to the series of poems that describe Sidney and Herbert residences at Ivychurch and Penshurst.[16] As long as the household (or the text) was male, the female hostess (or translator) was functioning as a proxy with immunity from common restraints.

The manifold material and conceptual ties between early modern writing and diplomacy have recently become the focus of significant scholarly interest. As Timothy Hampton has suggested in his *Fictions of Embassy*, not only did scenes of diplomacy feature heavily in early modern narrative, but diplomacy itself was seen as akin to an act of composition. On the one hand:

> Diplomacy is the symbolic political act *par excellence*. It is a form of action that is eminently political, but that is also, in its very essence, semiotic, carried out through the exchange of signs. It deploys those signs in the name of civilization towards the resolution of disputes. Diplomacy involves making meaning out of signs produced by a rival or adversary.[17]

Diplomatic service was also, however, inextricable from the narrative representation of events in correspondence:

> Machiavelli makes it clear that the pursuit of honour [as a diplomat] is as much a question of *writing* as it is of *acting*. When events seem to have gone stale, in order to manifest one's talent it is necessary to write them again, 'with fresh skill [*destrezza*]' so as to impose their urgency on the reader.[18]

And, as Joanna Craigwood has shown, the general relevance of diplomatic representation to early modern thought about *mimesis* was specifically relevant to the writings of Philip Sidney, who viewed the poetic representation of ideal forms to be analogous to embassy.[19]

The recent literature on early modern literature and diplomacy has curiously had less to say on the conceptual and material entangling of translation with international relations, despite (or perhaps

because of) the fact that the link is rather more intuitive. It was not only obviously the case that early modern diplomacy involved myriad acts of translation from one language to another, but it was also always and crucially engaged in the analogous occupation of making one people comprehensible to another. This ideational link between translation and embassy was made clear in the diplomatic literature of the period, a literature with which further personal ties gave Mary Sidney Herbert good reason to be familiar. Of the two most prominent diplomatic treatises of the age, one, Alberico Gentili's *De legationibus libri tres*, was dedicated to her brother and took him as its pattern of an ideal ambassador; the other, Jean Hotman's *L'Ambassadeur*, was written by her uncle's secretary and dedicated in English translation to her son.[20] In Gentili's opening investigation into the origins and nature of the *legatio*, the interpreter is, along with the orator and the *nuncio*, one of the three antecedents of the modern ambassador:

> We know that an ambassador is also called an interpreter. For the poet Virgil … speaking of Mercury, the messenger of the gods, says: 'The interpreter of the gods bears their dread commands through the air.' … Unquestionably that expression of Lucretius in the sixth book is based on a similar idea: 'And the tongue, interpreter of the mind, dripped'; and Plato's remark in the *Timaeus*, that speech is an interpreter. Yet there is a difference between interpreter and ambassador, for while one speaks of the interpreter of an author, the term ambassador is never so employed. Moreover, the former acts for one who is present, but whose language we do not understand; an ambassador only for one who is absent.[21]

In his desire to arrive at a precise definition of modern embassy by a process of distinguishing his topic from adjacent practices, Gentili hastily dismisses a field which is perhaps not so easily disintegrated from diplomacy. Not only does the translator (unlike the interpreter) 'act for one who is absent', she also shares with the ambassador a self-erasure which at once allows an absent (and foreign) authority to flow through her unchecked, and which prompts her to assume a voice distilled from the common speech of her audience. To put it another way: one ideal of both translator and ambassador aspires to a voice which does not assert the self so much as replace it with

another, and does so in language which is not idiosyncratic so much as idiomatic, the essential voice of the people to whom they speak. For all that early modern translations were rarely if ever ideologically democratic, the act of translation involved composition in what *at least claimed* to be a representative style. In the moment of writing, the translator takes on the dual task not only of representing the language and culture of the original – capturing its 'grace', in early modern terms –[22] but also of assuming a voice which is not so much their own as that of their people; translation aspires to the condition of perfectly and simultaneously speaking for both 'us' and 'them' (this is what *they* say; this is how *we* would render it). Gentili turns away from this analogy because it serves his rhetorical *distinctio*, but it is also incompatible with the autocratic model of sovereignty which underpins his thought. For while the royal ambassador speaks for one sovereign to another, the translator speaks to one people in an idiom which gestures to their collective identity, and the texts that they translate are usually seen as in some sense representative of the culture from which they derive – or at least become so to the host culture. 'Tasso', Hampton observes, 'notes that the task of the ambassador is to bring together the minds ("unire gli animi") of two princes'; the task of the print translator, on the other hand, is to bring together the minds of two peoples, to allow two public spheres to coalesce.

By printing her translations of de Mornay and Garnier in the early summer of 1592, then, Mary Sidney Herbert was making a public representation of Anglo-French *rapprochement*, and more specifically of (and perhaps for) the current French ambassador, at a time when Anglo-French relations were in the balance, and publishing in a print market awash with French material intended to make support of Henri more palatable.[23] The texts, which advertise their composition at Wilton and Ramsbury in 1590, also make Mary Sidney Herbert's domestic spaces joint host to both strangers and the queen. While this provides some conceptual background for how Mary Sidney Herbert likely viewed the practice of translation, it does little to explain the choice of these particular texts to translate, let alone the unusual decision to pair two texts so unrelated by author, genre or subject matter in a single publication. Critics of Sidney's work have long since rejected the early-twentieth-century suggestion that the translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine* was a targeted attack on the public stage

and an attempt to import a purer Francophone neoclassicism; on the one hand Mary Sidney Herbert was rather unlikely to see the stage as a fit adversary for a Countess, and on the other the Sidneys and Herberts were active patrons of the same public stage they supposedly despised.[24] However, the biographical reading that has replaced this, in which Mary Sidney Herbert begins to fashion her persona as Mourner in Chief for the lost idol of Protestant chivalry (her brother Philip), also has significant weaknesses.[25] On the one hand, the suggestion that the ascetic Mary Sidney Herbert would choose publicly to identify her own grief for her brother with that of the seductress Cleopatra for her adulterous paramour is rather uncompelling. On the other, the 1592 volume is notable among publications associated with Mary Sidney Herbert for the complete absence of any mention of her brother.[26] Indeed, the publication seems less designed to enshrine her brother than to take up where he left off; rather than curating and completing his works, as she would self-consciously do with the 1593 *Arcadia* and his collected works and psalms in 1598–9, Mary Sidney Herbert seems here to be taking on the role of importing the best continental thought and writing which her brother began with his own translation of de Mornay's *Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne* and of du Bartas' *Sepmaine*.[27]

Beyond assuming her brother's mantle as an importer of French spiritual and neoclassical literature, however, Mary Sidney Herbert has chosen two texts that make a simple case when taken together. Like so much of the literature emanating from the Sidney circle in the 1590s, *Antonius* gives voice to fears of the anarchy that results from monarchs' indulgence of their own physical appetites. Like Sidney's *Arcadia* and Greville's *Mustapha*, this nightmare culminates in the spectre of foreign invasion. In a passage marked out by quotation marks in both Garnier's original and Mary Sidney Herbert's translation, the chorus of Egyptians lament that

> Nought so happie haplesse life
>   "in this worlde as freedome findes:
>   "Nought wherein more sparkes are rife
>   "To inflame couragious minds.
>   "But if force must us enforce
>   "Nedes a yoke to undergoe,
>   "Under a foraine yoke to goe

> "Still it proves a bondage worse.
> "And doubled subjection
> "See we shall, and feele, and knowe
> "Subject to a stranger growne. (ll. 807–17)[28]

As in her brother's *Arcadia*, however, attention is constantly drawn to the ease with which these disasters could be averted by the monarch attending to the sage counsel offered them. So while the first and last acts are given over to describing the major narrative arc of the play – the aftermath of Antony's defeat at Actium in Act I, and Cleopatra's suicide on hearing of Antony's in Act V – the three central acts are given over to three set-pieces depicting the correct and incorrect reception of counsel. Act II depicts Cleopatra's rejection of counsel against despair from her waiting women Eras and Charmian, while Act III shows Antony's loyal companion Lucilius try and fail to persuade him that there is life for him after Actium. Act IV, on the other hand, repeatedly demonstrates the openness of Octavius Caesar to counsel from his advisor Agrippa: Agrippa has the last word in the debate over whether Caesar should decimate Egypt in recrimination for Antony's insurrection (ll. 1539–48), and the scene closes with Caesar following Agrippa's advice on measures to prevent Cleopatra committing suicide when she hears of Antony's death. These measures cannot, of course, avert the tragedy; the exchange is apparently included only to show victorious Caesar as the exception to a pattern of sovereigns who disastrously reject wholesome advice.

There is, of course, nothing unusual about an Elizabethan text hammering home the importance of monarchs listening to counsel: disasters of state in, for instance, *Gorboduc* and the *Arcadia* follows the rejection of sound advice (from Eubulus and Philanax respectively). What is unusual about the 1592 tome, however, is the addition of the second tract which seems to push the authoress herself forward as a potential counsellor. The three things which mark out the good counsellor in *Antonius* – resilience against worldly tribulation (Eras and Charmian), rejection of venial concerns (Lucilius), and stoicism in the face of strong emotion (Agrippa) – are precisely the qualities which de Mornay's treatise argues will result from relinquishing the fear of death, and hence the qualities which Mary Sidney Herbert chooses to represent.[29] De Mornay's argument, moreover, returns at key moments to an image of retreat from the city, a metaphor that

integrates Mary Sidney Herbert's domestic acts – of translation in 1590 and of hospitality in 1592 – into practices continuous with the process of spiritual refinement which de Mornay advocates. The first of these passages confronts false rejections of the world:

> I will say more: he makes profession to flie the worlde, who seekes thereby the praise of the world: he faineth to runne away, who accordinge to the proverbe, By drawing back sets himselfe forward: he refuseth honors, that would thereby be prayed to take them: and hides him from men to the ende they should come to seeke him. …We cannot make the worlde die in us, but by dieng in our selves. We are in the world, and the worlde in us, and to separate us from the worlde, wee must separate us from our selves. Nowe this seperation is called Death. Wee are, wee thinke, come out of the contagious citie, but wee are not advised that we have sucked the bad aire, that we carry the plague with us, that we so participate with it, that through rockes, through desarts, through mountains, it ever accompanieth us. (242)

The reader of de Mornay's treatise is warned against that coy courtier's trick of 'coming nat to courte', a self-protesting bucolic humility which must have frequently been directed at Elizabeth during her progresses. A second passage follows this argument up with the counterintuitive suggestion that *true* self-abnegation would look less like a pastoral hermit and more like a petitioning ambassador:

> But if thou examine thine owne conscience, thou lamentest not the cause of the widdow, and the orphan, which thou hast left depending in judgement; not the dutie of a sonne, of a father, or of a frend, which thou pretendest thou wouldest performe: not the ambassage for the common wealth, which thou wert even ready to undertake: not the service thou desirest to doe unto God, who knowes much better howe to serve himself of thee, then thou of thyselfe. It is thy houses and gardens thou lamentest, thy imperfect plottes and purposes, thy life (as thou thinkest) imperfect. (252)[30]

A proper attitude to the things of this world is represented here not by attention to focus on 'houses and gardens' and to the individual's imperfect life, but to legitimate urgency in petitions for family

causes, and offices such as 'ambassage for the common wealth'. When taken as a tool to shape Mary Sidney Herbert's public identity in the domestic and international contexts of 1592, the *Discourse/ Antonius* volume presents both a case for the present urgency of counsel and of Mary Sidney Herbert as one whose very 'ambassage for the common wealth' presented in the rambling Herbert house shows her to be the perfect self-negating counsellor.

The Sidneys and their associates were to be central to refining the use of translation as a political and diplomatic tool in England and France over the coming decades. The practice of using translated texts as a tool for political campaigning may well have been inaugurated in England by Thomas Wilson, a client of Mary Sidney Herbert's uncle the Earl of Leicester.[31] Mary Sidney Herbert was to prepare the Tixall manuscript of the Sidney Psalms for presentation to Elizabeth on her next progress visit in 1599 (though the visit was eventually cancelled), and there is strong evidence to suggest that at least one of the four translations of Sidney's *Arcadia* into French in the early seventeenth century, a feeding frenzy in part explained by the warming in Anglo-French relations through support of a French match for Prince Charles, was undertaken with Sidney involvement.[32] The *Arcadia* also appeared in translation as a play during the embassy of Mary Sidney Herbert's nephew, Robert Sidney, to France in the mid-1630s. It is also telling that two of the major players in this story – de Mornay himself, and Jean Hotman, who worked as Leicester's secretary in the 1580s and who wrote one of the major treatises on diplomacy mentioned above – reacted to King James' accession to the English throne by devising a plan to translate the *Basilikon Doron* into French, a project evidently seen by both Frenchmen as a crucial paradiplomatic act.

Mary Sidney Herbert's 1592 volume points towards the crucial and underexplored link between early modern translation and diplomacy. Not only did many texts physically cross borders via diplomatic networks and because of diplomatic travels, but translation was seen as tied up with diplomacy both as a practical means to strengthen ties between peoples and as conceptual equivalents in mediating between peoples separated by language and polity. This nexus also promises to open up new areas for examining the political agency of women writers in Elizabethan England, a culmination of the various roles they were able to play in the bookworld (as patronesses,

printers and bookmakers as well as translators).[33] On the one hand, early modern diplomatic models – and narratives such as *Antonius* – demonstrate a concern with the gender-appropriateness of advisers and ambassadors: in many cases, female counsellors and negotiators might be best suited to female sovereigns.[34] On the other hand, translation was one of the few active public steps that could be taken by any woman in early modern England seeking to petition or advise the queen. Beyond offering insight into these avenues of early modern political life, the translator also poses a further paradigm for early modern selfhood alongside the established figure of the courtier and the emerging figure of the diplomat. The translator, after all, epitomizes the combination of self-erasure and self-assertion so characteristic – and characteristically *unmodern* – of early modern writers. Much like the explorations of interiority, which nevertheless owe so much to convention and commonplace, the act of translation is one in which the agent is hollowed out to accommodate the authority of another; but it can also be a powerful mode of self-definition and a powerful means for the individual to intervene in public discourse.

Notes

1 See Burghley's 'Diary of Events for 1592', in *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House*, Vol 13, edited by E. Salisbury (London, 1915), pp. 464–7 (p. 466).
2 Michael Brennan points out the importance of the 1592 Ramsbury visit in *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy, 1500–1700* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 101. See also Margaret Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford, 1990), p. 151.
3 For a full list of occasions on which they hosted the queen, see the appendix to Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst, 1999), p. 220. Descriptions and documents relating to the Elizabethan progress were collected in John Nichols' *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth*, 4 vols (London, 1788–1821). A major new edition of Nichols' collection, edited by Elizabeth Goldrig, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke and Jayne Elisabeth Archer, has recently been published by OUP (Oxford, 2014). This complements the earlier study, *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, edited by Jayne Elizabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford, 2007).

4 *A discourse of life and death. Written in French by Ph. Mornay. Antonius, a tragoedie written also in French by Ro. Garnier. Both done in English by the Countesse of Pembroke* (London: [John Windet] for William Ponsonby, 1592). William Ponsonby entered the translations into the Stationers' Register on 3 May 1592; see *A Transcript of the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers*, edited by Edward Arber, 5 vols (London, 1875–94), Vol. II, p. 611; henceforth, Arber. Ponsonby had published Fulke Greville's edition of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, dedicated by her brother to her, in 1590, and was now at work on a revised edition under her supervision. During the years 1591–3 he published texts associated with Mary Sidney Herbert with increasing exclusivity, and has been called the 'official printer' of the Sidney family. See Michael Brennan, 'William Ponsonby: Elizabethan Stationer', *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography*, 7 (1983), 91–110.

5 Alistair J. L. Blanshard and Tracey Sowerby, 'Thomas Wilson's Demosthenes and the Politics of Tudor Translation', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 12 (2005), 46–80. See also Sowerby's *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: The Careers of Sir Richard Morison c.1513–1556* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 35–6, for an earlier stage in Tudor political translation.

6 See, for instance, Warren Boutcher, '"Who-taught-thee-Rhetoricke-to-deceive-a-maid?": Christopher Marlowe''s *Hero and Leander*, Juan Boscan's *Leandro*, and Renaissance Vernacular Humanism', *Comparative Literature*, 52 (2000), 11–52, which also points to a notion of pan-European 'vernacular Humanism' that is much more laterally integrated than is usually posited in models where the main relationship is of each vernacular culture with the classics.

7 An excellent summary of recent French history is provided in Ferraro Parmelee, pp. 11–26.

8 Anne Lake Prescott, 'Mary Sidney's *Antonius* and the Ambiguities of French History', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 38 (2008), 216–33.

9 As Parmelee points out, the English form of this position, which justified Huguenot and Dutch revolts while condemning any resistance to Elizabeth, had already been articulated in a 1585 publication from the Oxford printer Thomas Bilson, who 'was under the protection of [Mary Sidney Herbert's uncle] the Earl of Leicester, who was about to lead troops in support of the Dutch revolt'. See Parmelee, pp. 35 and 75–96.

10 *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library deposited in the British Museum, 1744–1827*, edited by Joseph Planta (London, 1802), p. 342 (26 August 1592): 'Q. Elizabeth, to Tho. Bodley; directing 100 horsemen to be added to the troops to be sent into France.…' (= British Library MS Galba, D. IX, 149).

11 See Parmelee, pp. 27–52, and Dennis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550–1640* (New York, 1973). Wolfe had printed the 1590 *Faerie Queene* for Ponsonby, allowing it to coincide with the latter's 1590 edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*. As well as printing Spenser's French-derived *Ruines*

of Rome in the 1591 *Complaints* (dedicated to Mary Sidney Herbert), Ponsonby entered '*the politique and marciall discourses of the lord* DE LA NOUE' into the Stationers' Register on 3 July 1591 (Arber, Vol. II, p. 588), a volume by the French Huguenot leader, which had been published in 1588 by Edward Aggas, the previous translator of de Mornay's *Discourse*. Though no evidence survives that Ponsonby ever printed this volume, his entry suggests that he intended to continue Aggas' propaganda efforts, possibly at the direction of his patroness. John Windet, who printed the 1590 *Arcadia* for Ponsonby and whose insignia of 'Thou shalt labour for peace and plenty' also adorns Mary Sidney Herbert's 1592 volume, was a regular collaborator with both Wolfe and Ponsonby and forms a further link between the two.

12 For an instructive reversal of the focus of this current chapter, see Mark Netzloff's discussion of the ambassadorial house as a location that integrated the diplomatic with the social and material lives of early modern ambassadors in 'The Ambassador's Household: Sir Henry Wotton, Domesticity, and Diplomatic Writing', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, edited by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 155–71.

13 Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, p. 62.

14 What is known about the house at Ramsbury, which was demolished in the seventeenth century, is gathered in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, Vol. 12, edited by D. A. Crowley (London, 1983), pp. 19–20. William Herbert seems to have spent a large sum updating the former Bishop's palace, but the house was mostly valued for its location in the cool Wiltshire hills.

15 Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra, *The First Parte of the Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood,* translated by M[argaret] T[yler] (London, 1578), sig Aiii[r-v] (italics added). For an extended discussion of Tyler's defence, see Deborah Uman and Bélen Bistué, 'Translation as Collaborative Authorship: Margaret Tyler's *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 44 (2007), 298–323 and Tina Krontiris, 'Breaking Barriers of Genre and Gender: Margaret Tyler's Translations of *The Mirrour of Knighthood*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 18 (1988), 19–39. The use of hospitality as a metaphor was by no means confined to female translators. Gervase Markham, translator of another text of the period which links English and French fortunes, remarks that his poem was 'first created and brought forth in France' but then sent to him 'to apparel in our English fashions'; see Geneviève Peteau de Maulette, *Devoreux*, translated by Gervase Markham (London, 1597) sig. A2[r] and Prescott, 'Mary Sidney's *Antonius* and the Ambiguities of French History', pp. 227–8.

16 See Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (London, 1590), sig. A3[r]–A4[r], and Abraham Fraunce, *The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch* […] (London, 1591), and Ben Jonson's poem 'To Penshurst'.

17 Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY, 2010), p. 5.

18   Ibid, p. 22.

19   Joanna Craigwood, 'Sidney, Gentili, and the Poetics of Embassy', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, pp. 82–100.

20   Alberico Gentili, *De legationibus, libri tres* (London, 1585); Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador*, translated by James Shaw (London, 1603).

21   Alberico Gentili, *De legationibus libri tres,* translated by Gordon J. Laing (New York, 1924), p. 6.

22   Early modern assessments of translation often return to the difficulty of capturing the 'grace' of another tongue, not only in the sense of the beauty of the original language, but with the suggestion that national identity is a necessary context for the language. See Rocio Summillera, 'Language Manuals and the Book Trade in England', in *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*, edited by José María Pérez Fernández and Edward Wilson-Lee (Cambridge, forthcoming, 2014). See also 'Grace', in *Renaissance Keywords* (Oxford, 2013), edited by Ita MacCarthy, pp. 63–80.

23   See Diego Pirillo, 'Tasso at the French Embassy: Epic, Diplomacy, and the Law of Nations', in *Authority and Diplomacy from Dante to Shakespeare*, edited by Jason Powell and William T. Rossiter (Farnham, 2013), pp. 135–53, for an analogous paradiplomatic use of Tasso by Italian Protestant exiles in England.

24   The original argument was made in Alexander Maclaren Witherspoon's *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama* (New Haven, CT, 1924) and canonized in T. S. Eliot's 'Apology for the Countess of Pembroke', in *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* (Cambridge, MA, 1933), 29–44. For refutations, see Michael Brennan, *Literary Patronage of the English Renaissance: the Pembroke Family* (London, 1988), Mary Ellen Lamb, *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle* (Madison, WI, 1990), and Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*.

25   Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, 84–105; Richard Hillman, 'Decentering the Countess's Circle: Mary Sidney Herbert and Cleopatra', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 28 (2004), 61–79.

26   The Countess was of course publicly associated with her brother through the title and dedication of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* and (to a lesser extent) through the co-translated Sidney psalms which circulated in manuscript. She also wrote several elegies for him ('The Doleful lay of Clorinda', 'To the angell spirit') and he was name-checked as a matter of course in prefatory dedications to her.

27   See Gavin Alexander's description of Mary Sidney Herbert's curation and continuation of her brother's literary projects in *Writing After Sidney* (Oxford, 2006), Ch. 3.

28   References to Mary Sidney Herbert's works are taken from *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke: Volume I: Poems, Translations, and Correspondence*, edited by Michael Brennan, Margaret P. Hannay, and Noel J. Kinnamon (Oxford, 1998). See also II. 1161–1209, which makes the common case that the monarch's indulgence in pleasure leads directly to insurrection.

29 These virtues are highlighted in, for instance, ll. 490–529 (Eras and Charmian), 991ff (Lucilius) and 1539ff (Agrippa).

30 de Mornay's French at this point reads: 'Mais si tu veux entrer en ta conscience, tu ne plains pas la cause de la vefue [sic], ou de l'orphelin que tu as laissé en stat de juger, le devoir de fils, de parent, ou d'ami que tu pretendrois render, l'ambassade pour la republique, que tu estois sur la poinct d'entreprendre, le service que tu desirois faire à Dieu, qui fait trop mieux se servir de toy, que toy de toy-mesmes. Tu plains tes maisons et tes jardins, tu plains tes dessains et tes proiets imparfaits, tu plains ta vie, imparfaite, ce te se[m]ble…'. *Excellent Discours de la Vie et de la Mort* (Paris, 1576), 65–6.

31 Blanshard and Sowerby, pp. 58–64.

32 The manuscript of Jean Loiseau de Tourval's translation contains a dedicatory letter which critics have taken as addressed to Philip Sidney (as it speaks of 'votre *Arcadie*'), but which may actually address Mary Sidney Herbert (who had an equal claim to calling it 'her *Arcadia*'); see Albert W. Osborn, *Sir Philip Sidney en France* (Paris, 1932). Alexander Samson has documented a similar upsurge in Spanish translations massaging the way towards a Spanish match in 1623. See his '1623 and the Politics of Translation', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles' Journey to Madrid, 1623*, edited by Alexander Samson (Farnham, 2006), pp. 91–106.

33 See Helen Smith's recent survey of women's roles as textual agents, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2013).

34 Jean Hotman stresses that the ambassador should be appropriate to the receiving sovereign in qualities including gender (*Ambassador*, sigs B6ᵛ–B7ʳ), while Gentili at least allows for the possibility of female ambassadors ('Do I not know that even women have executed the function of embassy?'; Gentili, p. 159).

8
'Peradventure' in Florio's Montaigne

Kirsti Sellevold

This chapter explores John Florio's handling of a single word in Montaigne's *Essais*, namely the modal adverb *à l'aventure*. There are a number of reasons why this adverb is important. First, it tends to occur in key passages of the *Essais* where Montaigne discusses matters such as religion, ethics and man's ability to obtain true knowledge, often as part of a cluster of modal expressions. Second, the adverb belongs to the *phônai skeptikai*, the group of expressions associated by Sextus Empiricus with the Pyrrhonist suspension of judgement,[1] and as such it bears on a much-discussed aspect of Montaigne's thought.[2] But the main argument for regarding *à l'aventure* as crucial to the understanding of the *Essais* is that Montaigne himself explicitly lists *à l'aventure* as one of a group of words that he particularly likes, writing in 'Des Boyteux' (III.11):

> J'aime ces mots, qui amolissent et modèrent la témerité de nos propositions: à l'aventure, aucunement, quelque, on dit, je pense, et semblables. (Montaigne, p. 1600)

Florio translates as follows:

> I love these words or phrases, which mollifie and moderate the temerity of our propositions: *It may be: Peradventure: In some sort: Some: It is saide: I thinke*, and such like.[3]

The first thing to note is that Florio expands Montaigne's list of five expressions into six by adding 'it may be'. This is hardly surprising

given Florio's usual habits: as A. R. Waller, introducing his 1910 reprint of the translation, notes, 'Florio is often inaccurate, and he frequently embroiders Montaigne's simplest phrases; his rendering is the work of one inordinately fond of words, as, perhaps, becomes a dictionary maker' (Florio, I, p. xi). Montaigne's 'et semblables' may also have prompted Florio to add to the list. That said, the phrase 'it may be' keeps well within the range of epistemic modifiers suggested by the expressions on the list; and, as we shall see later, Michael Screech, who translated the *Essais* in the early 1990s, in fact renders *à l'aventure* quite frequently by means of this expression.

The French expression itself will bear further scrutiny.[4] Montaigne has two main lexical items at his disposal to express epistemic modality by means of an adverb: *peut-être* and *à l'aventure*.[5] *Peut-être* was by far the more frequently used term in Montaigne's day (and is the only one that has survived to the present), while *à l'aventure* was in use but not common. Yet of the 137 instances where one of the adverbs is called for in the *Essais*, 12 cases of *peut-être* compare with 125 of *à l'aventure*.[6] There may be a number of explanations for this preference, but it seems quite likely that Montaigne picked up *à l'aventure* from Amyot's translation of Plutarch's *Moralia*, one of his favourite books, in which the form is used frequently.[7] But the reason I would like to foreground it here is that *à l'aventure* has a sense which is not purely modal. Depending on context, it may also mean 'accident', 'risk/danger'.[8] Montaigne uses the adverb in a non-modal sense very rarely (only nine times). Yet the idea of chance is notoriously one of the leitmotifs of the *Essais*. It therefore seems probable that, for Montaigne, the fact that *à l'aventure* could activate in the reader's mind the implication that things are the way they are by coincidence, even where the epistemic modal sense was predominant, made him prefer that expression to *peut-être*, in which such connotations are not present.

The reason Montaigne gives for liking the expressions in the passage I referred to above – that *à l'aventure* and the other words on the list 'amolissent et modèrent la témérité de nos propositions' – fits remarkably well with the function that most linguists identify for these kinds of expression, namely that they convey information about the speaker's propositional attitude. In the case of *à l'aventure* or *peut-être*, for instance, they indicate to what extent the speaker commits to the content of the utterance, or, more precisely, express

an attitude of reservation or doubt on the speaker's part.[9] Such expressions contribute, in other words, not to the truth-conditional content of an utterance, but to its so-called 'higher-level' explicatures.[10] When I first analysed such expressions in Montaigne's *Essais* some years ago, I defined them as markers of linguistic polyphony, that is, as expressing more than one opinion or point of view.[11] Today, however, I would propose to consider them in a relevance theory perspective and describe them as procedural markers, that is, markers that encode a cognitive procedure rather than a concept.[12] As I mentioned earlier, *à l'aventure*/*peut-être* indicates the speaker's reservation about the truth of the assertion being made, and this evidently has an influence on its interpretation. In addition, I would suggest that *à l'aventure* is indicative of the mode of thought of the *Essais* precisely in respect of its ability to evoke in the reader's mind the implication of chance or contingency (via its connotations 'accident', 'risk/danger') even when it assumes its epistemic modal sense. In this perspective, *à l'aventure* may be said to be a sort of emblem of the non-conclusive, open-ended form of the essay.

This, then, tells us why it is important to look at the way Florio handles the translation of *à l'aventure*. As he was not only a translator but also a language teacher and lexicographer, one may conjecture he understood that *à l'aventure* plays a role in the construction of the mode of thought of the *Essais*, or at least that he paid attention to it because Montaigne expressed a liking for it. Another reason why we need to consider this question is that recent translations of the *Essais* sometimes (some of them in fact fairly often) diverge from the sense of the modal adverb, either by replacing it with lexical expressions such as *it may*, *it might*, or (more seldom) *it could*, or other adverbs such as *doubtless* and *probably*, or even by leaving it out altogether.[13] By diverging from the sense I mean that the target expressions are different either in terms of lexical and/or procedural meaning or in terms of their contribution to the truth-conditions of the utterance. In other words, the specific procedural content of *à l'aventure*/ *peut-être* either becomes modified in a way unintended by Montaigne or gets lost in the translation. I would more specifically propose that these target expressions are not 'neutral' stylistic differences but imply a change in the attitude of the speaker.

My first question, therefore, is whether Florio translates all 137 modal adverbs (125 *à l'aventure* and 12 *peut-être*) of the *Essais*, or

whether he sometimes provides a divergent sense or mistranslates.[14] Then I shall compare the result with what happens in my three modern translations. Second, since Florio will have had at his command a range of suitable English equivalents, I shall determine which he uses, and in particular how often he uses *peradventure*, the most immediate English equivalent of *à l'aventure* in Florio's day. Third, I shall ask whether Florio deploys more or fewer modal adverbs than Montaigne did. In the light of Florio's normally expansive habit the former seems more likely.

* * *

First we shall compare the distribution of the adverb's variants in the French text and in Florio's translation, then compare the result with those of the other translations. As we see from the totals in Table 8.1, Florio translates the modal adverbs in almost every case: 135 out of 137. The two remaining cases (not listed in the table) are mistranslations where Florio takes *aventure* as a noun or a different adverbial expression and translates it as 'fortune' and 'at all adventures' respectively; I will return to the first case later. There are thus no omissions, and we also note that in the majority of cases Florio finds an English equivalent for the adverb, using four different words (which I will comment on later), while in four cases he makes it diverge from its sense by using 'may' or 'might': 'it may be' (twice), 'it may happen', and 'might say'. The frequency with which Florio expresses the modality by means of the adverbial form suggests that he was attentive to the presence of the adverb in the original, with a few notable exceptions.

Now let us compare the twentieth-century English translations, starting with Frame, for which results appear in Table 8.2. There are no mistranslations in Frame; every instance of the adverb is retained in the translation. We also note that the majority of cases are rendered by 'perhaps' (which had just come into use when Florio was translating the *Essais*; earlier examples have different spellings: 'prehaps', 'perhappis', etc.), with the exception of two cases of 'peradventure' (frequent in Florio) and two cases of 'perchance' (only once in Florio) which are both by now archaic or rare,[15] while there are no instances of 'haply'/'happily', which is understandable as these expressions are obsolete.[16] Finally, Frame also uses 'may'/'might'

Table 8.1 Distribution of adverb's variants in Montaigne's *Essais* (1595) and Florio's translation (1603)

Book	Montaigne's *Essais* (1595)		Florio's translation (1603)			
	à l'aventure	peut-être	peradventure	haply/ happily	perhaps/ perchance	may/ might
I	29	4	22	7/2	2/0	–
II	44	5	19	14/8	3/0	2/1
III	52	3	35	1/13	4/1	1
Total	125	12	76	22/23	9/1	4
	Grand Total 137		*Grand Total 135*			

Table 8.2 Distribution of adverb's variants in Montaigne's *Essais* (1595) and Frame's translation (1957)

Book	Montaigne's *Essais* (1595)		Frame's translation (1957)		
	à l'aventure	peut-être	perhaps	peradventure/ perchance	may/ might
I	29	4	29	0/1	2/1
II	44	5	43	1/1	3/1
III	52	3	49	1/0	2/3
Total	125	12	121	4	12
	Grand Total 137		*Grand Total 137*		

more often than Florio does (twelve times as opposed to four in Florio), but still relatively seldom.[17] Frame thus keeps quite close to the original. He is less concerned with variation than Florio is, which is not surprising given changing norms of translation, and all things considered it is fairly clear that, just like Florio, he was attentive to the presence of the adverb in the text.

Screech's version presents some marked differences. Table 8.3 shows that Screech does not translate all instances of the adverb but leaves out seven, a small number, but still the highest of all the translations. Second, he translates only 81 of the total number by

Table 8.3   Distribution of adverb's variants in Montaigne's *Essais* (1595) and Screech's translation (1991)

Book	Montaigne's *Essais* (1595)		Screech's translation (1991)			
	à l'aventure	peut-être	perhaps	probably/ doubtless as if/ for all we know	may/ might/ could	Om.
I	29	4	19	1/1/0/0	5/5/1	1
II	44	5	28	1/4/1/1	11/1	2
III	52	3	34	0/6/0/0	7/3/1	4
Total	125	12	81	15	34	7
	Grand Total 137		*Grand Total 130*			

the English equivalent 'perhaps', while the remaining cases are translated either by a verb ('may', 'might'), or a different adverb ('probably', 'doubtless'), or a paraphrase ('as if ', 'for all we know'). Screech thus uses 'may' and 'might' to a much greater extent than Florio and Frame (34 occurrences as opposed to 4 and 12 respectively), and he also varies the translation of the adverb by using a significant number of synonyms.

At first glance this pattern might be taken to imitate Florio's sense of variation, but whereas the lexical meanings of Florio's target words are more or less the same as the meanings of the original adverbs – they express possibility in combination with a reservation on the part of the speaker – Screech's lexical choices tend to diverge more from the lexical semantics of the source expressions. As already noted, he translates *à l'aventure* by 'may' and 'might' more frequently than Florio and Frame do, and I would argue that these verbs have a different status in the utterance. While *à l'aventure* contributes to its higher-level explicatures, and hence constitutes the reservation as an independent thought, 'may' and 'might' contribute to its truth-conditional content (they are, in other words, conceptual rather than procedural expressions), and thus convey the reservation in embedded form.[18] As such they make Montaigne's mode of thought less mobile; they also reduce its plurivocal aspect. As for 'probably', it introduces a higher-level explicature, just as *à l'aventure* does, but it

conveys a somewhat stronger speaker-commitment than *à l'aventure*: the speaker is more certain about the truth of the assertion. The case of 'doubtless', finally, is similar to that of 'probably' but conveys an even stronger commitment to the assertion, implying that the speaker is quite confident about it.[19] The signalled reservation may thus be said to be substantially weakened in these cases.

What is common to all these cases, then, is that the adverb diverges from its original sense in one way or another. The question which then arises is why this is so. One explanation is that languages are different, and it is easier (or more common) to express modality in English by means of 'may' or 'might' than by 'perhaps' (English has a specific verb for this purpose, whereas French only has modal uses of *pouvoir*). But, as I have argued above, these variants imply either a change from procedural to conceptual content ('may'/'might') or a difference in procedural constraints ('probably'/'doubtless'), which in both cases affects the interpretation of the utterance the adverb is part of. It also remains the case that Florio seldom uses 'may' and 'might', and Frame only does so to a small extent. One might argue that the procedural content of *à l'aventure* imposes no strong constraints on the interpretation, hence that it provides no help for the reader to understand the writer's commitment to the truth of the assertion, which has to be assessed by means of contextual considerations. The hypothesis that the procedural content of *à l'aventure* tends not to constrain the interpretation strongly, making it in part superfluous, would have been strengthened if the translators had tended to omit the adverb. But the only translation that stands out in this respect is Screech's, and the number of omissions in his translation, even if high as compared with the other versions, must be considered low in absolute terms. Overall, I would suggest, the effect of Screech's displacements of the adverb is to replace Montaigne's characteristic mode of thought with a less mobile and more assertive one.

Let us look finally at Stolpe's translation, with the help of Table 8.4. This shows that *à l'aventure/peut-être* is in most cases (122) translated by the Swedish equivalent 'kanske', a fidelity which almost matches that of Frame (125) and Florio (131), and which suggests that Stolpe's practice in translating the adverb is closer to these translators than to Screech. Yet other features of Stolpe's version are closer to Screech's. For instance, one of the two omissions in Stolpe (both in Book I) coincides with one of Screech's omissions. The single instance

Table 8.4   Distribution of adverb's variants in Montaigne's *Essais* (1595) and Stolpe's translation (1986–92)

Book	Montaigne's *Essais* (1595)		Stolpe's translation (1986–92)				
	à l'aventure	peut-être	Kanske	möjligen/ antagligen eventuellt/ skulle	nog/ väl	säkert/ bestämt	Om.
I	29	4	29	–	2/0	–	2
II	44	5	47	0/0/0/1	1/0	–	–
III	52	3	46	1/1/1/0	2/1	2/1	–
Total	125	12	122	4	6	3	2
	Grand Total 137		*Grand Total 135*				

of 'bestämt' ('decidedly') occurs in the passage discussed above where Screech has used 'doubtless'. And one of the two instances of 'säkert' ('doubtless') echoes another instance of Screech's 'doubtless', whereas the other, 'skulle säkert' ('would doubtless'), Screech translates by 'might indeed'. But although they do make Montaigne sound more assertive, these instances are relatively rare, so I would claim that Stolpe's translation of *à l'aventure/peut-être* generally preserves Montaigne's characteristic mode of thought.

In the next section I will show that the reservation indicated by the adverb might have more to do with gaining the reader's trust than with providing information about how to interpret the content it qualifies.[20] By displaying his reservation openly, the writer (i.e., Montaigne) allows the reader to assess his reliability, honesty and trustworthiness,[21] hence not just to understand the utterance but also to decide whether to believe it.

* * *

Let us bear this possibility of a rhetorical reading of the adverb in mind as we now take a closer look at one of Florio's two mistranslations, which appears in the 'Apologie' and concerns man's ability to possess true knowledge:

> Il n'est pas à l'aventure, que quelque notice veritable ne loge chez nous; mais c'est par hasard. (Montaigne, p. 872)

> It is not by fortune that some true notice doth not lodge with us, but by hazard. (Florio, II, 274)

Looking at the French first, one notes that the utterance contains not only 'à l'aventure' but also 'quelque', another of the words that Montaigne had on his list of preferred expressions. Also notable is the double negative ('Il n'est pas ... ne loge ...'): the opinion is communicated indirectly. The form of the utterance thus shows Montaigne's tendency to pile up markers of reservation when he deals with complex issues. This display of his own uncertainty may, in part at least, be a rhetorical strategy, put in place to persuade a sceptical reader to share the writer's own view, namely that true knowledge is accessible to man. The utterance consists however of two statements (all the markers of reservation are grouped in the first) connected by a 'mais', which indicates that what follows restricts the scope of the implication: if man possesses any true knowledge, this is purely accidental.[22] The second statement, then, counterbalances in some sense the inclination the reader may have to believe the first statement and blocks (or makes less likely) a rhetorical, persuasive, reading of the adverb. This is also echoed by the fact that the second statement makes explicit one of the senses that *à l'aventure* may have. The utterance thus activates both the modal (procedural) sense and the semantic (conceptual, referring to chance) sense of *à l'aventure*.

And this is perhaps (alas!) the reason why Florio does not translate 'à l'aventure' with a modal expression but with 'by fortune'. We may presume that he was influenced by the expression 'by hazard' which occurs in the second statement (and which in fact is more of a transposition than a proper translation), and the result is that the utterance contrasts two similar ideas: by luck and by chance, without retaining the modal sense of 'à l'aventure'. It must thus be a mistranslation. This example, then, does not support my hypothesis that Florio grasped the force of the adverb in contributing to the non-assertive mode of thought of the *Essais*, but, as he keeps both 'quelque' (which he translates by 'some') and the double negative construction, this at least suggests a sensitivity to the utterance's other markers of reservation.

Let us now look at the way in which the other translators have gone about translating this utterance. They all reduce the markers of reservation in one way or another, but no one mistranslates the adverb. Frame lexicalizes the double negative and renders 'à l'aventure' as 'may': 'Not that it is impossible that some true knowledge may dwell in us; but if it does, it does so by accident.' Screech removes the double negative entirely but compensates by adding a may: 'Some true knowledge "may" perhaps find lodgings in us; if so, that is by chance.'[23] Stolpe's version is closer to Frame's except that he keeps the adverb: 'Det är kanske inte omöjligt at någon verklig kunskap logerar hos oss, men i så fall gör den det av en ren slump.'[24] None of these versions wholly fails to render the force of the adverb, then, but the complexity of the syntactic structure of the original, which one might say reflects the complexity of the content, is not quite matched by the translations.

Our next example is taken from I.56, 'Des prières' ('Of Praiers and orisons'), and is a case where Montaigne expresses reservations about his right to speak on controversial religious matters:

> Et ne dirait-on pas aussi sans apparence, que l'ordonnance de ne s'entremettre que bien réservément d'écrire de la Religion, à tous autres qu'à ceux qui en font expresse profession, n'aurait pas faute de quelque image d'utilité et de justice, et à moi avec, peut-être, de m'en taire. (Montaigne, pp. 523–4)

> And might not a man also say without apparance, that the institution, which willeth, no man shall dare to write of Religion, but sparingly, and reservedly, except such as make expresse profession of it, would not want some shew of profit and justice; and happily to me to be silent. (Florio, I, 365)

The sheer number of markers of reservation here ('peut-être', 'quelque', double negative) indicates the complexity and delicacy of the topic. One notes also that the modality is not rendered in the 1595 edition, which I quote here, by Montaigne's habitual expression *à l'aventure*, but by 'peut-être', which does not evoke the connotations 'accident', 'risk', 'hasard'. Interestingly enough, earlier editions have *à l'aventure*: the 1595 edition departs from earlier editions only here and on one other occasion (Montaigne, p. 971;

II.16) with respect to the adverb. In the absence of further contextual information, the relevance of the change in this particular case is impossible to assess. One might merely conjecture that the sensitive nature of this passage, with its reference to a potential transgression of theological constraints, encouraged the substitution, perhaps by Montaigne's posthumous editors, of a more neutral adverb (without further semantic resonances or connotations). At all events, Montaigne argues here in favour of constraining considerably the right to write about religion unless one is a theologian, and suggests in fact that he himself, who belongs to the camp of non-experts, should not speak at all about religion. This last statement is however modified by 'peut-être', that is, by a reservation about the statement. Here I would suggest that the reservation is so strong as to invite the reader to entertain the thought that Montaigne should in fact be free to speak about religion, in other words that matters of religion should *not* be left to theologians: as long as they speak reservedly about it, non-experts may do so too. Montaigne thus places himself among those who may speak 'bien réservément' about religion, and he does so precisely by speaking reservedly.

Writing about religion (and quite critically too) is in fact exactly what he does in this chapter on prayers. The presence of the adverb suggests, then, that Montaigne means the opposite of the statement it modifies, namely that he (as a non-expert on religious matters) should *not* keep silent about religion; it cancels the statement and unblocks his self-imposed censure. The example shows, in other words, how important it is not to evade the task of finding an appropriate way to render 'peut-être', or to omit it, and indeed Florio has not done so, although he uses 'happily', which looks a bit odd to the modern eye but which, as a variant of 'haply', had an epistemic modal sense at that time. The example is also an illustration of another important function of the adverb; it does not just 'mollify and moderate the temerity of our propositions', but may also cancel itself out along with what it is applied to, which means that the speaker neutralizes his own authority and in that way gives himself licence to speak. This function is very similiar to that of Sextus Empiricus' definition of the *phônai skeptikai*. Sextus likens them to purgative drugs: 'In the case of all the sceptical phrases, you should understand that we do not affirm definitely that they are true – after all, we say that they can be destroyed by themselves, being cancelled

along with what they are applied to, just as purgative drugs do not merely drain the humours from the body but drive themselves out too along with the humours.'[25] In other words, the sceptical expressions helped the Pyrrhonists to neutralize or circumvent the affirmative nature of language in much the same way as 'peut-être' does in this case.

* * *

I next want to take a closer look at the target expressions Florio chose to render the modal adverb, and how the frequency of 'peradventure', the English equivalent of *à l'aventure*, compares with that of the other synonyms. From Table 8.1, we see that he uses the form 'peradventure' 76 times (as opposed to Montaigne's 125 *à l'aventure*), the forms 'haply' and 'happily' 22 and 23 times respectively, and finally 'perhaps' nine times and 'perchance' only once. 'Peradventure' can function both as a modal and as a noun (in the sense of 'chance'), just as its French counterpart can, and, as is evident, Florio uses 'peradventure' most often, but still much less than Montaigne uses *à l'aventure*. One reason for this is no doubt that 'haply' (which is the next most frequent form after 'peradventure') also evokes an element of chance (it is the adverbial form of 'hap'), and if we add together the instances of 'peradventure' and of 'haply', that amounts roughly to the number of instances of *à l'aventure* in the original. As for the form 'happily' (which has no modal sense today), this is no misprint for haply, but simply a variant. The relatively limited use of 'perhaps' is explained by the fact that the word was just starting to come into circulation; the similar 'haply' was clearly a more common form. Finally, the scarcity of 'perchance' might be explained by its similarity to 'peradventure'; Florio might have wanted to stick with the form that most closely resembled Montaigne's *à l'aventure*.

Given that Florio's English words to a large extent recreate the particular blend of conceptual and procedural content that is characteristic of *à l'aventure*, the fact that he uses several different ones does not invalidate my hypothesis that Florio was aware of the role the adverb plays in determining the mode of thought of the *Essais*. By indicating the same level of speaker-commitment as *à l'aventure* and by retaining the semantic suggestions of chance, they achieve sufficient 'resemblance in relevant respects'.[26] In that sense they provide

clues to the non-assertive and chance-driven flow of thoughts that is characteristic of the essay form as developed by Montaigne.

My last point addresses the question whether Florio has expanded the number of modal adverbs and, if so, what inferences we might draw from that. It is not necessary to make a full search through the translation to see that Florio has increased the number of modal adverbs; there are already some interesting cases that appear in the broader context of the adverbs present in the original. This cannot however be taken unconditionally as evidence that Florio was alert to the importance of such expressions. Screech, who, as I have argued above, in some cases turns the non-assertive mode of the *Essais* into a more assertive one, is another translator who adds modal adverbs. I would thus propose three probable motivations for Florio's expansions (some of which we also find in Screech). The first pertains to cases in which he translates a French future/conditional (or subjunctive) by an English modal adverb;[27] a second case is when the adverb in its 'chance' sense has prompted Florio to insert an adverb with an unambiguous modal sense;[28] a third occurs where the translation of one modal adverb prompts the insertion of another. We will look briefly at a single example of this last type.[29] It is taken from I.25, 'De l'institution des enfans', the first chapter that Florio translated:

> J'ai lu en Tite Live cent choses que tel n'y a pas leu. Plutarque y en a lu cent; outre ce que j'y ai su lire: et à l'aventure outre ce que l'auteur y avait mis. (Montaigne, pp. 240–1)

> I have read in Titus Livius a number of things, which peradventure others never read, in whom Plutarke haply read a hundred more, than ever I could read, and which perhaps the author himselfe did never intend to set downe. (Florio, I, 163)

One notes that Florio adds not just one but two modal adverbs to the one in the original. He also uses three different target English words, 'peradventure', 'haply' and 'perhaps', and it is possible, perhaps even probable, that the passage just displays Florio's liking for words – his tendency, as the author of several dictionaries, to pile up near-synonyms. But as argued above, these items share much the same procedural content as their single French counterpart, and as this chapter is aimed at those readers Florio most wanted to attract,

namely the young English elite on whom he was dependent for his living, it is conceivable that he added the two extra adverbs in order to exploit and perhaps even augment the skill of educated readers in reading texts on several levels. For the content bears on the issue of interpretation, on the fact that readers (or students) may respond differently to a text; as Montaigne goes on to say, the reader may – depending on his interests, preferences and, not least, knowledge – read Livy as a 'meere grammatical studie', or as 'a perfect anatomie of Philosophie'. In other words, Montaigne imagines textual meaning here not as something encapsulated in the physical object of a book, left to the reader to uncover, but as a joint enterprise or communication between the writer and an educated reader. The writer must leave enough clues in the text for the reader to pick up the intended meaning, which might not always be a single meaning (especially in texts such as the ones Montaigne is talking about). But perhaps the most important point of the passage is that the reader may infer meanings that the writer did not intend (or perhaps was not aware that he intended or could be taken to intend). It is striking that Florio actually adds the word 'intend' in his translation, and it is tempting to associate this addition with the tripling of the adverbs as a response to, and indeed an amplification of, the theme and language of Montaigne's reflections on reading as a communicative activity.

On the basis of this survey of Florio's translation of the modal adverb *à l'aventure* in the *Essais*, using a number of modern translations as a control sample, one can claim with some confidence that Florio was careful to retain the adverb wherever Montaigne uses it. In the few cases where he removes it, he replaces it with an expression he clearly thought semantically similar, as is illustrated by the fact that he adds 'it may be' to Montaigne's list of preferred words (thus giving a face to the anonymous group of 'semblables'). As I have argued, the verbs 'may' and 'might' represent conceptual rather than procedural content, hence a more embedded reservation and a less mobile thought, but these cases are extremely rare in Florio. The two cases of mistranslation can be explained as mistakes for the 'chance' sense of the adverb. Like Montaigne himself, Florio tends to pile up Montaigne's preferred expressions (or markers of reservation) when he deals with complex matters, such as knowledge, religion and interpretation. On the other hand, he uses a wider range of variants than Montaigne: 'haply', for instance, is used with

comparable frequency to 'peradventure'. However, these lexical vari-
ants of the epistemic modifier have quite similar procedural content:
they all capture the streak of uncertainty in Montaigne's thought,
which he defines as his dominant form ('forme maistresse'),[30] thus
displaying his honesty and trustworthiness ('bonne foy'), and they
all have the element of chance written into them. Thus this greater
variation merely supports my hypothesis that Florio was alert to the
importance of the adverb, and aware of the role it played in making
the *Essais* into a many-stranded and plurivocal work. In his version,
as in Montaigne's text, these expressions embed the mode of thought
of the *Essais* in its linguistic form.

Notes

1 For a presentation of the *phônai skeptikai*, see Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines
   of Scepticism*, translated by Julia Annas and Jonathan Barnes (Cambridge,
   1994), 1.206–9. For Montaigne's own presentation of these expressions,
   see Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais*, edited by Denis Bjaï, Bénédicte
   Boudou, Jean Céard and Isabelle Pantin (Paris, 2001), p. 786 (II.12). All
   quotations are taken from this edition (based on the 1595 French text
   which Florio used), hereafter 'Montaigne'.
2 As the adverb effectively belongs to the sceptical expressions, it is tempt-
   ing to consider its presence in the *Essais* as evidence for Montaigne's
   alleged scepticism. However, this disregards the fact that the adverb repre-
   sents a frequently used part of the lexicon. One should also note that the
   adverb's ability to function as a sceptical expression relies in most cases
   on its capacity to constitute an independent semantic unit (as a reply to
   a question, for example), and hence be inferentially developed into an
   explicature (on this term, see note 10); in the *Essais* this is however never
   the case; the adverb is always a constituent of an utterance. Rabelais's
   Tiers Livre, by contrast, offers an excellent example where the adverb
   functions as a sceptical expression: when Panurge asks Trouillougan
   whether he will marry ('me marieray je?'), the sceptical philosopher
   replies: 'Par adventure'. François Rabelais, *Les Cinq Livres* (Paris, 1994),
   chapter 36, p. 771.
3 *The Essayes of Michael Lord of Montaigne*, translated by John Florio, edited
   by A. R. Waller, 3 vols (London, 1910), III, 283. Further references to this
   edition, henceforth 'Florio', in text.
4 One may note the variants 'par aventure' and 'd'adventure' (which
   Montaigne seldom uses), and several different spellings: 'à l'aventure',
   'à l'adventure', 'par adventure', 'par advanture', etc. For a more detailed
   description of the adverb and its use in the *Essais*, see Kirsti Sellevold,
   *'J'ayme ces mots…': expressions linguistiques de doute dans les 'Essais' de
   Montaigne* (Paris, 2004), ch. 1.

 5 The adverbial form of 'possible' also had a modal sense at the time, but Montaigne uses it in this sense only once.
 6 This pertains to the 1595 edition; earlier editions have ten cases of *peut-être* and 127 of *à l'aventure*.
 7 I am relying here on Huguet's *Dictionnaire de la langue française du XVIe siècle*, where five of the eleven examples of *à l'aventure* are taken from Amyot's translations, and all but one of the rest from the *Essais*.
 8 According to *Le Robert historique*, 'aventure' in 'par aventure' and 'd'aventure' has the sense 'événement inattendu, accidentel', whereas in *à l'aventure* it combines the semantic nuances 'danger, risque physique', and 'hasard'.
 9 Montaigne's list contains both epistemic modals (e.g., *à l'aventure*) that indicate the speaker's degree of commitment to the content of an utterance, and evidentials (e.g., 'je pense'), which indicate the type of evidence the speaker has for it.
10 An explicature is a development of a semantic representation (logical form) encoded by an utterance or, more simply, a communicated thought. A higher-level explicature constitutes a comment upon the basic explicature.
11 See Sellevold (n. 4), *passim*.
12 Relevance theory operates with two types of word meaning: conceptual and procedural. Conceptual meaning relates to words that denote concepts (for example, 'red' or 'dog') and which may be represented mentally. The term 'procedural' relates to, for instance, connectives ('but', 'so', etc.), that is, words that encode cognitive procedures that guide the inferential comprehension process in one direction or another. Such words impose constraints (or have an influence) on how the hearer constructs intended contexts and contextual implications.
13 To provide a basis for comparison I will use two English translations, Donald M. Frame's *Complete Essays of Montaigne* (1958; rpt Stanford, CA, 1965) and Michael A. Screech, *Michel de Montaigne: The Complete Essays* (London, 1991), then the Swedish translation by Jan Stolpe, *Montaigne: Essayer*, 3 vols (Stockholm, 1986–92). The omission of the adverb is infrequent: seven times in Screech, twice in Stolpe, never in Frame.
14 I am not looking at the nine cases where '[à l']aventure' means 'hazard/accident' and which Florio translates correctly in all cases.
15 The first uses of both 'peradventure' and 'perchance' noted by *OED* date from 1300.
16 According to *OED*, the first and last recorded uses of 'haply' are respectively in 1362 and 1862, and of 'happily', 1362 and 1890.
17 The epistemic use of 'may' developed in Old English, was well established in Middle English, and is probably the most frequent use today.
18 There are of course also slight differences between 'may' and 'might'; *OED*'s view is that 'may' and 'might' are used in virtually indistinguishable contexts, but that 'might' carries 'the possibility of greater tentativeness'.

19   The sense of 'doubtless' is closer to the French *sans doute* than to *peut-être/à l'aventure*.

20   Procedural meaning has recently been linked to epistemic vigilance mechanisms, which include procedures for assessing the reliability, honesty and trustworthiness of the source of information. See Dan Sperber *et al.*, 'Epistemic Vigilance', *Mind and Language*, 25 (2010), 359–93; Deirdre Wilson, 'The Conceptual-Procedural Distinction: Past, Present and Future', in *Procedural Meaning: Problems and Perspectives*, edited by Victoria Escandell-Vidal *et al.* (Bingley, 2011), pp. 3–31.

21   In that sense the adverb echoes the opening sentence of Montaigne's 'Avis au lecteur': 'C'est icy un livre de bonne foy, lecteur' (p. 3). In Frame's translation: 'This book was written in good faith, reader' (p. 2).

22   The procedural content of 'but' introduces a contrast between the two statements. See Oswald Ducrot, *Les Mots du discours* (Paris, 1980), and Diane Blakemore, *Relevance and Linguistic Meaning: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse Markers* (Cambridge, 2002).

23   Frame, p. 421; Screech, p. 632.

24   Stolpe, p. 314 ('It is perhaps not impossible that some genuine knowledge lodges in us, but in that case it does so by pure chance').

25   Sextus Empiricus (n. 1), 1.206.

26   According to Ernst-August Gutt, a successful translation is one that achieves not equivalence but interpretive resemblance between source and target text, in other words one that (ideally) shares the same explicatures and implicatures as the source text, or has the same explicit and implicit content. Due to the differences between languages, however, the resemblance is not total but exists 'in relevant respects', that is, is defined in terms of relevance. See Ernst-August Gutt, *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context* (Manchester, 2000).

27   Florio, I, 18 (I.1); compare Screech, pp. 666 (II.12) and 1105 (III.9).

28   Florio, III, 175 (III.8); compare Screech, p. 1061 (III.8).

29   For other examples, see Florio, I, 255 (I.38) and II, 280 (II.12); compare Screech, pp. 457 (II.10) and 748 (II.17).

30   Or rather ignorance; see Montaigne, p. 490 (I.50): 'et me rendre au doute et incertitude, et à ma maîtresse forme, qui est l'ignorance'.

9
Translating Scepticism and Transferring Knowledge in Montaigne's House

John O'Brien

Chapter 15 of Book 2 of Montaigne's *Essais*, 'Que nostre desir s'accroist par la malaisance' ('That difficulty increases desire'), is placed under the sign of a double translation of which the first determines the essayist's attitude towards the second. That first piece of translation is in fact the opening line of the chapter:

> Il n'y a raison qui n'en aye une contraire, dict le plus sage party des philosophes.

> ('No reason but has its contrary,' says the wisest of the Schools of Philosophers).[1]

This is, of course, an approximate translation of a phrase that occurs in Sextus Empiricus, παντὶ λόγῳ λόγος ἴσος ἀντίκειται ('To every argument an equal argument can be opposed').[2] This Greek phrase itself had been inscribed on the beams of Montaigne's library[3] and, not entirely coincidentally in the *Essais*, it follows hard on the heels of the translation of another such phrase, also from the library, that closes the previous chapter, II.14. It will be argued, in fact, that II.15 looks back to its immediate predecessor for more than one reason; but for the moment that argument will remain in the minor mode and the focus will instead be on the way that Sceptical expression of contrariety, contrariness and contradiction informs the whole chapter. In the process, the act of translation as an imitative principle will involve translation in the sense of transmission, in this case the transfer of Pyrrhonism for which Montaigne's house is the privileged focus and medium.

The end of chapter II.15 is of special interest in this regard. The lengthy *allongeail* (addition) with which it now closes is part of a larger reshaping of the conclusion after 1588. The essayist now devotes a lengthy development to the question of his house and why it remains uncaptured after 30 years of civil war. This addition is linked back to the thesis of the chapter by an initial quotation from Seneca and by the opening sentences:

> A l'adventure sert entre autres moyens l'aisance, à couvrir ma maison de la violence de nos guerres civiles. La defense attire l'entreprise, et la deffiance l'offense.

> (Perhaps it is ease of access, among other things, which serves to protect my dwelling from the violence of our civil wars. Defences attract offensives; defiance, attacks.) (pp. 616, 699)

He adds, by way of local colour:

> Elle [ma maison] n'est close à personne qui y heurte. Il n'y a pour toute provision qu'un portier d'ancien usage et ceremonie, qui ne sert pas tant à defendre ma porte qu'à l'offrir plus decemment et gratieusement.

> (It is closed to no one who knocks. My entire protection consists of an old-fashioned courteous porter who serves not so much to protect my door as to welcome anyone to it with becoming grace.) (pp. 616, 700)

Critics have responded variously to the challenge of this expansive addition. Isabelle Pantin's notice in the 'Pochothèque' edition is the most laconic; she remarks that the chapter constructs 'deux massifs … solides qui finissent par s'organiser en réflexion presque continue: celui de l'expérience amoureuse et celui de l'expérience politique' ('two substantial blocks which effectively make up an almost unbroken reflection on both affective and political experience').[4] Jean Balsamo offers a largely historical interpretation in the recent 'Pléiade' edition. For him, Montaigne is alluding in this passage to Machiavelli's views about fortifications in the *Discorsi*, as well as illustrating the fate of the lesser nobility, economically unable to lay out the expenditure required to turn their manor houses and

old-fashioned *châteaux* into bastions, which alone were designed to withstand artillery.[5] Between the two extremes of Pantin and Balsamo come Tournon's *Edition Municipale* and Tarrête in the new *Folio* edition of the *Essais*. One feature they share (albeit less marked in Tournon) is evocation of Montaigne's providentialism;[6] this view in turn relies on small expressions such as 'si Dieu veut' ('if God so wills it') and 'Si une plaine recognoissance acquiert la faveur divine' ('If God's favour is acquired by a complete confidence in it') in the closing lines of the chapter (pp. 617, 700–1). More particularly, anyone adopting the providentialist outlook could look back to a substantial passage that was introduced in 1582 and with which the post-1588 addition could be argued to harmonize:

> C'est un effect de la Providence divine de permettre sa saincte Eglise estre agitée, comme nous la voyons, de tant de troubles et d'orages, pour esveiller par ce contraste les ames pies, et les r'avoir de l'oisiveté et du sommeil où les avoit plongez une si longue tranquillité. Si nous contrepoisons la perte que nous avons faicte par le nombre de ceux qui se sont desvoyez, au gain qui nous vient pour nous estre remis en haleine, resuscité nostre zele et nos forces à l'occasion de ce combat, je ne sçay si l'utilité ne surmonte point le dommage.

> (It is an act of God's Providence to allow his Holy Church to be, as we can see she now is, shaken by so many disturbances and tempests, in order by this opposition to awaken the souls of the pious and to bring them back from the idleness and torpor in which so long a period of calm had immersed them. If we weigh the loss we have suffered by the numbers of those who have been led into error against the gain which accrues to us from our having been brought back into fighting trim, with our zeal and our strength restored to new life for the battle, I am not sure whether the benefit does not outweigh the loss.) (pp. 615, 698)

Positioned a little before the *allongeail* that concerns us, this passage gives every indication of supporting the notion of a right-thinking essayist, all the more so since Providence rarely occurs in the *Essais* in its religious sense and even more rarely as the subject of such an expansive and unequivocal endorsement.[7] From this standpoint, the *allongeail* that follows shortly afterwards seems to offer confirmatory evidence of an orthodox Montaigne.

Is there more to the *allongeail* than this? Some preliminary remarks are in order. Balsamo, Tarrête and Tournon all point out a feature apparent in this chapter: its Sceptical dimension, above and beyond the pyrrhonian dictum with which it opens. Tarrête, for example, states, 'Placé sous le signe de la contradiction – notion chère aux pyrrhoniens – ce chapitre met en scène un aspect paradoxal' ('Under the banner of contradiction – a concept that is dear to Pyrrhonians – this chapter dramatizes a paradoxical aspect').[8] Both he and Balsamo notice the occurrence of antiperistasis in the opening section, not as a term, but as a phenomenon described by Montaigne with the word 'contraste':[9] 'Car il se sent evidemment, comme le feu se picque à l'assistance du froid, que nostre volonté s'esguise aussi par le contraste' ('For we know from evidence that the presence of cold helps fire burn brighter and that our wills are sharpened by flat opposition') (pp. 612, 684). Neither Tarrête nor Balsamo comments on the links between this term and Scepticism, as notably explored by, for instance, Terence Cave.[10] No editor notices moreover that the same term, 'contraste', is used in the 1582 reflection on Providence – 'pour esveiller *par ce contraste* les ames pies'.[11] The work of Providence is specifically described in terms exemplifying the Sceptical dictum that launches the chapter and moreover echoing the use of 'contraste' in that earlier section.

The post-1588 passage arguably builds on this Sceptical tendency. One might suggest that a key element for understanding this aspect of the text is the expression 'je ne bouge' ('I do not budge') located towards the close of the chapter (pp. 617, 700). For 'je ne bouge' is Montaigne's own translation of the Sceptical term ἐπέχω, when commenting about the Pyrrhonians in the 'Apologie': 'leur mot sacramental, c'est ἐπέχω, c'est à dire je soutiens, je ne bouge' ('They have sworn loyalty to the word ἐπέχω, "I am in suspense", I will not budge') and characterizes this and other such Sceptical phrases in this way: 'Leur effect, c'est une pure, entiere et tres-parfaicte surceance et suspension de jugement' ('These sayings ... form refrains which lead to a pure, whole, complete suspension of their judgement, which is kept permanently in abeyance') (pp. 505, 563).[12] If it is accepted that 'je ne bouge' in II.15 echoes its use in II.12 – and these are in fact the only two instances of that particular collocation in the entire *Essais* – then the other elements in 'Que nostre desir ...' begin to fall into place. The chapter now begins and ends (almost) with Sceptical formulae in translated form. In addition to its many other possible meanings – 'I'm

not changing sides', 'I'm not fortifying my home', 'I'm staying put' – 'je ne bouge' also offers suspension as a way of thinking about the historical fate of Montaigne's house. From that standpoint, the evidence of providentialism in the final section of the chapter can seem more perplexing than compelling. Montaigne writes, for example, 'Je n'ay ny garde ny sentinelle que celle que *les astres* font pour moi' ('I have no guard, no watch, save that which *the heavenly bodies* provide for me') (pp. 616, 700; my emphasis). Is that equivalent to saying 'entre tant de maisons armées, moy seul, que je sache en France, de ma condition, ay fié purement *au ciel* la protection de la mienne' ('In the midst of so many fortified houses, I, alone of my rank in the whole of France as far as I know, have entrusted mine entirely to the protection of *Heaven*') (pp. 617, 700; my emphasis)? Are *astres* to be taken as a loose synonym for *ciel* – assuming that this itself means 'heaven' in the Christian sense? (Note that Screech's capitalization, here and elsewhere in this chapter, resolves Montaigne's ambiguity.) Again, it is notable that the references to the divine are expressed in rather tentatively conditional terms, '*Si* une plaine recognoissance acquiert la faveur divine' ('*If* God's favour is acquired by a complete confidence in it'), '*si* Dieu veut' ('*if* God so wills it') (my emphasis). In sum, one might conclude not that Montaigne chooses one explanation rather than the other, but that he suspends before us the elements of different explanations without suggesting how they fit into a hierarchical pattern, or indicating whether indeed one strand is subordinate to another.

Two parallels exist for his technique here. The first is in 'De la vanité' ('On vanity'), where a crucial set of reflections on the state of France – itself figured by the common image of a building – presents a similar configuration. In this case, the sequence is framed by references to the heavenly bodies, as determining the fate of empires and kingdoms: 'Les astres ont fatalement destiné l'estat de Romme pour exemplaire de ce qu'ils peuvent en ce genre' ('The stars fatally decreed that the Roman state should be the example of what they can achieve in this category') (pp. 960, 1087), which is picked up by the corresponding idea at the close of the episode: 'Il semble que les astres mesme ordonnent que nous avons assez duré outre les termes naturels' ('It seems that the very stars ordain that we have lasted beyond the normal limits'), combined with a reference immediately before to 'le ciel' as causing 'les simptomes de nostre mal' ('the symptoms of our malady') (pp. 961; 1088–9). That same combination of stars and heaven is in

evidence a little earlier in the passage, where Montaigne complains that astrologers have little need to warn us of imminent changes, for 'leurs devinations sont presentes et palpables, il ne faut pas aller au ciel pour cela' ('what they foretell is present and palpable: no need to turn to the heavens for that!') (pp. 961, 1088). Sandwiched between these physical agents comes a metaphysical one: 'Qui sçait si Dieu voudra qu'il en advienne comme des corps qui se purgent et remettent en meilleur estat par longues et griefves maladies, lesquelles leur rendent une santé plus entiere et plus nette que celle qu'elles leur avoient osté?' ('Who knows whether God's will may not be that the same should happen to us as to bodies that are purged and restored to a better state by those long and grievous maladies which bring to them a fuller, purer health than what they took away') (pp. 961, 1088). Once again, the same tentative tone is apparent as in II.15; the question puts the proposition beyond verification, but not entirely beyond doubt; the approach is speculative, enquiring. And once more, the relationship between God, 'le ciel' and 'les astres' is not clearly specified; primary and secondary causes are mixed together without any obvious priority being assigned to the component elements of the configuration.

'De la phisionomie' contains the second parallel, a famous incident in which Montaigne's house is in danger of capture. The metaphysical framework put in place in II.15 and III.9 is now reworked, in order for the emphasis to fall on one particular agent highlighted for us in the course of the narrated episode: 'Et suis homme en outre qui me commets volontiers à la fortune et me laisse aller à corps perdu entre ses bras' ('I am moreover a man inclined to trust myself to Fortune and to allow myself to dash into her arms') (pp. 1060–1, 1203). The succeeding sentences take up this idea of the essayist's indebtedness to fortune 'plus amie de mes affaires que je ne suis' ('better disposed towards my affairs than I am') (pp. 1061, 1023).[13] It is only after 1588 that Montaigne adds a more specific comment:

Nous faillons, ce me semble, en ce que nous ne nous fions pas assez au ciel de nous, et pretendons plus de nostre conduit qu'il ne nous appartient. Pourtant fourvoyent si souvent nos desseins. Il est jaloux de l'estenduë que nous attribuons aux droicts de l'humaine prudence, au prejudice des siens, et nous les racourcit d'autant que nous les amplifions.

(Where we go wrong, if you ask me, is in not entrusting ourselves enough to Heaven and in expecting more from our own conduct of affairs than rightly belongs to us. That explains why our schemes so often go awry. Heaven is jealous of the scope which we allow to the rights of human wisdom to the prejudice of its own: the more we extend them, the more Heaven cuts them back. (pp. 1061, 1203)[14]

Written at the same period as the *allongeail* in 'Que nostre desir ...', this reflection awards greater prominence to 'le ciel' than its counterpart passages, and although it does not mention Providence, there is an implicit contrast between human and divine foresight ('prudence').[15] If there is also in these lines an implicit subordination of 'fortune' to 'ciel', it is nonetheless significant that there is little extension of this to the surrounding textual fabric: the episode remains firmly in the domain of fortune, especially of the good fortune that has endowed the essayist with the physiognomic 'franchise' which ensures his preservation.[16] Additionally, one might note that the whole incident is introduced by 'à l'adventure' ('perhaps'), exactly the same term as that which announces the (C) addition in II.15 (pp. 1060, 1202). As a formula, it strikes the keynote in announcing the tentative, provisional nature of what follows and its status as a Sceptical marker has indeed been the subject of critical enquiry.[17]

Set against this wider, comparable background, the implications of the 'durée remerquable' ('remarkable length of time') of Montaigne's house in II.15 can thus be construed in different ways. For instance, if the outcome of Sceptical suspension is *ataraxia*, is this to be seen as a result of Providence, an alternative to it, or unrelated to it? Or again, when Montaigne claims that he has weakened the soldiers' design by leaving his house open to all and taking away any military glory that would derive from conquering it, can this be seen as a Sceptical response to politics, a way of extending into the political sphere the dangerous fencer's trick described in the 'Apologie' whereby one loses one's own weapon in order to force one's opponent to lose his?[18] The overtones behind Montaigne's description of his 'durée' are potentially far-reaching, yet how exactly these different elements fit together is left dangling, purposely uncertain, while this closing section 'assays' their exploratory and allusive power within the overall Sceptical dynamic imparted by the very opening

sentence of the chapter and recalled by the 'je ne bouge' ('I do not budge') of its last page. In the same Sceptical vein, one might say that this mini 'essay' about the house follows appearances, and when it reads those appearances, it does so multiply, not singly. It is important to keep those readings plural, and the signs ambiguous and indecisive, in order to maintain the fullest possible spectrum for the question of appearances. Even if no explanation is fully satisfactory – a situation the essayist envisages – it is still the case, as he phrases it, that 'j'ai toujours assez duré pour rendre ma durée remerquable et enregistrable' ('I have myself endured long enough to make that length of time remarkable and worth recording') (pp. 617, 701). The brute fact of sheer duration and dogged survival remains an unavoidable empirical truth.

These considerations do not exhaust Montaigne's writing of the domestic in this chapter. There are many versions of the house in the *Essais*: political (recall the alignment of the house and the state at the beginning of Aristotle's *Politics*); economic (Xenophon's *œconomicus* which had been translated by La Boétie and published by Montaigne in 1571);[19] strategic (Plutarch on how to make the best use of one's enemies). A further category can be added: philosophical, but with a purpose that aims at a goal beyond its immediate context. It has been pointed out that Montaigne's denial of the law of non-contradiction is anti-Aristotelian in design.[20] It is possible to think of this domestic episode in II.15 as no less anti-Aristotelian, but the target on this occasion is not the Stagirite's logical paradigms, but his philosophy of change and decay as embodied principally in the *Physics* and in *De generatione et corruptione*. One does not need to identify precise references to specific passages to see that Aristotelian physics represented the most widespread and commonly used of models to account for change. 'If we are ignorant of change, we are ignorant of nature', Aristotle claims in the third book of the *Physics* (III.1; 200*b*). Yet Montaigne's house seems to defy the principles of change and decay that Aristotle and the Scholasticism deriving from him had posited as immutable laws of nature. From that angle, 'je ne bouge', taken simply at face value ('I do not budge'), puts up stubborn resistance to the cycle of coming into being and passing away; in a world in constant motion, it stands as a solid citadel of immobility. The issues underlying this implicit problem would take us further than necessary in Montaigne's thinking about 'nostre bastiment, et public et privé'

('our fabric, both public and private') – buildings, houses, institutions, the state, even the human body, all of which fascinate him and often puzzle him in respect of their ability to perdure and persevere, to '[tenir] à plus d'un clou' ('hold on by more than one nail').[21] In the present context and for the present purposes, it is enough to observe that Montaigne directs our attention to a moment of counter-flow within the flux and flow of things. The essential problem is not that things pass, for all passes; the problem is that some things appear not to pass. Montaigne thus asks us to consider what it means to stay when all passes. And what does it mean not only to stay, but to stand? What does it means to continue to stand (what he calls 'durée')? How is it that the house achieves stasis (immobility) in the midst of stasis (civil unrest)?[22] Such questions underpin the contrariety and contradiction that the house is, and exemplify the house as a singularity illustrating the essayist's interest in distinction *qua* difference, but not in distinction *qua* logical definition.

Montaigne's implicit rejoinder to Aristotelian and Scholastic physics has its counterpart in the chapter immediately preceding II.15, 'Comme nostre esprit s'empesche soy-mesmes ('How our mind tangles itself up'). This short, dense chapter has been the subject of close scrutiny by Bernard Sève,[23] and his demonstration need not be repeated, except to emphasize certain elements germane to the purpose here. 'Comme nostre esprit ...' begins with a humorous version of the Buridan's ass paradox in Scholastic thought. The ass dying of hunger and thirst because unable to decide between a bale of hay and a pail of water is transposed into ourselves dying when lodged between the bottle and the ham. The Stoics' approach to this same problem, which is a problem of choice between indifferents, is next criticized on the grounds that 'aucune chose ne se presente à nous où il n'y ait quelque difference, pour legiere qu'elle soit' ('nothing ever presents itself to us in which there is not some difference, however slight') (pp. 611, 692). The final part of the chapter then moves on to various other impossibilities such as squaring the circle and the philosopher's stone, which are characterized as a conflict between reason and experience, before concluding that one might draw from all the preceding 'à l'adventure quelque argument pour secourir ce mot hardy de Pline, *solum certum nihil esse certi, et homine nihil miserius aut superbius*' ('perhaps ... arguments to support this bold saying of Pliny: "There is nothing more certain except that nothing is certain, and

nothing more wretched than Man nor more arrogant"') (pp. 611, 693). This quotation was followed by Montaigne's own translation of it in editions of the *Essais* printed during his lifetime: 'Qu'il n'est rien certain que l'incertitude, et rien plus miserable et plus fier que l'homme.' As if the Sceptical formula 'à l'adventure' were insufficient indication of the chapter's sympathies, the quotation from Pliny is expressly Sceptical in formulation, and one may readily agree with Villey, Tournon and Naya that 'Comme nostre esprit ...' as a whole is Sceptical in tone, construction and import.[24] Like II.15, II.14 views a Scholastic principle through a Pyrrhonist lens, and it does so via the medium of a classical dictum that, like similar expressions in 'Que nostre desir ...', had been engraved on the beams of Montaigne's library and, like them again, appears in the form of a French translation, at least up to 1588. Translation is thus crucial in both chapters not just as a way of transmitting of knowledge, but as a critical tool for investigating and weighing (among other things) Aristotelian and Scholastic principles.

* * *

The reading of II.15 undertaken here has stressed its role as part of a minor sequence that binds II.14 and II.15 into a complementary reflection under the auspices of Scepticism. One might add that the beginning of the next chapter, 'De la gloire' ('On glory'), has an express reference to the *Théologie Naturelle*, signing off the previous sequence before 'De la gloire' turns to its own set of preoccupations. In essence, this sequence can be seen as extending the work of the 'Apologie' in highlighting the uncomfortable disturbance that an oppositional discourse can create within the *Essais*. Scepticism is by definition such an oppositional discourse, and its alliance with anti-peristasis results in the reorganization of the elements that describe the house. As has been seen from the modern commentaries on this episode at the close of II.15, it is possible to view it as a reflection of historical circumstances with a conventionally religious Montaigne celebrating his success as a surviving aristocrat – or as very nearly the opposite, with the signs offering a less orthodox and unambiguous reading of his survival, at least in metaphysical terms. Yet we must be clear about what is at stake here: not, somehow, a Montaigne who is 'really' a non-believer, a Sceptic in the modern sense who is

in fact just a projection of our own desires; but an *essayist* who tries out a variety of approaches, in this case a philosophical approach that links the temporal suspension of decay and decline to a suspension – a holding before us – of the plural agencies that might be responsible for it. In this regard, it is equally important to underline that we are not seeing a natural portrait, a straightforward depiction, of Montaigne's house, but one that is itself rhetorically articulated because – crucially – subject to the operation of antiperistasis: the immobile house is intensified in its stillness by the work of a rhetorical figure of restless movement; it becomes in its turn 'un contraste' (an opposition), not simply in static tension with the surrounding political upheaval, but in dynamic reaction to it. Through interchange,[25] the house's stillness only attains its full measure because of the civil war that engulfs Guyenne.

If II.15 has greater expansiveness and imaginative range than II.14, it is thus in no small measure because Montaigne's description of his house and its *durée* adds distinctively to the resonance of his arguments. It stands at the confluence of the political, the religious and the philosophical, and Montaigne uses translation, particularly the polyvalent expression 'je ne bouge', to conduct a densely layered enquiry into the possible reasons why his house has been spared and indeed preserved when many others have fallen. The essayist's modern commentators recognize that this enquiry is phrased in paradoxical terms. They could also have noted that the effect of this is to turn the house itself into a sort of multifaceted puzzle. The house, as it were, curls itself into a question, laying before us the riddle of its own duration, and underlining in the process the crucial connection between constative and interrogative modes in the *Essais*; or to put it another way, how it is that the statement 'je ne bouge' comes back as the question 'Que sçay-je?'[26]

Notes

1 *Les 'Essais' de Michel de Montaigne*, edited by Pierre Villey, revised by V.-L. Saulnier (Paris, 1965), p. 612; Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, translated by M. A. Screech (London, 1991), p. 694. Montaigne and Screech are normally cited together from these editions, with parenthetical in-text page references in the form 'pp. 612, 694'.

2 Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhonian Hypotyposes*, 1.27.

3 See Alain Legros, in *Montaigne: Les Essais*, edited by Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Paris, 2007), pp. 1311–16, 1892–1903.

4 Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais*, edited by Denis Bjaï *et al.*, p. 944. Translations from secondary literature are mine here and throughout.

5 Balsamo et al., p. 1630.

6 Alexandre Tarrête, 'notice' to II.15 in *Essais de Michel de Montaigne*, edited by Emmanuel Naya, Delphine Reguig-Naya and Alexandre Tarrête, 3 vols (Paris, 2009), II, 763: 'la volonté de se confier entièrement à la Providence' ('the determination to trust entirely to Providence'); *Essais de Michel de Montaigne*, edited by André Tournon, 3 vols (Paris, 1998), II, 821: 'un providentialisme de l'épreuve purificatrice' ('the providentialism of a purifying ordeal'), referring to the 1582 paragraph, but without linking it directly to the manuscript addition.

7 *Dictionnaire de Michel de Montaigne,* edited by Philippe Desan (Paris, 2004); the most significant other comment on Providence is the long section at 1.23, p. 121 beginning: 'Si quelques fois la Providence divine a passé par-dessus les regles ausquelles elle nous a necessairement astreints, ce n'est pas pour nous en dispenser' ('Though divine Providence has sometimes passed beyond the rules to which we are bound by necessity, it was not dispensing us from them') (p. 137).

8 Tarrête, II, 763.

9 See Balsamo's note in particular, p. 1631, *ad* p. 650, n. 3, for Scipion Dupleix's translation of 'antiperistasis' as 'contrariété'.

10 See Terence Cave, *Retrospectives: Essays in Literature, Poetics and Cultural History*, edited by Neil Kenny and Wes Williams (Oxford, 2009), pp. 117–26. Screech and Frame translate 'contraste' as 'opposition', following Florio.

11 *'Essais'*, p. 615, my italics.

12 Screech's translation in both places – 'I will not budge' – thus seems to recognize the point at issue. Florio does the same, translating 'I do not stirre' in both places.

13 For a similar idea, see II.17, p. 654, 'Ainsi j'arreste chez moi le doubte et la liberté de choisir, jusques à ce que l'occasion me presse. Et lors, à confesser la verité, je jette le plus souvent la plume au vent, comme on dict, et m'abandonne à la mercy de la fortune: une bien legere inclination et circonstance m'emporte' ('So I maintain within me my doubt and my freedom to choose until the occasion becomes urgent when, to tell the truth, I "toss a feather to the wind" (as the saying goes) and put myself at the mercy of Fortune: the slightest of inclinations or circumstances then carries me away') (p. 743).

14 Once again, Screech's translation makes choices for Montaigne.

15 'Prudence' is also 'prudentia', the judge's ability to combine judgement and decision into 'iudicium'; see further Francis Goyet, *Les Audaces de la prudence. Littérature et politique aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 2009).

16 Compare more expressly III.1, p. 792: 'Que Montaigne s'engouffre quant et la ruyne publique, si besoin est; mais, s'il n'est pas besoin, je sçauray

bon gré à la fortune qu'il se sauve. ('Let Montaigne, my seat, be engulfed in the collapse of the commonwealth if needs be; but, if needs not be, I shall be grateful to Fortune for preserving it') (p. 894).

17   See Kirsti Sellevold's contribution to the present volume (Chapter 8), and her analysis of modal expressions (Sellevold, *passim*). I am grateful to Kirsti Sellevold for reminding me about the role of 'à l'adventure' and Fortune in the articulation of this passage.

18   *'Essais'*, p. 616. Compare II.12, p. 558: 'ce dernier tour d'escrime icy, il ne le faut employer que comme un extreme remede. C'est un coup desesperé, auquel il faut abandonner vos armes pour faire perdre à vostre adversaire les siennes, et un tour secret, duquel il se faut servir rarement et reservéement' ('The ultimate rapier-stroke which I am using here must only be employed as a remedy of last resort. It is a desperate act of dexterity, in which you must surrender your own arms to force your opponent to lose his. It is a covert blow which you should only use rarely and with discretion') (p. 628).

19   See John O'Brien, 'De l'*Oeconomicus* à *La Mesnagerie*: La Boétie et Xénophon', in *Etienne de la Boétie: Sage révolutionnaire et poète périgourdin*, edited by Marcel Tetel (Paris, 2004), pp. 45–62.

20   For example, Ian Maclean, *Montaigne philosophe* (Paris, 1996), pp. 33–5, on Montaigne's understanding of the Aristotelian theory of opposites.

21   *'Essais'*, p. 790 (III.1), p. 960 (III.9).

22   *Stasis* (στάσις) as civil unrest and factionalism is one of Aristotle's primary terms in book 5 of the *Politics*, which is devoted to revolution. (*Metabole* or μεταβολή is the other primary term.)

23   Bernard Sève, *Montaigne: Des règles pour l'esprit* (Paris, 2007), pp. 61–83.

24   Villey, p. 611 ('La tendance sceptique très nette qui le caractérise' ('the very clear sceptical tendency which is its hallmark') [*sc.* le chapitre]), Tournon, p. 819 ('apories couramment citées dans la diatribe sceptique' ('aporias regularly referred to in the sceptical diatribe')), Naya, pp. 761–2 ('examen sceptique', 'le scepticisme de la conclusion' ('sceptical examination', 'the scepticism of the conclusion')). *Per contra*, Sève, pp. 78–83, who regards Montaigne as distancing himself from the Sceptical position in this chapter. Isabel Pantin, *in Bjaï et al.*, p. 942, sees this chapter as an attack on the vanity of knowledge in the style of Cornelius Agrippa.

25   One of the meanings of 'antiperistasis' given by *LSJ*.

26   In II.12, p. 527, Montaigne says of the language of Pyrrhonism, 'Cette fantasie est plus seurement conceue par interrogation: Que sçay-je? comme je la porte à la devise d'une balance' ('Scepticism can best be conceived through the form of a question: "What do I know?" – *Que sçay-je*, words inscribed on my emblem of a balance' (p. 591)), whereas the *jeton* he had struck in 1576 actually bears the Greek word ἐπέχω.

10
Urquhart's Inflationary Universe

Anne Lake Prescott

Anyone who has read Rabelais in Sir Thomas Urquhart's 1653 trans-lation knows the latter's astonishing verbal rush and tumble, his neologisms and expansions, his energy and inventiveness. Urquhart's verbal inventiveness looks even more interesting, however, when juxtaposed with the linguistic claims and theories expressed in works that he wrote at roughly the same time. In this chapter I would like to recall some of Urquhart's earlier writings, provide some examples of how he treats Rabelais' French, and position his lexical carnival in the context of his other writings.

Born in 1611 as heir to the lairdship of Cromarty, Urquhart was a dapper courtier and well-travelled linguist whom Charles I knighted in 1641. At around the same time he took to writing epigrams, the respectable ones seeing print and the indecent ones still lurking in a manuscript now in the Beinecke Library. A 1645 work on mathemat-ics is much stranger, but also, thanks to its verbal inventiveness and expansion, more relevant to the next decade's translation of Rabelais. Is it a send-up or is it serious?

> ***Trissotetras:*** *OR, A MOST EXQUISITE TABLE* FOR resolving all manner of Triangles, whether Plaine or Sphericall, Rectangular or Obliquangular, with greater facility, then ever hitherto hath been practised: Most necessary for all such as would attaine to the exact knowledge of Fortification, Dyaling, Navigation, Surveying, Architecture, the Art of Shadowing, taking of Heights, and Distances, the use of both the Globes, Perspective, the skill of making the Maps, the Theory of the Planets, the calculating

of their motions, and of all other Astronomicall computations whatsoever. Now lately invented, and perfected, explained, commented on, and with all possible brevity, and perspicuity, in the hiddest, and most re-searched mysteries, from the very first grounds of the science it selfe, proved, and convincingly demonstrated.

And that is merely the title, most of it arranged in aborted triangles as suits the topic, trigonometry. Here, for example, is what could be a version of the Pythagorean theorem (or not) in an exclusionary gibberish that would do Rabelais' lawyers and pedants proud. It is worth quoting in part, if only because it is not clear whether Urquhart meant his gushes of printed logorrhoea to be read with care, or if the gush is itself the purpose, the jest:

if from any point without a circle, two lines cutting it be protracted to the other extremity thereof, making two cords, the oblongs contained under the totall lines, and the excesse of the Subtenses, are equall one to another; for whether any of the lines passe through the Center, or not, if the Subtenses be Bisected, seeing all lines from the Center fall Perpendicularly upon the Chordall point of Bisection (because the two semi-Diameters, and Bisegments substerned under equall Angles, in two Triangles evince the equality of the third Angle, to the third, by the fift *Apodictick,* which two Angles being made by the falling of one right line upon another, must needs be right by the tenth definition of the first of *Euchilde*) the *Bucarnon* of *Pythagoras,* demonstrated in my fourteenth *Apodictick*, will by Quadrosubductions of Ambients, from one another, and their Quadrobiquadrequation ... with the Hypotenusa, together with other Analogies of equation with the powers of like Rectangular Triangles, comprehended within the same circle, manifest the equality of long Squares, or oblongs Radically meeting in an Exterior point, and made of the prolonged Subtenses, and the lines of interception, betwixt the limb of the circle, and the point of concourse, *quod probandum fuit.*[1]

This reads like parody, but it may also offer a precision that briefer formulations can miss, just as Urquhart's later thoughts on linguistics

value expansion but also seek an exactitude that may require more words. This may be why, despite the title's risible claim to brevity, Urquhart offers an image both of trigonometry and of the world's plenitude, of trade, war, travel, cosmology, cartography, and more. Urquhart's book, then, and whatever the clarity of a geometrical shape's enclosing lines, shows his dislike of gaps, lacunae, absence and a preference less for repetition (his vocabulary does not much repeat itself) than for the singular. A singularity, after all, can lead to a big bang that inflates forever, conjoining the singular with the increasing precision of verbal particles and forces in endless but specific combinations, each – in Urquhartian linguistics – requiring a new word.

In the late summer of 1651 Urquhart was captured at the battle of Worcester fighting for the future Charles II, and was subsequently imprisoned for several years. Although for a while paroled, it was probably as a prisoner that he wrote some or all of several books, perhaps hoping to persuade the Commonwealth authorities that he was valuable enough to liberate. Among these works, printed in London while he was still incarcerated, are two that begin by outlining a supposed plan for a universal language, in one case (the text usually called *The Jewel*) modulating into a stirring defence of the Scots which includes the adventures of the 'the admirable Crichton', and in the other veering off into many pages on Urquhart's rapacious creditors and rigidly Presbyterian neighbours. A third work is a long genealogy of the Urquhart family, and, of course, there are the translations of *Gargantua*, *Pantagruel*, and part of the *Tiers livre*, this last printed posthumously and perhaps – we do not know to what degree – edited by the man who completed the task of Englishing Rabelais, Peter Motteux. The same combination of inflation and singularity offered by *Trissotetras* also characterizes Urquhart's Rabelais. Translating Rabelais is not easy; one scholar calls it a challenge, 'un défi'.[2] Those who make the attempt are either inventively inaccurate like Urquhart, or intelligently correct but a bit dull like … everyone else.

Most famous among Rabelais' methods of inflation is the list, and anyone with Urquhart's imagination can find ways of adding to the verbal pile, specifying and expanding. One entertaining accumulation comes in Rabelais' description of baby Gargantua's codpiece. Urquhart was capable of greater inflation, but this one also shows

his debt to Randall Cotgrave's likewise logophiliac French-English dictionary of 1611. I italicize his additions:

> And like to that Horn of abundance, it was still gallant, succulent, *droppie*, sappie, *pithie*, lively, always flourishing, always fructifying, full of juice, full of flower, full of fruit, and all manner of delight. I avow God it would have done one good to have seen him, but I will tell you more of him in the book which I have made of the dignity of Codpieces. One thing I will tell you, that, as it was both long and large, so was it well furnished and victualled within, nothing like unto the hypocritical Codpieces of some *fond Wooers, and Wench-courters* which are stuffed only with wind, to the great prejudice of the female sexe.[3]

The 'hypocritical Codpieces' in Rabelais belong to 'muguets', specified by Cotgrave as knights and failed wooers. Also impressive is the swagger of the vocabulary when in *Pantagruel* the trickster Panurge decides a law case between Kissbreech and Suckfist. The verdict:

> 'Mais, en ce qu'il met sus au defendeur qu'il fut rataconneur, tyrofageux et goildronneur de mommye, que n'a esté en brimbalant trouvé vray, comme bien l'a desbastu ledict defendeur, la court le condemne en troys verrassées de caillebottes assimentées, prelorelitantés et gaudepisées comme est la coustume du pays, envers ledict defendeur, payables à la my d'oust, en may;

> 'Mais le dict defendeur sera tenu de fournir de foin et d'estoupes à l'embouchement des chassetrapes gutturals, emburelucocquées de tuilverdons, bien brabelex à rouelle.

> 'Et amis comme devant, sans depens, et pour cause'.[4]

Urquhart offers:

> 'But in that he chargeth the Defendant, that he was a botcher, cheese-eater, and trimmer of mans flesh imbalmed, which in the arsiversie swagfull tumble was not found true, as by the Defendant was very well discussed;
> 'The court therefore doth condemn and amerce him in three porringers of curds, well cemented and closed together, shining like pearles, and Codpieced after the fashion of the Countrey, to be

payed unto the said Defendant about the middle of *August* in *May*: but on the other part the Defendant shall be bound to furnish him with hay and stubble, for stopping the caltrops of his throat, troubled and impulregafized, with gabardines garbeled shufflingly, and friends as before, without costs, and for cause'. (p. 216)

If this is not fully clear, Rabelais implies, neither can we understand real lawyers. Compare some lines, doubtless energized by Urquhart's irritation at the rigid-minded or hypocritical, in a poem directed at those unworthy to enter the quasi-parodic Abbey of Thélème:

> Here enter not vile bigots, hypocrites,
> Externally devoted Apes, base snites,
> Puft up, wry-necked beasts, worse then the *Huns*
> Or *Ostrogots*, forerunners of baboons:
> Curst snakes, dissembled varlets, seeming Sancts,
> Slipshod caffards, beggars pretending wants,
> Fat chuffcats, smell-feast knockers, doltish gulls,
> Out-strouting cluster-fists, contentious bulls,
> Fomenters of divisions and debates,
> Elsewhere, not here, make sale of your deceits. (p. 149)

Rabelais had written:

> Cy n'entrez pas, hypocrites, bigotz,
> Vieulx matagotz, marmiteux, borsouflez,
> Ny Ostrogotz, precurseurs des magotz
> Haires, cagotx, caffars empantouflez,
> Gueux, mitouflez, frapars, escorniflez,
> Befflez, enflez, fagoteurs de tabus;
> Tirez ailleurs pour vendre vos abus.[5]

Those 'seeming Sancts' had an even nastier look in the 1650s.

I give one longer example so as to offer an opportunity to compare Urquhart's powers to those of the one man who might have rivalled Sir Thomas had he attempted a full translation: John Eliot, author of *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593), an irrepressible book on learning

French.[6] In his prologue to the *Tiers livre* Rabelais compares himself to Diogenes, the cynic or 'doggish' philosopher thought to have helped inspire the sort of satire – Menippean – that Rabelais wrote. (That the cynic supposedly lived in a barrel may also recall the wine that in Rabelais' works can both bring liberating pleasure and recall Christ's liberating blood.)[7] Just as Diogenes had supposedly rolled his barrel around in a parody of his city's frenzied preparations for war, so Rabelais gives us a mindless paroxysm of words in a world sooner in need of reason and charity:

> Diogenes ... en grande vehemence d'esprit desployant ses braz le tournoit, viroit, brouilloit barbouilloit, hersoit, versoit, renversoit, nattoit grattoit, flattoit, barrattoit, bastoit, boutoit, butoit, tabustoit, cullebutoit, trepoit, trempoit, tapoit, timpoit, estouppoit, destouppoit, detraquoit, triquotoit, tripotoit, chapotoit, croulloit, elançoit, chamailloit, bransloit, esbransloit, levoit, lavoit, clavoit, entravoit, bracquoit, bricquoit, blocuoit, traccasoit, ramassoit, clabossoit, afestoit, affustoit, baffouloit, enclouoit, amadouoit, goildronnoit, mittonnoit, tastonnoit, bimbelotoit, clabossoit, terrassoit, bistorioit, vreloppoit, chaluppoit, charmoit, armoit, gizarmoit, enharnachoit, empennachoit, caparassonnoit, le devalloit de mont à val, et præcipitoit par la Cranie, puys de val en mont le rapportoit, comme Sisyphus faict sa pierre: tant que peu s'en faillit, qu'il ne le defonçast.[8]

Asked why he does this, the philosopher replies that he does not wish to seem a slacker.

Eliot addresses his fellow teachers in a time of open war between the 'loftie leaguers' (the Guise-dominated 'Holy League' that had inspired Henri III's assassination) and Henri IV, who had converted to Catholicism that same year but remained embattled. Satirists can at least spill words to shame those spilling blood. He has, says Eliot, 'dezinkhornifistibulated a fantasticall Rapsody of dialogisme', just as Diogenes, 'in great vehemencie of spirit',

> tucketh vp his sleeues, girdeth close his gowne, chargeth on his shoulders his tunne, the imperiall pallace, and runneth vp to the toppe of a high mountaine nere the citie, where in all diligence hee begins to belabour his roling citie, to set it going, to turne

it, ouerturne it, spurne it, bind it, wind it, twind it, throw it, ouerthrow it, tumble it, rumble it, iumble it, did ring it, swing it, fling it, ding it, made it leape, skip, hip, trip, thumpe, iumpe, shake, crake, quake, washt it, swasht it, dasht it, slasht it, naild it, traild it, tipt it, tapt it, rapt it, temperd it, tamperd it, hammerd it, hoopt it, knockt it, rockt it, rubd it, tugd it, lugd it, stopt it, vnstopt it, tied it fast, then losed it againe, rusht it, crusht it, brusht it, pusht it, charmd it, armd it, farmd it, set it an end, laid it along, harnest it, varnest it, burnisht it, furnisht it, stickte it full of feathers, caparrassond it, & rold it amaine from the steepe rocke to the low bottome, ouertakes it, takes it on his shoulder, mounts the hill, and turles it downe agayne with violence, staies it, plaies with it, and fetcheth it a mile from him.[9]

Do not blame me, adds Eliot, for 'I would not be found a loyterer in mine own countrie'.

Urquhart is even more inflationary: Diogenes takes his barrel out of the city, where:

in a great Vehemency of Spirit, did he turn it, veer it, wheel it, whirl it, frisk it, jumble it, shuffle it, huddle it, tumble it, hurry it, joult it, justle it, overthrow it, evert it, invert it, subvert it, overturn it, beat it, thwack it, bump it, batter it, knock it, thrust it, push it, jerk it, shock it, shake it, toss it, throw it, overthrow it upside down, topsiturvy, arsiturvy, tread it, trample it, stamp it, tap it, ting it, ring it, tingle it, towl it, sound it, resound it, stop it, shut it, unbung it, close it, unstopple it. And then again in a mighty bustle he bandy'd it, slubber'd it, hack'd it, whitled it, way'd it, darted it, hurled it, stagger'd it, reel'd it, swindg'd it, brangled it, totter'd it, lifted it, heav'd it, transformed it, transfigur'd it, transpos'd it, transplaced it, reared it, raised it, hoised it, washed it, dighted it, cleansed it, rinced it, nailed it, setled it, fastned it, shackled it, fetter'd it, level'd it, block'd it, tugg'd it, tew'd it, carry'd it, bedash'd it, beray'd it, parch'd it, mounted it, broach'd it, nick'd it, notch'd it, bespatter'd it, deck'd it, adorn'd it, trimmed it, garnished it, gaged it, furnish'd it, boar'd it, pierc'd it, trap'd it, rumbled it, slid it down the Hill, and precipitated it from the very height of the *Cranie;* then from the foot to the top (like another *Sisyphus* with his Stone) bore it up again, and every way

so bang'd it and belabour'd it, that it was ten thousand to one he
had not struck the bottom of it out. (pp. 293–4)

Why thus 'torment his Tub'? Because having no 'other Charge by
the *Republick*, he thought it expedient to thunder and storm it so
tempestuously upon his *Tub*' rather than 'seem a loytering Slug and
lasie Fellow'. Poor Urquhart was himself in no position to help the
'Republick', whether in the old sense of 'public thing' or the coming
sense of kingless commonwealth. At least he can help fill Diogenes'
tub with words.

   These are just a few examples of Urquhart's desire to expand
and invent: to go further, to agglutinate and polysyllablify, to
build upon, find two words for one, to double, to triple, heap up,
PelionuponOssify, overdo it, push it past the horizon, go too far,
exceed the linguistic rapidity limit, accelerate the prose while paus-
ing to fabricate additions. Urquhart has not only vigour but infla-
tion of linguistic wealth – not the wealth of gold but the wealth of
paper, like a modern government inflating its resources by printing
money, declaring, promising, lending, borrowing. Terence Cave has
compared Rabelais' work to an empty codpiece[10] – it bulges, but with
the inflationary air of words. Good air, of course, as would please the
penniless and incarcerated heir of Cromarty; stripped by creditors
he had more words than coin, more language than land. No wonder
that he was drawn to a text that laughs at lawyers and has a paradoxi-
cal defence of debt (in Chapter 3 of the *Tiers livre*).[11] The royal giants
from Utopia and their followers are freer than Urquhart, freer to
travel to new lands, freer to fight (and, unlike Urquhart to win), freer
to drink in company.

   What else might have drawn him? Possibly a desire to shock the
self-consciously godly of the Scottish Kirk whom in his *Jewel* Urquhart
called the 'most rigid zealots' and 'kirkomanetick Philarchaists' who
fancied themselves 'the remainder of new *Palestine*'.[12] Reformers
in his day could make off-colour jokes, but it is still not hard to
imagine Urquhart, like Restoration wits, countering zeal with laugh-
ter, using obscenity and scatology as a pills to purge Puritanism.
Rabelais' utopian royals, moreover, are giants. In Cromwell's England
the beheaded Charles and his son had become political pigmies;
the new Gargantua was the Protector. For Thomas Hobbes, in his
Leviathan (1651), the state is necessarily a giant enclosing, on the

book's famous title page, its multitude of tiny citizens or subjects. But Rabelais' royal and not merely collective Pantagruel has a world inside of him, and whatever his anger at conservative Catholics he had no evident desire to rid France of monarchs, least of all his patroness Marguerite de Navarre.

His royalism might make one wonder why Urquhart was allowed to publish. True, his several ventures into print were smoothed by prudent flattery of Cromwell and came with admiring verses by the Parliamentarian but conciliatory John Hall. London was not Stalinist Russia, moreover, or even the New England of some decades ago when 'banned in Boston' sold books in New York. Nor was Urquhart's the only mid-century translation that breathes royalism in republican Britain; Robert Codrington's 1654 version of Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*, for example, praises French royalty and has a printer's band that sports a thistle, rose and the initials 'C.R'.

Like his work on trigonometry, Urquhart's writings from the early 1650s are interesting to set next to his Rabelais, for they are just as inventive verbally and more eccentric intellectually. Parodic or serious, they show Urquhart's taste for an inflationary linguistics, his urge to expand and invent. Parody itself can indicate fascination: if it is true that the wish can be father to the thought, it is also true that the desire can be father to the joke. After all, a major Renaissance theory of humour assumed that what causes laughter is ambivalence – pain and pleasure make the heart alternately expand and contract, thus pulling on our diaphragms and making us say 'ho, ho, ho' while the increased intake of air helps the blood dissolve the melancholy – the black bile – in our heads.[13] These prison writings may be jokes, but jokes, like dreams, can bespeak hope or longing as well as fear or dislike. Urquhart's hope and desire were for proliferation yet unity, wholeness yet singularity, liberation but hierarchy and order.

The genealogy of Pantagruel (a friendly parody of the biblical 'begats') links the giant to Goliath, Polyphemus and Roland's friend Fierabras. In his *Pantochronochanon: or, A Peculiar Promptuary of Time*, Urquhart produces many more ancestors for himself than Rabelais had assigned his giant, not least because Urquhart names the wives. Unlike Pantagruel, moreover, the Urquharts go back to Eden. But why show descent from Adam, here delightfully surnamed 'Protoplast'? After all, every particle of human cytoplast (except the cell's mitochondria, to be sure) is likewise descended. A joke? Maybe, although

the Habsburgs had likewise claimed descent from both Virgil's ancient Trojans and the Bible's Israelite patriarchs.[14] What also distinguishes this genealogy from lesser lineages, though, is its *fulness*, its avoidance of the dead ends that most non-biblical genealogies must eventually reach. Urquhart's genealogy, although it is linear and non-ramifying (a family trunk, not tree), is without blanks, which means it is without the illegitimacy that Rabelais' Panurge so feared should he marry, and also without loss. Urquhart does sometimes pause to explain the wives' families and their glories (one was the princess who found the baby Moses) – a sort of doublet, to go with those in his translation, perhaps. It is no surprise, then, that Urquhart subtitles his book 'A peculiar Promptuary of *TIME* Wherein (not one instant being omitted since the beginning of motion) is displayed A most exact Directory for all particular *Chronologies*, in what Family soever'.

Urquhart ends with the promise that to this genealogy he will add a history with 'many specious Synchronisms, worth of remark, and as it comprehendeth all the time that is past, so shall few actions of moment, or persons of either sexe, that have been illustrious for any commendable quality, escape the tract of that his Pen'.[15] Exactly: his pen's 'tract' is all comprehending, all-inclusive. Then comes the final promise: to make similar genealogies for the illustrious of 'Germany, Bohemia, France, Spain, England, Scotland, Ireland, and several other Nations of warmer climate' and to show how 'by the iniquity of time, and confusion of languages, their Names have been varied, their coat Armour altered, and as new sions [Zions] transplanted unto another soil'.[16] Had Urquhart kept his promise he would have peopled all the earth with genealogies, at least those of the world's great, closing any gaps in time or space.

The most intellectually arresting of Urquhart's non-Rabelaisian prison texts, however, are two texts outlining his plan for a universal language.[17] In an angrily paradoxical letter that would have amused the writer who made Pantagruel buy unicorns and Gargantua king of Utopia, Urquhart dedicates his *Logopandecteision* to 'No-body', the 'supponent Lord, and Soveraign master of contradictions' who has helped him in his struggle with creditors, the defeat in which he and his manuscripts were '5 times plundred, pillaged, pilfred, robed, and rifled', and who has now helped his effort to create a universal language (note the five verbs to go with the five times).[18]

Because 'Words are signes of things', says one of Urquhart's rules, there should 'be a proportion betwixt the sign and thing signified; therefore should all things, whether real or rationall, have their proper words assigned unto them'. So 'Seeing there is in nature such affinity 'twixt words & things, (as there ought to be in whatsoever is ordained for one another) that Language is to be accounted most conform [sic] to Nature, which with greatest variety expresseth all manner of things' (*Ekskybalauron*, pp. 8–9). We also need a better alphabet and some means of encouraging the many nations to pronounce the same letters the same way. There would be one sign for one thing, but because we live in a world of proliferating things, whether through discovery or creation, we also need a language that can likewise expand, multiplying distinctions even while preserving relationships and hence coherence. Urquhart would have loved Linnaeus and his system for categorizing hitherto unknown plants and animals.

To apportion new signs to new things in ways that both distinguish them and indicate their relation, this language would require eleven genders (gods and goddesses, for example, each need a non-human gender), ten cases, seven moods and twelve parts of speech. This sounds difficult, but such a language would be so rational, so predictable, that a boy could learn it in three months. Each letter would also be a number, and each word would signify the same thing whether said forwards or backwards. There would of course be neologisms, and Urquhart remarks defensively that 'when an exuberant spirit would to any high researched conceit adapt a peculiar word of his own coyning, he is branded with Incivility, if he apologize not for his boldness' (*Logopandecteision*, p. 5). Such a refusal to recognize new 'Citizens in the Commonwealth of Languages', says this prisoner of another Commonwealth, is a 'restraint of liberty'. We need innovation, in fact, whatever is objected by the 'fidimplicitary Gown-men' (academics, clerics and lawyers?) who 'blaterate' to the point of nausea that there is nothing new under the sun. How do these 'Pristinary Lobcocks', these 'Archaeomanetick Coxcombs', account for Aristotle's syllogisms, gunpowder or printing? Urquhart had reason to defend the creation of novelty, for he lived at a time of unprecedented awareness of new things. Nor was he alone in singling out powder and print as innovations, for they regularly figure in the brief chronologies of significant historical moments

included in many almanacs. Although the language would generate new words and numbers '*in infinitum*', says Urquhart later, and make room for metaphor and allegory, it would be 'the compactest stile of any Language' and usable by 'States-men and Merchants' (*Logopandecteision*, pp. 31, 32). For just as 'There are moe wayes to the wood, then one ... and from the circumference to the center, may be drawn infinite lines', if only one perpendicular, so there is one God who is the 'ground work and *Basis*' with a variety of lines at various angles coming from that base (p. 64). The best language, for Urquhart, is the many and the one.

Whether this is a piece of Rabelaisian or Panurgic jesting (and a good example of humour that mixes joy and grief), Urquhart's desire was clearly for fullness, infinity, extension, a multiplicity that paradoxically is one way to find wholeness, its source and culmination in unity, a nothing and all, a zero and infinity, and at the micro-level at least providing doublets, additions, even multiplications. A very different example of verbal efflorescence is the following bit of hyperbolic Petrarchism. Is it meant to be pretty? Grotesque? Both? Wearing diamonds in the shape of the constellation Virgo, a lady in his *Jewel* has 'put the foot-stals of those Marble pillars which did support her *Microcosme*, into a paire of incarnation Velvet slippers embroydered with purle' and appears with 'the curled tresses of her discheveled haire dangling over her shoulders, by the love-knots of whose naturally-guilded filaments were made fast the hearts of many gallant sparks', sparks 'more forcibly curbed by those capillary fetters, than by so many chaines of iron; and in the *dadalian* windings of the crisped pleats whereof, did lye in ambush a whole brigade of *Paphian Archers*, to bring the loftiest Martialists to stoop to the shrine of *Cupid*'. They are taken, that is, by curled hair that goes '*Arachne*-like, now *careering,* now *caracoling* it alongest the *Polygonal* plainness of its twisted threds' (*Ekskybalauron*, p. 141). Some who write on Urquhart call this 'euphuism', and it can certainly seem like a parody of John Lyly's equally preposterous *Euphues* (1579). Yet there may be less of Euphues in Urquhart's show-off word-tossing and alliterative metaphor-mongering than of such fellow Menippeans as Thomas Nashe (the only Elizabethan other than John Eliot who might have rivalled Urquhart as a translator of Rabelais). Lyly made preciosity fashionable; he did

not explode the language, jump acrobatically from lexical level to lexical level, or, as Nashe said that his partner in polemics Gabriel Harvey failed to do, 'writhe' words around.[19]

This is a respectable example of Urquhart's ear-bending mix of polysyllabic imports and native English, of curled hair and curled words, of 'Polygonal' and 'plainness'. A less respectable passage from his *Gargantua* has been singled out by Raymond Oliver as showing just this ability to exploit what Oliver calls the energizing 'clash' of the Latinate and Germanic elements in English vocabulary.[20] Oliver's example is the scene in which an 'old trot' gives the labouring Gargamelle, who has eaten too much tripe, 'a restrictive and binding medicine ... whereby all her *Larris*, arse-pipes and conduits were so opilated, stopped, obstructed, and contracted, that you could hardly have opened and enlarged them with your teeth, which is a terrible thing to think upon' (p. 37). Indeed so. Had Oliver written in our own more degraded century he might have quoted an even greater neighbouring 'clash' when baby Gargantua 'beshit himself every hour: for to speak truly of him, he was wonderfully flegmatick in his posteriors' (p. 39). In Urquhart's imagination, a baby giant's posterior may be phlegmatic in Greek but he can relieve himself in Anglo-Saxon.

Yes, there is a 'clash' when a baby can 'loll and rock himself in the cradle, then nod with his head, monocordising with his fingers, and barytonizing with his taile' (p. 40). Yet it might be even better, at such moments (and they are many), to think of English as offering not just a clash but a synonym-giving opportunity for greater tonal fulness taking in both the respectable Latinate 'posterior' and the basic native 'arse', an opportunity for a greater range of class and education, from Latinate jargon that could please the sesquipedalian pedant – or amuse the elegant courtier – to the plain English spoken by earthier men. This is, after all, but a more extreme version of setting pretty hairs' 'capillary fetters' against their 'chaines of iron' in the passage quoted earlier. Once again, moreover, Urquhart's other writings provide evidence that he was *thinking* about such matters. At one point he remarks, as further evidence of our need for a universal language, that there are languages in which, if they were stripped of 'what is not originally their own, we should not be able with them all, in any part of the world, to purchase so much as our breakfast in a Market' (*Logopandecteision*, p. 5).

For Urquhart, I think, Rabelais' approach to language entailed seeing words not just as something with which to inflate an empty codpiece but potentially as the means to fill up an infinite one (yes, a gruesome thought). Is there a limit to words and books? It is hard to say. Perhaps the most suitable librarian for the books Rabelais imagined for *Pantagruel*'s abbey of Hugh of St Victor, the collection to which Urquhart added only a few titles but that inspired many another imaginary library, would be the man in charge of Jorge Luis Borges' perhaps infinite Library of Babel in his story of that title. Can there be a limit to imaginary books, especially if the ones already there could be translated into a possible infinity of languages, including the imaginary? Rabelais, Urquhart might have thought, and if not Rabelais then Urquhart himself, is the Giordano Bruno of language, affirming an infinite world of signifiers. It is a pity that he did not translate Rabelais' *Quart livre*, for we can only guess how he would have dealt with the scene, both comic and poignant, in which Pantagruel's shipmates warm frozen words and release the sound of long-ago battle cries. A truly full lexical universe would have words that might time-travel, or as Urquhart might put it, chronoperegrinate, into a liberation like that for which he himself longed.

Urquhart's interest in releasing words would survive his own release. His unpublished and sarcastic 'Challenge' to his cousin John Urquhart in 1658 demands a duel. What has this sordid, cannibalistic, avaricious creature ever done for mankind? Nothing. But Thomas has created 'publick endeavors off the universall concernment' that aim at the 'guid of this & efter ages, over all the counteryes & nations', so that interfering with this hope is 'as iff a scavinger [a collector of sewage] should preisume to inclose a ray of the sun in a box of pitch'.[21] Exactly. Five years earlier, well treated and well supplied with books but still in the pitch box of a prison, Urquhart had wanted to shine, and not to shine like a star, but to shine like something sent forth by the radiant sun, the planet that illuminates the whole world, the planet by which we tell time. It was there, held in that box behind walls but hoping to radiate beyond them, that he turned, or perhaps returned, to the writer who must have seemed to him to fill the jail with words, more words, and yet more words. To that verbal flow and overflow he hoped to add his own macaronic play and not only to fill up

the time he was serving but also to fill up the outdoors and illu-
minate it with his sign-producing inventions, impress it with his
time-exhausting lineage, amuse it with his parodies, if that is what
they are, and remind it that kings can be giants and that kill-joys
should unbend.

Notes

1 Sir Thomas Urquhart, *Trissotetras* (London, 1645), sigs B3ᵛ-B4ʳ. Prof.
   Michael Thaddeus of Columbia University's maths department tells me
   that he too finds this puzzling.
2 Alex Gordon, 'Rabelais en Anglais: Bonheurs et malheurs de la traduc-
   tion', in *L'Europe de la Renaissance: Cultures et Civilisations* (Paris, 1988),
   pp. 463–76 (p. 463). Gordon compares translations by Urquhart, Jacques
   Le Clercq (1936), and J. M. Cohen (1955), all of which he admires with
   reservations, while thinking Urquhart better at reproducing Rabelais'
   'exubérance'.
3 *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, translated by Thomas Urquhart and Pierre Le
   Motteux (New York, 1994), p. 41. This edition is cited in-text, by page
   number only.
4 Rabelais, *Oeuvres complètes*, edited by Pierre Jourda, 2 vols (Paris, 1962),
   Vol. I, pp. 286–7.
5 Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, Vol. I, p. 194.
6 Eliot does say elsewhere that he has borrowed passages from Rabelais,
   'that merrie grig'; see Anne Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance
   England* (New Haven, CT, 1998), pp. 42–6.
7 Compare the picture of Christ as a winepress in Florence Weinberg, *The
   Wine and the Will: Rabelais' Bacchic Christianity* (Detroit, MI, 1972), p. 91.
8 Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, Vol. I, pp. 396–7.
9 John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica* (London, 1593), sigs A3ᵛ–A4ʳ.
10 Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems in Writing in the French
   Renaissance* (Oxford, 1979), p. 192.
11 Compare Jourda's edition of *Tiers Livre*, chapter 3.
12 Sir Thomas Urquhart, *Ekskybalauron: or, The discovery of a most exquisite
   jewel*, (London, 1652), p. 59 (subsequent references parenthetically in
   main text).
13 See, e.g., Laurent Joubert's *Traité du ris* (1579), translated and edited as
   Treatise on Laughter by G. D. du Rocher (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1980).
14 Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic
   Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, CT, 1993).
15 Sir Thomas Urquhart, *Pantochronochanon* (London, 1652), sig. E5ᵛ.
16 *Pantochronochanon*, sig. E6ʳ⁻ᵛ.
17 See the prefatory note on context in *Logopandecteision*, 1653 (facs. reprint,
   Menston, 1970), where the linguistic section of this work is reprinted.
   There is discussion in the introduction to *The Jewel*, edited by R. D. S.

Jack and R. J. Lyall (Edinburgh, 1983). For the wider context see Robert E. Stillman, *The New Philosophy and Universal Languages in Seventeenth-Century England: Bacon, Hobbes, and Wilkins* (Lewisberg, PA, 1995).

18   Sir Thomas Urquhart, *Logopandecteision* (London, 1653; subsequent references parenthetically in-text), sig. A2[r–v]. 'No-body' recalls the then current image showing a man with head, arms, and legs but no body; see Helen Wilcox, 'Needy Nothing Trimmed in Jollity', in *Renaissance Historicisms: Essays in Honor of Arthur F. Kinney*, edited by J. M. Dutcher and A. L. Prescott (Cranbury, NJ, 2008), pp. 313–29. The play of flesh and nothingness suits Urquhart's fascination with infinity/zero.

19   Thomas Nashe, *Foure Letters Confuted* in *Works*, edited by R. B. McKerrow, 5 vols (Oxford, 1904), Vol. I, p. 282.

20   Raymond Oliver, 'Urquhart's *Rabelais*', *Southern Humanities Review*, 8 (1974), 317–34 (p. 323). Oliver notes that this double element (Germanic and Latinate/Romance), allows juxtapositions less possible in French.

21   *A Challenge from Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie* (Oxford, 1948), p. 6.

Epilogue

Terence Cave

As any cultural historian of the early modern period knows, transla-
tion was key to most of the major cultural transactions and transfor-
mations that make the Renaissance and its aftermath such a critical
phase in European history at large, and was recognized as such at the
time by virtually every actor on the cultural scene. Monarchs and
statesmen commissioned new translations; writers of all kinds con-
sumed translated texts avidly in search of materials that could enrich
their resources; whole new generations of literate readers relied on it
to provide them with the latest, most fashionable forms of cultural
knowledge and thus liberate them from parochialism; printers and
booksellers made money (sometimes a lot of money) out of them.
Translation is essential to the work of virtually every writer of the
period, from Marguerite de Navarre, Louise Labé, the Pléiade poets
and Montaigne, or from Spenser, Shakespeare, and Bacon, to the
belles infidèles of the seventeenth century.[1] Translation had not only
its own theories, but also its own economics, politics and pedagogy:
its topographies include the marketplace, the court, the home, the
schoolroom, the law courts, the printing trade and, inevitably, the
institutional manifestations of religion. It has, one might well say,
its own *ecologies*, environments in which it thrives, grows, mutates.

   So much is clear from the studies in this volume, which afford a
remarkable perspective on the modalities of translation in early mod-
ern Europe. It remains here to look at the way that set of modalities
is configured, and thereby raise the question whether all this fine-
grained evidence, considered collectively, might potentially contrib-
ute to a fresh view of translation studies as a whole.

In the translative ecology of the early modern period, translators are seldom invisible, airbrushed out as they often are nowadays. Erasmus, Amyot, Montaigne (as translator of Sebundus), Florio, Urquhart, and the rest are actors in their own right, recognized purveyors of cultural goods across the frontiers of language: this is the period when the fully professional translator begins to emerge with figures like the prolific French polymath Gabriel Chappuys. At the same time, those who do the translating necessarily rely on other agents – colleagues and patrons, editors and printers – and on the whole cultural context that shapes their work. Translation is a mode of communication, directed intentionally towards specific goals. And so it is not surprising that the printed translations surround themselves, often exuberantly, with paratexts that frame them for particular purposes and publics. One of the best-known examples is Thomas More's *Utopia*, which already presented itself in its first edition accompanied by complex internal and external framing devices, and which travelled outwards into one European language after the other, dropping some frames and adding others according to the particular ecologies in which it was promoted.[2] These clusters of coordinates allow us to track the paths along which the translations move and calibrate their *potential* value to the contexts in which they were received as well as the actual value they subsequently accrue.

It is in this light above all that one should regard early modern theories of translation, which are not complete theories embedded in a philosophy of language (although they may have affinities with linguistic theories proper) so much as claim-staking utterances. Which does not, of course, invalidate them. Du Bellay's distinction between translation and imitation, to which I shall later return, is one such, allowing him to separate himself and his colleagues of the incipient Pléiade from the culture of translation that had been so successful in the circle of Marguerite de Navarre in the 1530s and 1540s. In this sense, the theories as such shade off into the other kinds of stories translators tell to show their readers where they are coming from and where they are aiming to go – anecdotes of origin like the ones Du Pinet tells, or North's elaboration of Amyot's framing paratexts (see Chapter 1, this volume). In the process, however, they may well tell us more than 'pure' theories can about what kinds of cognitive processes translation engages in, and how those processes produce what we call culture.[3]

What, then, is at stake at the broadest level in early modern perceptions and practices of translation? What motivates the promotion of translation to a central position in European culture? And why does this 'translation culture' eventually fade (even if translation and translations, inevitably, continue unabated)? The background story is of course constant. Translation has presumably been critical to human relations ever since human languages began to diverge significantly. The story of Babel is in that sense a true story, not a myth, and George Steiner was certainly right to insist that translation is not a tedious necessity or a peripheral skill but an activity central to human cognition and communication.

The questions that circle around translation intensify with the rise of written language, since writing affords an accumulation of semi-stable texts for which, with the passage of time, there is no 'live' cultural and linguistic context. Print culture is a still more complex and conflicted site of translation, superimposed as it is on a manuscript culture that continues to thrive. Various recent studies have shown how the resulting informational overload generated new methods for the selection and transmission of materials and new perspectives on the status of those materials: from the implications of Erasmus's (borrowed) adage 'Friends hold all things in common' via Luther's claim that his translation of the Bible was his own property to Montaigne's practice of imitation, this story (or set of interlaced stories) has now been thoroughly explored.[4] The parallel case of the commonplace book follows the same historical trajectory.[5] Rather than rehearsing these histories here, we can simply invoke their common diachronic shape. A proliferation of materials, exchanged across the cultural marketplaces of Europe, demands a corresponding effort of organization and reduction. The *copia* afforded by translation – exuberant, heady, expansive, productive of insight and change – comes at a cognitive cost and leads to a search for compensating strategies of knowledge mastery. Montaigne translates his humanist readings into a language of personal experience; Descartes constructs a domesticating philosophical discourse that to all appearances erases translation from the picture (even though it is itself, from the outset, bilingual). The fact that the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns became in the late seventeenth century a debate over the conflicting claims of a foreignizing and a domesticating culture demonstrates both that translation is still key to the cultural imagination of the period,

and that it is in some sense, like the commonplace book, in decline. The 'modern' view, which aims to eliminate the plural signs of provenance and speak with a single voice, progressively gains the upper hand, supported as it is by philosophers like Locke and by the new science of Hooke and Newton. If there is a common language of nature, translation reverts to the status of a mechanical adjustment, or at best a poetry-like (*literary*) activity carried out by and for *dilletanti*. We still belong to that culture: it's still widely believed that machines will soon be capable of translating anything, or that translation is a creative act performed by writers who don't know the language of the original but rely on faceless, pedantic mediators who happen to have the requisite linguistic skills.

* * *

We might here recall a passage from the close of this volume's introduction:

> Montaigne and Florio vividly emerge out of these analyses as authors who use translation to think. They are not alone in this period. The closing chapter of the volume, by Anne Lake Prescott, shows translation to be fundamentally connected to the creative imagination and philosophy of Sir Thomas Urquhart.

When one speaks of 'the culture of translation', one thinks first of all of the modes of translation prevalent in a given culture as defined historically and topographically, together with the shifting selections of source materials and the inter- or intra-cultural trajectories they describe. But a culture of translation can also be a culture that uses translation as a preferred instrument of cognition. Not simply, of course, through second-order reflection on what translation does and what it can afford, although the complex paratextual framing I have already spoken of always remains a good place to start: much of this thinking goes on implicitly, in the choices made by the translators themselves and by the agents that promote the movement of their work downstream, into possible future contexts. Translation is used in the early modern period as an instrument of reflection on the relation to the past, on the value of imported texts as repertories of imaginative and ethical insight, on language itself, and perhaps

above all on *where culture is going*. All these agents have the sense that something is happening, an irreversible cultural turn, although they only have a dim sense of what that might look like.

Such at least is what the contributions to this volume suggest, as in their various ways they excavate the cognitive archaeologies of early modern translation in the light of what has in fact happened since – although one may well want to add the caveat that futures are always unstable: a different avatar of the early modern may still emerge and impose itself, just as a new translation of a supposedly familiar work may impose itself and change all the coordinates.

What I want to propose here, though, is an overarching conception that is relevant to literature as a whole while giving translation a special status. We can begin with a speculative (or heuristic) answer to the question why computers are in fact so bad at translation. Let's just say that computers are inorganic extensions of the human mind designed to perform with exactitude certain tasks that the mind can also perform, but only those tasks. If you ask your Mac to help you with a complex problem of human relations (a family conflict, say, or the breakup of a marriage), all it can do is send you advice provided by other humans. Ask it to tell you whether a friend or a lover of yours is lying to you, and it won't have a clue. It has never experienced the stream of experiences humans undergo from birth simply by virtue of their existence as biological beings in a human ecology. Computers have not evolved organically for three and a half billion years. They have never swum, owned a dog, made a publicly embarrassing mistake, smelt wisteria on an early summer's day.[6] They have the most impoverished existential context imaginable, and what they have is always by definition second-hand. They can't switch from one context to another, imagine counterfactual worlds, or even plan a holiday (except in the crudest material terms, and certainly not *for themselves*). They are not good with language unless most of what is interesting in language has been eliminated in advance to make things easy for them. So how could they cope with translation, which relies (except, again, in drastically controlled circumstances) on massively variable contextualization and on the fluidity that is the signature of human cognition? How could they possibly inhabit, still less generate, a *culture* of translation, unless it be a culture as inorganic as themselves?

Erasmus was fond of the adage 'Speech is the least mendacious mirror of the mind' (*Oratio minime mendax animi speculum*).[7] The use of litotes is critical here. It acknowledges from the start that we have imperfect access to other people's minds and intentions. Yet it makes a strong claim: despite that imperfection, language enables humans to engage in a perpetual activity of inferential mindreading which is precisely adapted to the cognitive fluidity I have just referred to. One is not possible without the other (we of course don't know 'which came first', but presumably they evolved together via a particularly intensive feedback process). Why is this relevant to the question of translation? In the first place, translation famously, even notoriously, raises the question of commensurability. If you go with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, natural languages are distinct and incommensurable, in the sense that to inhabit that language-world is to perceive the world differently, to *think* differently. If you take a Chomskian view, natural languages are just surface transformations of the universal grammar that is innate in all humans. But these apparently antithetical views are in fact mirror images of one another, different ways of perceiving the same cognitive phenomenon. To put it in everyday terms, you can translate anything, but there is always loss, a residue of the untranslated if not the untranslatable ('lost in translation' has become a familiar metaphor, even the title of a film). This is exactly the case also with mutual understanding – mindreading, or 'social cognition'. Steiner and others were right on target when they pointed to the etymological slip in Latin between *translatio* and *interpretatio*, which is also present in the English use of 'interpreting' to denote the activity of live translation. The inferential processes used in translating map directly on to those we use for understanding others, their *sententiae* (Latin) or *sentences* (French): in other words, their thoughts. Communication is translation, always imperfect, always possible.

Two further aspects of this homology between translation and communication may be invoked briefly here, if only to allow their implications to feed into the overall set of reflections provoked by this volume. Both are in a sense self-evident, but there are times when the self-evident is forgotten, or obscured by a fascination for the counterintuitive. The first is that social cognition enables human minds to extend and transcend their individual cognitive constraints by co-opting the outputs of other minds. Committees

and democratic parliaments sometimes seem to be a very slow and awkward way of handling things, and they often require the decisive input of an individual agent in order to find solutions. But the agent couldn't have produced those solutions alone. Erasmus, Montaigne, Florio and Shakespeare knew that perfectly well: that was the way they thought and wrote, as agents achieving, each in their own particular context, a critical turn. And for all of them, translation – the harvesting of thoughts from other minds, often ones far removed in every sense from their own – was of the essence. The translation culture of the early modern period, one might say, was an especially successful culture of social cognition.[8]

Finally, one may evoke the eternal, impossible question: what makes a good translation? Early modern translators and other actors on the translation scene talk about this a good deal, as do writers more generally: the use of transferred or transported materials is much closer to the centre of early modern conceptions of writing than is the case with modern ones, and the practice of 'imitation', with its accompanying theories, appears here as the non-identical twin of translation. Again and again, those who raise the question of quality are obliged in the end to fall back on intuitive criteria, backed by recurrent metaphors: Du Bellay speaks of the feeling, when one reads a translation of Virgil rather than the original, of being transported from the lava-flows of Etna to the icy summit of the Caucasian mountains;[9] Erasmus and his heirs are fond of metaphors of embodiment (digestion, incorporation), or of being inhabited by a living being.[10] The question is central to the Ciceronian debate, where positions are adopted along lines close to those of the modern domesticating/foreignizing controversy, and of course it emerges as a leitmotif of Montaigne's *Essais*, which is a text aspiring to the status of a living, speaking human being. A good translation, we say, is one that 'comes alive'.

The problem is that recognition of life, despite its cognitive complexity, comes too naturally for us to be able to analyze it. It is an essential skill that organisms have acquired over billions of years, and are therefore extremely good at; it involves high-speed processing of large quantities of convergent data, matched against models that are partly acquired through experience from the earliest days of life, but must also be in part inherent in cognitive structure (birds do it, bees do it, even crustaceans in the seas do it). It's the skill the

cognitively informed puppeteer Stephen Mottram demonstrates when he induces his audience to watch a set of five ping-pong balls cross the uncanny divide between inert objects and living creature.[11] We know what it looks like, what it feels like, to make such-and-such a movement (to keep one's balance, for example); and because the world we share with birds and fish imposes the same constraints, and our bodies have a lot in common with the bodies of birds and fish, give or take a few feathers, fins and gills, we can recognize the swooping, three-dimensional moves made by a bird or a bat, and the fluid movements (again in three dimensions), that fishes make in order to engage with their environment. Essentially, I would suggest, it is that kind of skill of recognition that we use when we judge that a particular collocation 'works' in our native language, whereas another collocation, no less grammatical, sounds wrong or awkward; and of course, at the far end of that scale, it leads us (perhaps) to judge that Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* 'comes to life', whereas P. D. James's would-be sequel *Death Comes to Pemberley* spectacularly doesn't. It's not a mysterious skill, just one that is very difficult to analyze and quantify.

It would be a mistake to assume that we can speak of any 'culture of translation' without taking this (not quite) self-evident excursus into account. In the first place, the writers and readers of the early modern period knew it intuitively and often talk about it: it pervades the extraordinarily inventive framing dialogues that accompany their work of translation. Second, it justifies the reference to intention, since perceiving the intended movement or action of another living being is exactly what makes one see that it *is* a living being in the first place. And it ensures, finally, that we don't regard the remarkable evidence gathered in this volume – all these human gestures, positions, speech-acts – as a dead and dusty archive, but as a lost and now recovered repertory of human performances. Every historical enterprise, in that sense, needs its puppeteer in order to ensure that the translation, whether domesticating or foreignizing, comes to life.

Notes

1 See Roger Zuber, *Les 'Belles Infidèles' et la formation du goût classique* ([Paris], 1968). Zuber describes a culture of domesticated translation in seventeenth-century France, where successful translation was

characteristically personified as an 'unfaithful beauty' (beautiful whilst unfaithful to the source text).

2 See *Thomas More's 'Utopia' in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts*, edited by Terence Cave (Manchester, 2008).

3 This epilogue refers progressively, although for the most part tangentially, to cognitive approaches to literature that are beginning to become prominent in literary studies and which, more specifically, have been the object of appraisal in the project 'Literature as an object of knowledge' (2010–14), funded by the Balzan Foundation with support from St John's College, Oxford.

4 On the Erasmian adage, see Kathy Eden, *Friends Hold All Things in Common: Tradition, Intellectual Property and the "Adages" of Erasmus* (New Haven, CT, 2001). On Luther's view of his own translation of the Bible, see Ingrid Kristine Anderson, 'Who Holds Copyright to the Word of God? Martin Luther's Bible Translation in the Hands of His Opponents', in *Borrowed Feathers: Plagiarism and the Limits of Imitation in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Hall Bjørnstad (Oslo, 2008), pp. 109–22.

5 See Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996), and Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, CT, 2010).

6 People are often (justifiably) nervous about projecting anthropomorphic qualities and capacities on to animals; yet animals have been shaped in the same way and by the same world as us, their biological systems are kin to ours, so it makes sense to say that dolphins or primates "think", whereas to say that computers think can *only* be a metaphor.

7 The *locus classicus* is in the opening pages of *The Praise of Folly*, where the question of the reliability of our knowledge of others is posed with extraordinary intensity: the equivocations of Folly's unreliable speech strip away all naïve optimism, yet the caution they enjoin is not a radical pessimism, but the very condition of attaining to some form of knowledge and truth. At a broader level, translation and communication arguably formed the twin focus of Erasmus' whole project.

8 A corollary of this line of argument is that we need a linguistic model specifically adapted for translation, cultural translation, and the cultures of translation. The model most widely adopted in current literary studies is essentially still based on a formalist Saussurean preference for *langue* over *parole*, insisting on the priority of language over 'thought' and removing individual agency (hence the preference for dehumanized terms such as 'text' and 'discourse'). This volume, as I said at the outset, points in a quite different direction. It stresses agency within the pragmatics of local translational ecologies. The relativism and pluralism of the early modern culture of translation (and of translative cognition at large) is a function not of 'theory' or (for example) of a post-Hegelian metaphysics, but of human social cognition itself.

9 Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse*, edited by Jean-Charles Monferran (Geneva, 2001), p. 88 (I.5).

10 These materials are by now familiar *topoi* of Renaissance scholarship; a detailed analysis is provided in Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford, 1979), although I think that it is now time to reconsider them in a cognitive perspective. The topic of the 'living text' can of course also be extended in the direction of a whole set of categories of the 'ineffable' (genius, inspiration, the sublime, etc.), which are not *mere* topoi but denominators for a recognizable cognitive experience.

11 See www.stephenmottram.com.

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