**Louis G. Kelly**

# HISTORY OF TRANSLATION

University of Ottawa

1988

[Draft only]

St. Jerome

TRA 5901


HISTORY OF TRANSLATION


L.G. Kelly


University of Ottawa


Draft Only


1988

# CONTENTS

Introduction

**A. Classical and Patristic Period**
Week 1
St Jerome (342?-419/420)

**B. Middle Ages**
Week 2
The Diplomat – Anastasius Bibliothecarius (ca 810-886)
The Scientist – Nicolas Oresme
The Printer – William Caxton

**C. Renaissance and Humanism**
Week 3 Religion and Science
The Doctor – Thomas Linacre
The Reformer – Martin Luther
The Man of Letters – Estienne Dolet

Week 4 Literary Translation
Men of Letters – George Chapman, Jean Baudoin

**D. The Age of Reason**
Week 5
Literary Translation
The Poet – Abraham Cowley
The Man of Taste – Prévost
The Scholar – Charles Batteux

Week 6
Religious Translation
Isaac Lemaistre de Saci
George Campbell

Week 7

Scientific Translation

The Rebel – Nicholas Culpeper

The Establishment – Peter Shaw

The New Broom – Robert Kerr


## E. The Nineteenth Century

Week 8 Romanticism

The Precursor – Johann Gottlieb Herder

The Followers – Chateaubriand, Bayard Taylor


Week 9 Late Romanticism and Post-Romanticism

Amadée Pichot

Charles Stuart Calverley

Léon Pamphile Lemay


## F. European Expansion

Week 10 Missionaries, Colonisers, and Other Causes of Bilingualism


## G. Twentieth Century

Week 11 Religious and Technical Translation

The Jerusalem Bibles


Week 12 Literary Translation

Ezra Pound

Walter Benjamin

Yves Bonnefoy

Frank Scott

# GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bassnett-McGuire, Susan. 1981. *Translation Studies*. London:Methuen

*Biographie universelle*. 1843 (2 ed.). 45 vols Paris: Desplaces

Brooks, Richard A. 1985. *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature*. 6 vols. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press

*Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.* 5 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1974

✳ *Cambridge History of the Bible*. 3 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1970

Cioranescu, A. 1959. *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle*. Paris: CNRS

——, 1966. *Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle*. 3 vols. Paris: CNRS

——, 1969. *Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-huitième siècle*. 3 vols. Paris: CNRS

*Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 16 vols. New York: Scribners

Holmes, James S. et al. 1978. *Translation and Literature*. Leuven: ACCO

Horguelin, Paul. 1975. *Histoire de la traduction: domaine français*. Montréal: Linguatech

Kelly, L.G. 1979. *The True Interpreter*. Oxford: Blackwell

——. 1984. "Bibliography of the Translation of Literature" §§VI-VIII. *Comparative Criticism* 6 (1984), 347-59

✳ Lefevere, André. 1977. *Translating Literature: the German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig*. † Assen & Amsterdam: van Gorcum

Newman, Maureen, & Stratford, Philip. 1975. *Bibliography of Canadian Books in Translation: French to English , English to French*. Ottawa: HRCC

Partington, J.R. 1961-70. *A History of Chemistry*. (4 vols). London Macmillan

Sarton, George. 1947. *Introduction to the History of Science*. 3 vols. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute

Stephen, Leslie et al. edd. 1885-1900. *Dictionary of National Biography* 63 vols. London: Smith, Elder

Taton, René. 1963. *Ancient and Medieval Science*. tr. A.J. Pomerans. London: Thames & Hudson

Steiner, George. 1975. *After Babel*. Oxford: OUP

Thorndike, Lynn. 1923-58. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. 8 vols. New York: Columbia University Press

✳ Chukovsky, K. *The Art of Translation* tr. Leighton.

✳ Lahoussière, C. *Translation in Canadian Lit.*

‡ Santoyo *Antología*.

4

The course is organised around individual translators, not necessarily the most outstanding in their period or genre but typical of both the virtues and vices of their period. Translators with a good bibliography, like *Anne Dacier, John Dryden*, are best left as the subject of course projects.

Students will be asked to give a seminar and write an essay. They will be of equal mark value. A list of subjects is given below:

1. Take two versions of the same text separated by at least 50 years and compare them. What does such a comparison show about the periods involved. (e.g. contemporary versions of Descartes with modern ones like Anscombe and Geach; different versions of Shakespeare, Locke, etc.)

2. "La traduction est l'accoucheuse des littératures" (Cary). Take *one* period in a country that interests you and illustrate.

3. Is Steiner right in claiming that translation theory begins with the Romantics? Give evidence for your answer from at least two countries.

4. Take two translators from the same country but different periods and compare them.

5. How has translation affected the passage of ideas between various parts of the Western World. Restrict your answer to one particular period.

6. Trace the development of translation (literary and otherwise) in one country (e.g. Canada, a newly independent country) during this century. What have been the perceived needs, how have they been met?

Introduction

It has become commonplace to remark the need to elucidate theoretical issues in translation by investigating its history. For if there is a common theoretical core to translation, translators of previous ages will have faced much the same problems as moderns, and their solutions to their problems will at least bear thinking about. True as this is, translation history is not only one of theory, but also of the place it held in its society.

There is considerable evidence of translation in ancient civilisations, most of it to do with administration and trade. Here our starting point is ancient Rome during the third century BC when Roman soldiers were being repatriated after garrison duty on the Greek communities of the eastern Mediterranean and Southern Italy, and the Roman authorities were beginning to realise that administering an empire meant having some fairly sophisticated translation talent. Our finishing-point is the present. The course will deal with written translation, taking into account literary and religious work as well as the technical normally dealt with. Given the circumstances the major concentration after the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will be on French and English.

European thought on ways of translation derives ultimately from the Jews of Alexandria in the first century BC and the Romans of the Classical Age. The first passage below represents the neo-Platonist Jews who translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek during the second century BC, and the other three the classical Roman rhetoricians. The Romans have been quoted, translated and commented on to the point that they have dominated translation criticism ever since.

Philo Iudaeus, *De vita Moysis* II.38-9 (20 BC)

tr. Edition Budé

—mais le mot propre chaldéen (dans les textes de la Loi) fut rendu exactement par le même mot propre grec, parfaitement adapté à la chose signifié. De même, en effet, à mon sens, qu'en géometrie et en dialectique, les choses à signifier ne supportent pas le bigarre dans l'expression qui reste inchangée une fois établie, de même aussi, semble-t-il, ces traducteurs découvrirent les expressions adaptées aux réalités à exprimer, les seules ou les plus capables de rendre avec une parfaite clarté les choses signifiées.

tr. Kelly 1988

—the appropriate Chaldean word (in these legal texts) was exactly translated by the appropriate Greek word, perfectly suited to the thing signified. It seems to me that these translators, just as they would have done before a text in geometry or dialectic which can not afford ambiguity in expression, worked out the expressions proper to the realities to be expressed, the most appropriate indeed the only words capable of rendering the things

signified with perfect clarity.

Ὅπερ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὔ φασι συμβῆναι, συνε-
νεχθῆναι δ' εἰς ταὐτὸν κύρια κυρίοις ὀνόμασι, τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ
τοῖς Χαλδαϊκοῖς, ἐναρμοσθέντα εὖ μάλα τοῖς δηλουμένοις
πράγμασιν. [39] Ὃν γὰρ τρόπον, οἶμαι, ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ καὶ
διαλεκτικῇ τὰ σημαινόμενα ποικιλίαν ἑρμηνείας οὐκ ἀνέχεται,
μένει δ' ἀμετάβλητος ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεθεῖσα, τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς
ἔοικε τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι συντρέχοντα τοῖς πράγμασιν ὀνόματα
ἐξεῦρον, ἅπερ δὴ μόνα ἢ μάλιστα τρανώσειν ἔμελλεν ἐμφαν·τικῶς τὰ δηλούμενα.

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BC - 43 BC), *De optimo genere oratorum* v.14

I translated into Latin a pair of the most famous speeches by two of the most noble Greek orators arguing opposite sides of the case: those by Aeschines and Demosthenes, two most eloquent orators. I did not work as a translator, but as an orator, translating the same opinions and their expression in sentence shapes and words congruent with our conventions. In doing this, I did not think it necessary to work word for word, but I kept the force and character of every word. I did not take it as my duty to count the words out for the reader, but to weigh them out (Kelly).

tr. Pierre du Ryer, 1670

Ainsi j'ai traduit en nostre langue deux oraisons, les plus fameuses des deux plus grands Orateurs qui ayent fleuri parmy les Athéniens, l'une d'Eschine, & l'autre de Démosthène. Néantmoins je ne les ay pas traduites comme Interprète mais comme Orateur, avec les mesmes sentimens, avec les mesmes figures, & enfin avec des paroles convenables & conformes à nostre usage. Au reste, je n'ay pas crû qu'il fust besoin de les rendre mot à mot, mais j'ai tâché d'en comprendre la vertu et la qualité, & d'en conserver la vigueur. Car je me suis imaginé qu'il ne les falloit par rendre par compte au Lecteur, mais pour ainsi dire, par poids.

Converti enim ex atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter se contrarias, Aeschinis Demosthenisque: nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator, sententiis iisdem, et earum formis, tamquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis; in quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium verborum, vimque servavi: non enim ea me annumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65-8 BC) *Ars poetica* 131-35 (ca 19 BC)

tr. Ben Jonson, about 1635

Yet common matter thou thine own maist make,

If thou the vile broad-troden ring forsake.

For, being a Poet, thou maist feigne, create,

Not care, as thou wouldst faithfully translate,

To render word for Word: nor with thy sleight

Of imitation, leape into a streight,

From whence thy Modestie, or Poemes law

Forbids thee forth againe thy foot to draw.

tr. Charles Batteux 1750

Le sujet le plus commun deviendra votre bien propre, si vous ne vous attachez pas à la lettre, ni à rendre trait pour trait comme un trucheman. Vous n'irez point, par une imitation scrupuleuse, vous jeter à l'étroit, tellement que vous ne puissiez vous retirer qu'en vous déshonorant, ni avancer qu'en blessant les règles.

> Publica materies privati iuris erit, si
>
> non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
>
> nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
>
> interpres, nec desilies imitator in artum,
>
> unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex;

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (AD ca 35-100), *Institutiones oratoriae*, X.v.5 (ca 96 AD).

tr. J. Patsall, 1774

And I would not have this paraphrase to be merely an interpretation, but rather a sort of emulation and strife to express the same thought with equal dignity, though in a different manner.

tr. L'abbé Gedoyn, 1718

Car je veux que cette paraphrase soit, non pas une pure interprétation, mais une interprétation libre, ou plutost une noble émulation d'exprimer différemment les mêmes pensées.

> Neque ego paraphrasin esse interpretationem tantum volo, sed circa eosdem sensus certamen atque aemulationem.

All evidence to the contrary, translation has traditionally been taken as a literary craft. This is only partially true: Europe is a civilisation of translations, every aspect of European culture, literature, administration, trade, religion and science having been deeply influenced by translators. The Roman tradition is more readily acknowledged these days than the Jewish, although in this century the Jewish Platonist view of translation appears in the work of Walter Benjamin, George Steiner and symbolist translators like Antoine Berman and Ezra Pound. The Jewish Platonist ideas on the relationship between language and the divine flourished in the assiduous translation of the Bible and other religious documents. It would be a mistake to put this down completely to intellectual tradition: many of these early translators were uneducated, and worked according to the normal assumption that word equals thing. The three quotations from Cicero, Horace and

Quintilian heading this course have had an influence out of all proportion to their length.

Cicero's marvellously evocative image of weighing words out instead of counting them out is one that comes up many times in translation criticism. The influence of the Horace passage is due to a misunderstanding: he is not talking about translation, but about literary imitation. But since at least the eighth century, this passage has been taken by most people as condemning word-for-word translation. The two opposite interpretations of the sentence about the *fidus interpres* are demonstrated by Batteux and Jonson. Batteux accuses the "faithful translator" of translating word for word. Jonson is far more equivocal: his "as thou wouldst faithfully translate" can be interpreted as Batteux does, as saying that the faithful translator renders word for word. Or it may be taken as a purpose clause, that if one is to translate faithfully one "maist not care to render word for word". In the Latin the term, *fidus interpres*, is in apposition to the subject and can be translated as, "Nor will you, a faithful translator, render word for word", or as "nor will you, as a faithful translator does, translate word for word". The matter remains open.

The Quintilian sums everything up. The key term is *aemulatio*, rivalry. As a term in rhetorical criticism, Cicero had defined it as the "imitation of virtues of the model". And elsewhere, he had remarked that translation was a type of imitation. Quintilian picks this up, seeking to balance the respect Cicero shows for imitation with Horace's contemptuous reference to it in the *Ars poetica*: indeed the treatment of translation we refer to above follows immediately on his discussion of imitation. From that discussion later translation critics drew two points. The first was the image of the imitator or translator following in the footsteps of the author; the second is the absolute necessity of being original as one does so, of adding a bit of oneself. But from Roman times on the partisans of literal and free translation have waged a hot but inconclusive war that will probably continue for as long as there is translation.

## A. THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Translation was a constant of ancient civilisations, there being records of it like the Rosetta stone from Egypt and bilingual inscriptions from other civilisations like the Assyrian. The one ancient civilisation that has very little to say about translation is the Greek. Though some translation did go on as Greece expanded trade and political activity, through their overweening snobbery about their own language they discounted it as a regrettable necessity foisted on them by people who could not speak properly.

There is quite a bit on translation in the later books of the Bible. The Jewish translators of the Old Testament were based in Alexandria, then one of the most important Greek-speaking cities in the Mediterranean. They faced an unenviable choice. On the one hand the Scriptures had to be translated from Hebrew into Greek because most Jews living outside Palestine could not understand Hebrew well enough to read the Scriptures or follow the synagogue readings. On the other, translation of the Scriptures was regarded as tampering with the Word of God, and therefore risked being sacrilegious.

These Jews reinforced their traditional reverence for the word of God by Neo-platonist philosophy. God and Man, as we see in the early part of the Bible, had collaborated in giving names to things; and these names were not arbitrary. Indeed, in the account of creation what God called the things he made is as important as his making of them. Plato's theory of language implied that names directly reflected the nature of their referents. Thus the physical shape of the Word had a creative power. Secondly Jewish theology as expressed in the Psalms in particular saw God as illuminating the human soul and mind through his word; and without this illumination one could not get at the truth. and this squared with Plato's ideas on the role of the Divine in leading Man to knowledge. Thus if one altered the Word, one negated its creative power—and translation into another language was a radical altering. The way round this dilemma was by enjoining strict word-for-word translation. Philo Iudaeus suggests that this solution was taken from the language of philosophy, in which the structure of the vocabulary reflects that of the theory, and therefore of the object analysed. Thus the relationship between word and referent is univocal, and word-for-word translation is the only possible.

In ancient Rome translation began with the Roman expansion into the Greek communities of Southern Italy during the third century BC The first translator into Latin was *Livius Andronicus,* a Greek brought to Rome as a slave after the capture of Tarentum in Southern Italy in 272 BC In about 250 BC he produced a Latin version of the *Odyssey,* which was still being used as a textbook in Roman schools a couple of centuries later. The soldiers and other administrators were coming back to Rome with a taste for Greek amusements, particularly theatre. Enterprising writers supplied the need, first by free translation and even adaptation from Greek sources, and then by

10

original writing. The two most famous of these dramatists of the generation after Livius, *Plautus* (died 184 BC) and *Terence* (190?-159? BC), were regarded as authorities on translation until the end of the Roman Empire. The greatest age of Roman literary translation lasted from the 1st century BC to the middle of the 1st century AD. This age set the custom which lasted until well into this century of treating translation as a literary apprenticeship and constant exercise cf. the letters of Pliny the Younger (AD 61-112). The great names are *Catullus* (87-57 BC), *Cicero* (106-43 BC), and *Horace* (65-8 BC). Translation remains common in the centuries following, one of the notable translators being the philosopher *Apuleius* (AD 120?-155), the author of *The Golden Ass*. The importance of literary translation has obscured the immense amount of technical and scientific translation, most of it done by Greeks who had come to Rome as slaves. Most of this work was done either for a patron or commercially. Drawing on the talent at his disposal the Emperor Augustus set up a translation office as part of the imperial household to assist in administering the Empire.

Classical Latin translation bears all the marks of its place in the discipline of rhetoric. From Cicero to Quintilian the theory and practice of translation rested on the concept of rivalry through creative imitation. Cicero defined "rivalry" as the imitation of outstanding virtues. The essence of Roman practice is a careful balance between "following in the author's footsteps" and originality. It is noteworthy that the ancient dramatists were not treated as models, only as inspirations. In all cases one was controlled by what Horace called *lex operis* (the "law" of the work). Hence the importance of Cicero's dictum that one must seek the value of a word and not its formal equivalence. One should note however the inference that word-for-word translation was used in Rome, and indeed some of it does turn up in medical texts. There are also a couple of remarkable instances of it in the versions the poet, Catullus, made of some of the love poetry of Sappho (see Kelly 1979; sv Catullus). Cicero discussed translation very often, but the above passage is that most often cited. He makes two major points: that in this sort of work word-for-word translation is not suitable for a good translator seeks functional equivalence, not formal. And that a translator should seek in the resources of his own language expressions that reproduce as much of the meaning and emotional cogency of the original. Though Cicero had much to say about the theory of translation, and by his own work on Greek philosophers laid the groundwork for Western philosophical and scientific vocabulary, literary translation practice was codified by the rhetorician, *Quintilian* (ca AD 30-100), in his *Institutes of Oratory* X.

Christian translation, likewise from Greek into Latin, begins in the second century AD with the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and parts of the Bible. Translation of Greek liturgies for Latin-speakers begins soon after. After the emancipation of Christianity under Constantine in 312 there is an increasing number of juridical documents and many of the Greek religious writers are translated into Latin. Some attention is paid to other languages as well. The late fourth century and the

early fifth are in many ways Rome's second classical period. But it differs from the time of Cicero and Horace because the knowledge of Greek, which had been the mark of the educated person in their day, was no longer common outside the Greek East. By then Christian culture had stabilised after the conversion of the Emperor, Constantine, and Roman society had not yet been destabilised by the incursions of the barbarians. The Christian tradition culminates in the work of *St Jerome* (348-420), though he is only one of a very skilled band of translators, including his former friend, *Rufinus* (340?-416), the philosopher, *Marius Mercator* (ca 400-450), and a large number of anonymous churchmen.

Roman translation comes to an end and medieval translation begins with *Boethius* (AD 480-524), who had intended to produce a translation of all of Aristotle and as many of the important Greek philosophers as possible, but was executed first.


## Terence [Publius Terentius Afer] 190 BC?-159 BC?

Dramatist; probably brought to Rome as a slave in about 175 BC


### Translations

    166 BC Andria (from an original by Menander)

    165 BC Hecurge (from an original by Apollodorus of Carystus)

    161 BC Phormio (from an original by Apollodorus of Carystus)

    Translated passages in his other plays


### Why did Terence Translate?

Terence is one of the first commercial literary translators recorded. After coming to Rome as a slave, he was manumitted by his master and then supported himself by writing plays for various Roman festivals.


### How did Terence Translate?

Terence is included here only because the Romans thought of him as a translator and cited him as such even as late as Jerome. Though there are passages of translation in his plays, his composition technique was more like Shakespeare's: from a base of translation he adapted freely to both the social milieu and tastes of his audience. He was a somewhat more radical forerunner of the seventeenth-century *belles infidèles*.

Prologue to *Andria*, 11-21 (166 BC?)

tr. Thomas Newman (fl. 1570-1600)

*Andria* and *Perinthia*, which Menander wrote

(Know one, know both) not much alike in plot,

Are different yet both in their stile and phrase.

He [i.e. Terence] not denies that from *Perinthia*

Those things that seem'd convenient in the same,

He (as his owne) hath drawn into the frame

And course of this presented *Andria*.

This is the thing they challenge, and they branle

That such sort of cleanly Comedie

Should not be hotch-potched. These men verily

While much they seeme, shew they know nought at all;

Who him accusing draw his presidents

*Naevius, Plautus, Ennius,* in like crime;

To whose mistakings he would rather climbe,

Then follow these mens obscure diligence.

## References

Forehand, W.E. 1985. *Terence*. Boston: Twayne

*Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 1970. Oxford: Clarendon Press, sv. "Terence"

## *St Jerome (A.D. 342?-419/420)*

Known as a first-class if somewhat rigorist and quarrelsome theologian; probably the most brilliant scholar of his time. His *Vulgate* dominated Biblical Scholarship until the Reformation, and is only now being displaced as the official version of the Catholic Church.

342 Born of Christian parents at Strido, Dalmatia.

ca 350-60 School at Rome under the great grammarian, Aelius Donatus, whose Latin grammar was used for the next thousand years

365 Baptised; began theology at Trier

374 Went to a hermitage in the Syrian desert

377? Ordained priest at Antioch

380? Studied at Constantinople under Gregory of Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa

382-84 Private secretary to Pope Damasus

386 Retires to a monastery at Bethlehem

## Translations

380-420 A huge number of miscellaneous translations covering Church administration, monastic rules, theology, letters. The most significant of them are:

380 Chronicles of Eusebius

381-90 Works of the Eastern theologian, Origen

383-406 Partial revision and translation of the Latin Bible (the *Vulgate*)

## Theoretical Writings

Jerome wrote no separate treatise on translation unless one counts his indignant refutation of charges that he was either incompetent or malicious (Letter 57 to Pammachius), Letter 106 to Sunnia and Fretella on Bible translation, and certain letters to St Augustine. Most of his translations, particularly the separate books of the Bible, have prefaces which detail his ideas.

## Cultural Background

Jerome illustrates how Latin Christianity was setting up its own tradition from both Jewish and classical traditions. His education had exposed him to both. Under Donatus he would have received a rhetorical training whose main outlines had been set in Cicero's day. His later "theology" training was mainly Bible study. His stint in Constantinople, which followed the ancient Roman tradition of finishing one's education in the Greek East, was untraditional in the sense that it was done under two Christian teachers, and it was there he came under the influence of the Greek Fathers, particularly Origen. The Greek East had never had much problem in reconciling pagan and Christian, and the Greek attitude that Christianity could comfortably learn from pagan classics was later taught by Jerome, even if at times he paraded a ruthlessly fundamentalist view of the dangers of pagan literature. His Roman education had also exposed him to the rhetorical tradition of Cicero, Horace and Quintilian. Thus in arguing with his enemies in *Ad Pammachium*, he defends his translation practices by quoting a range of revered authorities beginning with the pre-Classical dramatists and ending with his immediate Christian forebears.

## Why did he translate?

By Jerome's time Roman Christianity, particularly in North Africa, had ceased speaking Greek, but was still conscious that the Greek East was culturally and religiously more sophisticated. Much of Jerome's translation seems to have been administrative: one has the impression that in the community in which he lived any document in Greek was brought to him for translation, and that he obliged on the spot. The Latin Christian community having always

accepted translation as a form of teaching, Jerome translated the Greek Fathers (particularly Origen) for the edification of his colleagues. A similar motivation underlay the Vulgate. This, however, was commissioned by Pope Damasus, who wished to bring an end to the confusion caused among the laity by the large number of slightly differing Latin versions of the Bible circulating among the Christian Churches.

## How did he translate?

His own thought on translation as expressed in letters and prefaces follows Classical precedent very closely. His first concern was accuracy of text. This demand for an authentic text prompted him to cast doubt on the Old Testament books extant in Greek only, an attitude later to be taken up by Luther. Hence his Old Testament is largely translation from the Hebrew, and his New Testament is a revision of the existing Latin translations taken from the original Greek. Much to the concern of St Augustine, who was worried about the possible pastoral difficulties caused by "changing" familiar texts, he spent considerable time on establishing authentic Greek and Hebrew texts. Almost in spite of himself his concern with *hebraica veritas* reflects the close links Platonist philosophy and Jewish religious attitudes saw between reality and its label, between language and God. In many places the Septuagint lacked *veritas* in either or both of two senses: at times the Greek words were wrong, even though the original had been clear; and at times the Hebrew itself was incomprehensible so that the Greek could not be accurate even if it made sense.

The letter to Pammachius quotes Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum* verbatim, and in the same letter he reflects the classical doctrine of rivalry by the famous metaphor of bringing home the author's meaning by right of conquest. He develops the old doctrine of functionally equivalent translation by discussing how style in the source text matches style in the target (see Kelly 1979: 181). Jerome follows the classical tradition in taking the unit of translation as the phrase or sense-group, not the word. Thus he translates either *sensum pro sensu,* or *per cola et commata* (i.e. by sentence divisions). And he was not above explanatory expansions in his versions. It seems that he often translated orally: in many references to his own work he seems to take it for granted that one dictates translations to a secretary.

He claims to treat Scripture differently from other types of translation, as in Scripture "even the order of the words is a mystery". He argues for this attitude from the Platonist defence of literal translation we have already seen in the introduction. For a literal translation preserves the mystic communion between God and Man. Not that this was an excuse for bad Latin. However it would be a mistake to see this as out of keeping with his basic principle of style matching style. For just as the rhetorical style of his Greek authors was to be matched by free translation, so the Hebraic style of Biblical Greek was to be matched by a close translation. For this produced a

Hellenised Christian Latin that was not too different in shape from the Hebraic Greek of the original. The Judaic theory he preached for his public, but in putting it into practice he remained within the intent of Roman rhetoric. He is one of the first people recorded as using an informant. As his Hebrew was not too good, in translating the Old Testament he employed a Rabbi who translated it into Greek, and from that Greek Jerome went into Latin. Unlike a lot of his colleagues, he rejected the idea that a Biblical translator was inspired: good scholarship was sufficient. In any case a translator careless enough not to research his subject would not have been inspired: a just God would have left him to stew in his own juice.

From Letter 106 (403?)

For every good translator is subject to this rule: that he express the peculiar resources of the source language through his own. We know that Cicero did this with Plato's *Protagoras*, Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* and Demosthenes's speech against Aeschines; as indeed did those most perceptive of men, Plautus, Terence and Caecilius, in translating comedies from Greek. But there is no reason to believe that the Latin language is limited because word-for-word translation is impossible: the Greeks too translate most of our Latin idioms by circumlocutions, and they make no attempt to translate Hebrew words literally, but try to represent them by the resources of their own language.

## References

Bardy, G. 1940. "Traducteurs et adapteurs au quatrième siècle" *Recherches de science religieuse* 30, 257-306

*Biographie universelle*, 1843 svv. "Cicéron", "Jérôme"

*Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol 1:412-562

Coste, J. 1958. "La première expérience de traduction biblique", *Maison-Dieu* 53, 56-88

Courcelle, P. 1943. *Les lettres grecques en occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore.* Paris: de Boccard

Cuendet, G. 1933. "Cicéron et Saint-Jérôme traducteurs", *Revue des études latines* XI, 380-400

Favex, Charles. 1958. *Saint Jérôme peint par lui-même.* Collection Latomus XXXIII. Bruxelles: REL

Horguelin 1975: sv "Jérôme"

Jerome. AD 400? *Ad Pammachium.* tr. L.G. Kelly. Ottawa: School of Translators and Interpreters, 1976

Kelly, J.N.D. 1975 *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies.* London: Duckworth

Kelly, L.G. 1973. "Linguistics and Translation in Saint Augustine". *The Bible Translator* 24, 134-9

—— 1979: sv "Jerome"

*New Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: McGraw-Hill. 1967. svv "Jerome". "Translation Literature".

*Oxford Classical Dictionary.* 2 ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1970. sv "Jerome".

Poncelet, R. 1957. *Cicéron traducteur de Platon: l'expression de la pensée complexe en latin classique.* Paris:de Boccard

Vigouroux, F.G. 1949. *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément.* edd. Louis Pirot & André Robert. Paris: Letouzey. svv "Itala", "Jérôme"

Wardman, Alan, 1976. <u>Rome's Debt to Greece</u>. London: Elek (sv. translation)⁻

Williams, Gordon. 1968. <u>Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry</u>. Oxford: OUP (chapter 5)

## B. THE MIDDLE AGES

Week 2

In translation as in everything else, the Middle Ages falls into two parts, dividing at about the tenth century. Although Jerome was revered and quoted right through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as the main model for translation, the medieval tone was set by *Boethius* (480-524), famous for the *Consolatio philosophiae*. He had intended to stave off the advancing tide of barbarism attendant on the collapse of the Roman Empire by producing Latin versions of as many of the important texts by Plato and Aristotle as he could. Translation of literature was not an issue. Boethius had put the Judaeo-Christian tradition of translation against the special background of technical translation. Thus he saw salvation as resting in the intellect, and he reverted to the strict type of translation thought proper by Biblical translators. Indeed his preface to Porphyry's *Isagoge* in which he castigated elegance as inimical to "truth" dominated translation into Latin for the next thousand years (cf. Kelly 1979:71).

Boethius was followed by *Cassiodorus* (ca 490-583), a Roman nobleman who spent some time in Constantinople. Between 550 and 560 he founded a monastery in Calabria called the *Vivarium*, dedicated to preserving Classical culture. Though translation from Greek theologians had been a traditional activity in the Latin Church, Cassiodorus had put it on a fairly sound administrative footing. He like Boethius, had the ambition to translate the whole of Greek literature, philosophy and theology into Latin. Though he did not succeed in this, he set up a tradition by which those in the West with some knowledge of Greek translated for the edification of their colleagues, and kept diplomatic lines open with the Eastern Church. From his time until the sixteenth century there is a flourishing traffic of religious and diplomatic translations between East and West. Among the most important names are *Dionysius Exiguus* (early 6th century), *Hilduinus*, Abbot of Saint-Denis in Paris, (fl. 800-840), *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (ca 810-886), *Joannes Scotus Erigena* (850-900). Equally important are missionaries like Sts *Cyril* and *Methodius* (early 9th century) who christianised the Slavs and translated the Greek liturgy and Bible into Slavonic. Between the 9th and 16th centuries there were Latin communities in Constantinople and Greek in the West who kept up a steady flow of translation in an effort to heal the breach between Eastern and Western Christianity.

The influence of Royal courts and other official bodies can not be underestimated. Among the most significant are the schools and cultural centres of the Muslim world at Baghdad, Seville, Toledo, Cordova, where Greek philosophy and science was translated into Arabic and perceptively commented on. From the tenth to the early twelfth centuries these centres played host to a number of Christians, e.g. *Adelard of Bath* (fl. 1130), *Gerard of Cremona* (1114-1187), *Hermannus Alemannus* (1013-54), who translated Arab texts into Latin and brought back to the

West texts from Aristotle and Plato that had been lost. Indeed a great number of Arab medical and scientific texts came into Latin first through the work of the "School of Toledo", and then into French, Catalan and Provençal according to local requirements. One other important centre for this work was the court of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies where translators worked between Latin, Arab and Greek, and translated scientific, diplomatic and religious material.

Latin was not the only language involved here. The German Salic Law was translated into Latin during the eighth century, then redrafted in German, and the new text retranslated into Latin. In England the first Bible translation was the free verse rendering of *Caedmon* (seventh century), and *Alfred the Great* (848-99) ordered ecclesiatical documents to be translated into Anglo-Saxon to counteract a certain laxness in the English church. The most important of them was Pope Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*. After the Christian conquest of Spain the Kings commissioned technical translations from Arab and Latin into the vernacular. The result was a full corpus of medical works in Spanish and Catalan (Haskins 1924). In France King Charles V founded a similar major cultural centre in his court. Among the translators employed to stock the royal library were *Robert Godefroy*, an astrologer, *Laurent de Bellefeuille*, a translator of Cicero, and a large number of medical and scientific translators. The most important of these was *Nicole Oresme* (1325?-82).

The twelfth and the thirteenth centuries saw two important developments. Following attempts to condemn Aristotle as corrupt and corrupting, his works were retranslated from the Greek texts. Some of these translators are anonymous. But we know of *William of Moerbeke* (1215-86), a Dominican friar, and *Robert Grosseteste* (1168-1253), Bishop of Lincoln. In Constantinople Western theologians were translated into Greek to gain some understanding of how Western theology differed from Eastern: for example Thomas Aquinas was translated into Greek by *Maximos Planudes* (1260-1310).

Literary translation into vernacular languages, either from Latin or from other vernaculars seems to begin at about the tenth century. Cicero's absence from the list of authorities is typical of the early part of the period which seems to have done its best to distance itself from the Ancients. The first translations of classical rhetoric date from this period – it seems that vernacular writers saw such translation is the same light as Livius Andronicus had seen it twelve hundred years before: it was a way of educating the language to maturity. Popular classical authors were Ovid and Vergil, very often taken from medieval Latin reworkings. Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, valued for both its style and its content, was frequently translated, normally, as in *Chaucer's* case, from a French version. Epic poetry, like the *Chanson de Roland*, was also translated widely, so that most of the great medieval epic exists in a large number of dialects and languages. Much of the really important translation was in the hands of the troubadours, who translated very freely between the vernacular languages, often extempore and as

part of a performance. There were also literary translators at the royal courts like *Christine de Pisan* (1364-1430) in France, and *Geoffrey Chaucer* (1343-1400) in England. There was much religious translation of popular devotion for the public, one of the most important of these mystical translators being *Richard Rolle of Hampole* (1300-49), a monk who worked from French to English.

Translation style begins to bifurcate. During the twelfth century many of Cicero's rhetorical works had been translated into European languages to facilitate the development of literary taste and skill, and to improve the powers of the languages concerned. Where technical translation remains very close, literary translation is extremely free. Again there is a classical parallel: the free adaptations of Greek work by the dramatists, Plautus and Terence, who had been testing out the limits of Latin, and seeking to entertain by a mixture of the familar and the strange.

## Section Bibliography

Blatt, F. 1938. "Remarques sur l'histoire des traductions latines". *Classica et medievalia* 1, 217-42

Dunlop, D.M. 1960. "The Work of Translation at Toledo". *Babel* 6, 55-9

Haskins, C.H. 1924. *Studies in the History of Medieval Science.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

Jourdain, A.M.M.B. 1843. *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote.* Paris: Joubert.

Monfrin, J. 1964. "Humanisme et traductions au moyen âge". in A. Fourrier (ed.), *L'humanisme médiéval dans les littératures romanes du XIIe au XIVe siècle.* Paris: Klincksieck, 217-47

Reynolds, L.D. & Wilson, N.G. 1968. *Scribes and Scholars.* London: OUP

Schwarz, W. 1944. "The Meaning of *fidus interpres* in Medieval Translation". *Journal of Theological Studies* 45, 73-8

Setton, K.M. 1956. "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance". *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 100, 1-76

Weiss, R. 1950. "Translators from the Greek of the Angevin Court of Naples". *Rinascimento* 1, 194-226

## *Anastasius the Librarian (ca 810-886)*

Abbot of the Monastery of the Virgin Mary across the Tiber, Papal Librarian

    847 Named Cardinal Priest

    850 Degraded and excommunicated by Pope Leo IV for various ecclesiastical offences

    855 Set himself up as Anti-pope against Nicholas I

856 Excommunication lifted; admitted to lay communion, named Abbot

861 Placed in charge of Papal correspondence

867 Freed from all ecclesiastical penalties, named Papal Librarian

869 Sent by King Louis II of France to Constantinople to arrange marriage of Louis's son to the daughter of the Greek Emperor

871 Named as Papal diplomat in dealings with the Greek Patriarchs of Constantinople

## Translations

Much devotional work and hagiography from Greek sources

Mystical theology, in particular Dionysius the Areopagite and a number of important Greek sermons on the Saints

Diplomatic correspondence

Latin translations of the Greek texts of various Church councils, particularly the synod of 869 in which the Greek patriarch, Photius, was condemned.

## Cultural Background

The training for the priesthood was not as highly organised as it was after the rise of the Universities in the thirteenth century; but Anastasius would have followed a course based on the classical education of the Roman Empire, starting with grammar and some pagan and Christian Latin literature. Indeed his training would not have been very different from that of Jerome. Anastasius obviously had also studied in Constantinople or, perhaps in the Greek-speaking areas in the south of Italy. He shows a very good grasp of Greek philosophy and theology. And, despite a very partisan attitude towards the rights of the Latin Church, has a fair understanding of the Greeks.

## Why did he Translate?

Though Greek and Latin Christianity were not yet at daggers drawn there were tensions, both theological and administrative. The theological tensions are reflected in a letter to Pope John VIII concerned with the definition of a number of Greek words that caused endless difficulties – the chief among them being *hypostasis*, (substance or person) which caused endless trouble in the theology of the Trinity. We also find in Anastasius the same spirit that ruled translation in Rome from the dramatists to Boethius: that in things that mattered the Greeks were in advance of the Romans, and one needed to translate to redress the balance. He also retranslated texts where he considered that the accepted Latin version was inadequate (see below).

He seems to have acted as interpreter during the sessions of the mid-nineth-century synods between the Greek and Roman Churches, as well as being an active participant. The translations

21

we have were done later as diplomatic records for the files in both Rome and Constantinople – he and his Greek counterparts were not above back-translating from Latin to Greek to supply the loss of a Greek original.

Clearly he did not trust the Greeks completely. He is insistent that everything of importance that went on in Constantinople be kept in the Vatican archives with an accurate and readable Latin version. This was not as easy as it seems: he recounts how some of his messengers fell in with brigands somewhere in modern Albania and were robbed of their dispatches. Thus documents were to be sent in duplicate by different routes. He also notes that it is essential, given the difference in both language and cultural ideas, to know how the Greeks interpreted both Latin and Greek originals. It would be interesting to know what his Greek counterparts thought on this issue.

### How did he translate?

Anastasius is testimony to the lasting influence of St Jerome, and to the way that legacy was tempered by Boethius. His letter to Pope Nicholas I prefaced to his Latin version of the life of John, Patriarch of Alexandria, quotes Jerome directly on translating *non verbum ex verbo, sed sensum e sensu*. This he expands by claiming to have replaced Greek idioms and word-order by Latin in this version. Indeed he quotes Jerome's ideas rather often. In a letter to Pope John VIII on his Latin version of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, he bitterly castigates some previous attempts at translating these proceedings: the translators had paid so little attention to the "idiom of either language" that the Latin is almost unintelligible, and the fatigue (the word is Anastasius's) caused by this unidiomatic version has discouraged readers. His letter to Charles the Bald, King of France, on the version of Dionysius the Areopagite attacks the translator, Joannes Scotus Erigena, a famous philosopher, for producing an equally unintelligible text by "not presuming to depart from the very shape of the words (*proprietas verborum*) for fear of letting fall some of the true sense (*veritas sensus*)". Hence the necessity for adding a huge number of marginal notes to make a clumsy translation readable.

And yet there are contradictions. His preface to the Eighth Universal Synod of 869 states that he translated word for word as far as he was allowed by Latin idiom, a sentiment that goes back to Cassiodorus and indeed, was put into effect by Jerome in translating the Bible. The letter to Nicholas I also reflects Boethius in its rejection of rhetorical ornament, and in its assumption that such ornament gets in the way of "truth". His vocabulary has a strong moral tinge: he avoids the *astutia* (cunning) of fine style, and its trumperies (the word used is *phalerae*, ornaments tied to a horse's bridle on a feastday). Thus for all his quoting of Jerome, his work shows him to be in the literalist tradition pioneered by the Jews, and consecrated by Boethius in his preface to Porphyry.

From the preface to his version of the VII General Synod

Therefore in my translation of this holy synod, I have rendered word for word insofar as Latin idiom will allow. And I have sometimes had to change Greek constructions to their Latin equivalents in keeping the sense. A few passages I have left to be unravelled by a more able translator. My work in Rome and Byzantium gave me knowledge of certain matters which needed special attention. These I annotated in the margin, or even as need arose commented more fully on them. I should also note that certain relevant documents which had been sent to Constantinople had not been turned into Greek accurately because of the lack of competent translators. Some of these documents as time permitted I corrected myself; others remain as I found them, uncorrected.

One last point. Readers must be warned, and it must be clearly recorded for future reference, in case underhand additions or alterations are made by Constantinople in the Greek accounts of this holy synod, that the Greek minutes of this same council held in the archives at Rome contain no more nor no less than what was defined during the meetings. These were satisfactorily translated into Latin, and officially archived in Rome. The accuracy of these records is attested to by the signatures of all the administrators of Patriarchal Sees and by those of all the Emperors and Bishops. And they remain as they were when the official seals were affixed.


### References

Kelly 1979: sv Anastasius Bibliothecarius
*New Catholic Encyclopedia* sv "Anastasius the Librarian"


## Nicole Oresme (1325?-82)

Prominent Ecclesiastical and Court official, later Bishop of Lisieux. In many ways Oresme resembles Anastasius Bibliothecarius. He was a skilled ecclesiastical administrator and theologian with the ear of the mighty and some influence over them. But he is recognised as one of the foremost medieval mathematicians and political scientists.

1348 Boursier of the Collège de Navarre (Paris)

1356 Master of Theology, appointed master of the College, taken into the Royal circle as translator and confidant of King Jean II

1362 Doctor of Theology and Canon of Cathedral at Rouen

1363 Prebend of La Saint-Chapelle (Paris)

1364 Dean of Rouen Cathedral

1377 Bishop of Lisieux

Translations

French versions of Aristotle *De coelo et mundo, Politics, Ethics, Economics*

French versions of some of his own Latin works, particularly *De moneta*

(These are in modern editions by M. Clagget, E. Grant, A.D. Menut & M.J. Denomy)

## Cultural Background

As a translator working after the thirteenth century Oresme's work shows the effect of the establishment of Universities. He added an Aristotelian background to the mainly Platonist culture we saw in Anastasius the Librarian. He also claims to have known Greek, a very rare accomplishment at the time. It is not unlikely that, like a good number of his contemporaries he had some interest in Alchemy. He was one of the central figures at the court of Charles V, a French King who saw to it that his interest in learning was shared by his courtiers.

He also translated at a time when the scholar was interested in translation. Indeed, many of his prefaces give indications that he had taken the lessons of Cicero's *Rhetorica*, a popular book in his France, to heart.

## Why did he Translate?

Oresme worked at the King's behest, and his versions were meant to be read by the Gentlemen of the court for their own education. It is said that Oresme used precedents from Aristotle to persuade the King that it was logical and effective to delegate authority. Thus he translated from Latin into French working from the thirteenth-century versions of Aristotle, and also from his own Latin: he is one of the first to translate for the general public rather than for like-minded professionals. Oresme is also recognised as one of the pioneers of western mathematics; and one can not discount the importance of his own interest in the matter, and the interested person's drive to teach what he loves.

Like Cicero Oresme felt the need to create a literate vernacular prose for scientific exposition in French. One aspect of this was creating a scientific terminology. To do this, at times he borrows from Latin: *distinguer (distinguere), angulaire (angularis), gravité (gravitas)* etc. At times he uses words which already exist in carefully explained technical senses.

## LE LIVRE DE POLITIQUES D'ARISTOTE

### LE PROHEME

(3c) A[1] tres souverain et tres excellent prince Charles, quint de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu roy de France: Nicole Oresme, doyen de vostre eglise de Rouen, vostre humble chapellain: Honeur, obedience et subjection.

Tres redoubté Seigneur, selon ce que dit la Saincte Escripture, "Cor regis in manu Domini et quocunque voluerit inclinabit illud:" le cuer du roy est en la main de Nostre Seigneur; Il le inclinera la ou Il vouldra [Prov. 21:1]. Et donques beneïst soit Dieu, car Il a le vostre noble cuer encliné a faire mettre en language françoys la science de politiques, de laquelle dit Hue de Saint Victor, "Politiqua est que reipublice curam sustinens cunctorum saluti sue prudentie sollertia et justicie quoque libera et fortitudinis stabilitate ac temperantie paciencia medetur" [Didascalicon 2, 20 (Migne, PL 176, 759)]. Ut ipsa politiqua dicat de semet, "Per me reges regnant et legum conditores justa decernunt" [Prov. 8:15]. Politique est celle qui soustient la cure de la chose publique et qui, par l'industrie de sa prudence et par la balance ou poies de sa justice et par la constance et fermeté de sa fortitude et par la pacience de son attrempance, donne medicine au salut de tous; en tant que elle peut dire de soi meisme: Par moy les roys regnent, et ceulz qui funt les lays decernent et determinent par moy quelles choses sunt justes." Et ainsi comme par la science et art de medicine lez corps sont mis et gardés en sanité selon la possibilité de nature, semblablement par la prudence et industrie qui est expliquee et descripte en cest doctrine les policies ont esté instituees, gardees et reformees et les / (3d) royalmes et princeys maintenus tant comme estoit possible. Car les choses humaines ne sunt pas perpetuelles. Et[2] par celle scet l'en comment l'en doit disposer les gens a tres bonne policie et faire les bons a ce par nature et par accoustumance et par discipline. Et de ceulz qui ne pevent estre telz ou qui ne sunt tels, l'en sceit par elle comme l'en les doit gouverner par autres policies au miex que il est possible selon la nature des regions et des peuples, et selon leur meurs.

Et donques, de toutes les sciences mundaines ce est la tres principal et la plus digne et la plus profitable, et est proprement appartenante as princes. Et pour ce, elle est dite architectonique, ce est a dire princesse sus toutes. Et se aucuns ont bien gouverné sans ce que il eussent livres de politiques, nientmoins il convient que il eussent escrips en leur cuer les principes, commancemens ou regles de ceste science. Mes ausi comme en art de medicine et en autres, semblablement

en art de gouverner princeys doctrine ordenee e escripte fait grant aide. Et sunt par ce les prince: fais plus sages, et peut l'en dire de elle, "Audien: sapiens sapientior erit" [Prov. 1, 5]. Et pour ce pluseurs Grecs et Latins ont de ce composees escriptures appellees *Livres de Policies* ou *De la Chose publique*, entre lesquels Aristote est le plus renommé lequel selon ce que dit Eustrace [*Commentarium in decem libros Ethicorum* I, 1], escripst et traicta des sciences pratiques et speculatives. Et semble que il ne fist ou composa onques oevre a melleur diligence que cest livre. Et peut assés apparoir tant par le procés et par les titles des chapitres // (4a) et par la Table des Notables qui sunt apres, tant comme par un petit livre de la vie de Aristote [Vita Aristotelis, *Aristotelis Fragmenta*, ed. V. Rose, p. 446] ouquel est dit comme, quant le grant roy Alexandre, qui se gouvernoit par le conseil de luy, ala en sa jeunece en Perse, Aristote, en alant oveques luy, composa une hystoire de .ii. cent et cinquante policies. Item, comment il escripst apres au roy Alexandre un livre appellé *Liber de Regno*, ou il luy enseignoit comme il devoit regner, et que par ce le roy fu moult animé a bien faire en tant que le jour que il n'avoit bien fait a aucun, il disoit, "Je ne ay pas aujourd'uy regné" [Dicebat "quia non benefici aliquibus hodie, nec regnavi" Vita Aristotelis, *Fragmenta*, p. 446]. Item, illeques est dit comment apres ce que Aristote out fait pluseurs livres il escripst derrenierement l'*Istore des Policies*, ce est assavoir cest livre ouquel sunt mises et recitees pluseurs policies de cités et de philosophes, mesmement ou secunt livre, ouquel il commence a determiner de communicacion politique.

Or avons donques que cest livre est de la melleur science mundaine qui puisse estre, et fu fait par le plus sage pur philosophe qui onques fust dont il soit memore, et a grande diligence et en son parfeit eage et comme la principal et final de ses oevres. Et pour ce, par l'espace de mil et .vi. cents ans et plus, en toutes lays et sectes et par tout le munde a esté plus accepté et en plus grande auctorité que quelcunque autre escripture de policies mundaines. Et est ausi comme un livre de lays presques natureles, universeles et perpetueles, et ce par quoy toutes autres lays particulieres, locales ou temporeles sunt ordenees, instituees, moderees, interpretees, corrigies ou muees. Et sus ce sunt fundees.

Et pour ce, / (4b) tres excellent Prince, que ausi comme dit Tulles en son livre de *Achademiques* [I, ii, 3], "Les choses pesantes et de grande auctorité sunt delectables et aggreables as gens ou le language de leur païs," ai je cest livre, qui fu fait en grec et apres translaté en latin, de vostre commandement de latin translaté en françoys, exposé diligeamment et mis

de obscurité en clarté souz vostre correption au bien de tous et a le honeur de Dieu.

---

[1] C, M omit the Proheme and the Instruction.

[2] Y omits Et par celle . . . discipline.

## How did he Translate?

His prefaces make the point that the originals are difficult reading, and that:

—je ne ose pas esloingner mon parler du texte d'Aristote, qui est en plusieurs lieux obscur, afin que ie ne passe hors son intencion et que je ne faille.

This is a very normal statement in medieval prefaces, and may have something to do with the Platonist view of Language as a generative power. However the preface to the *Ethics* makes frequent reference to the authority of Cicero's *Rhetorica*. The result is that, though very close, his translation does not have the Boethian closeness of Anastasius, but rather a relaxed free style which manages to illuminate any difficulties in the Latin. Bearing in mind that he will be read by the ordinary person, he is very careful of the polish and rhythmic quality of his French, often expanding by paired synonyms, and refusing point-blank to use Latinate constructions. He is a leading exponent of the "Ciceronian style" of translation in medieval French. He also saw commentary as part of his task, working by expansions in text and expository notes, and advertised the fact in the preface to his *Politics*:

ai je cest livre qui fu fait en grec et après translaté en latin, de vostre (i.e. the King's) commandement de latin translaté en franceis, exposé diligeanment et mis de obscurité en clarté souz vostre correption au bien de tous et a l'honneur de Dieu.

The following is the opening of the translation. Commentary is intercalated between paragraphs in the normal medieval style.

### [LIVRE I]

Ou premier livre il met son entention et determine des premieres parties de communicacion politique ou de cité. Et contient .xviii. chapitres.[4]

(5a) 1.—*Ou*[1] *premier chapitre il propose sen intention et tracte principalment des communités qui sont parties de cité.*

Nous voions que toute cité est une communité et toute communité est instituee et establie et ordenee pour la grace et a la fin de aucun bien. Car toutes gens funt les choses que il emprennent[2] pour aucune chose laquelle leur semble estre bien.

G.[3] Combien que ce soit bien selon verité ou bien tant seulement selon apparence.

---

[3] M begins with: Ci commence . . .

[4] A, fol. 4cd, contains a tabular listing of the chapter headings of Book I. Since the headings are almost exactly repeated at the beginning of each chapter throughout the entire work in each and every redaction, we have omitted these tables at the beginning of each separate Book in this edition, for reasons of economy.

[1] M omits chapter heading. Bekker 1252a 1; Rachkam Bk. I, ch. 1, ¶ 1.

[2] M, Y = œuvrent.

[3] At the end of fol. 1b in M: Je Raoulet d'Orliens qui l'escri ay mis le texte premier ainsi signé T. Et apres la glose s'ensuit ainsi signé O, qui fait Oresme. Actually, the gloss is indicated variously—O, Or or occasionally, Oresme.

### INSTRUCTION

On peut veoir les materes tractees en cest livre par les titles dez chapitles qui sunt es commencemens des livres partials, et par la Table dez Notables qui est apres la fin de tout le livre.

Item, les expositions et significations des mos fors ou estranges sunt en une Table apres la fin du livre, et a ce convient avoir recours.

Item, par especial cest livre ne peut bien estre entendu en pluseurs lieus sans savoir la signification de ces .iiii. mos: *aristocracie, commune policie, democracie, olygarchie*. Et ces mos sunt apropriés a ceste science.

Item, toute foys que en la glose est quoté ou nombré aucun chapitre, ce est a entendre en celuy mesme livre parcial, se un autre ne est nommé et quoté. Si comme en le .viii.[e] livre, qui diroit ainsi: "si comme il fu dit ou .ix.[e] chapitre," ce est a entendre ou .ix.[e] chapitre de le .viii.[e] livre. Mes se ce estoit en un autre livre, il seroit exprimé et nommé ainsi: "si comme il fu dit ou .ix.[e] chapitre du quart livre ou du quint article."

(4c) Ci[3] commence Le Livre de Politiques, ouquel Aristote traicte et determine des manieres de ordener et de gouverner les cités et les grans communités. et contient .VIII. livres particuliers.

*T.* Et pour ce est il manifeste que tous en faisant communité conjecturent et entendent a aucun bien. Et donques la communité qui est meismement principal pardesus⁴ toutes et qui comprent et contient toutes les autres, elle conjecture et prent pour fin le tres plus principalment bien de tous. Et⁵ ceste communité c'est celle qui est appellee cité et communicacion politique.

*G.* Et donques ausi comme elle contient toutes les autres communités qui sunt partie de elle et sous elle, si comme il fu dit ou .xii.ᵉ chapitre de le .viii.ᵉ d'*Ethiques,* semblablement le bien et la fin pour quoy⁶ elle est ordenee contient les fins des autres. Et par consequent, il est plus principal et plus divin car, si comme il fu dit ou premier chapitre d'*Ethiques,* tant est un bien plus commun, de tant est plus divin et plus amable. Apres il fait comparoison⁷ de cité as autres communités, et premierement il oste une erreur.

*T.* Et quicunques gens cuident que princey ou gouvernement politique et royale ou gouvernement yconomique et despotique soient un meisme gouvernement, il ne dient⁸ pas bien.

*G.* Princey politique et royal sont / (5b) sus une grande multitude ou communité; et different, car princey royal est souveraine et princey politique est sous princey royal, sus une cité ou païs, et est selon les coustumes et les lais du païs. Mes princey qui est en un hostel du pere vers femme et enfans, ce est princey paternel, et le princey que il a vers ses servans est dit despotique. Et tout ensemble, ce est assavoir le princey et gouvernement que le pere ou son lieutenant a vers femme et enfans et servans, est dit yconomique. Apres il especifie leur entencion.

*T.* Car il cuident que les gouvermens dessus diz different en ce tant seulement que un est de plus grant multitude que l'autre et qu'il ne different pas en espece et en maniere de gouverner. Mais il dient que se peu de gens sunt en un hostel, ce est gouvernement paternel, et se il sunt en plus grant nombre en un hostel, ce est gouvernement yconomique. Mes se il sunt encor en plus grant nombre et en pluseurs hostelx ou maisons, c'est gouvernement royal ou politique, ausi comme se il n'eust nulle difference entre un grant hostel et une petite cité, ne entre gouvernement politique et royal. Car quant un homme a la souveraine presidence, ce est princey royal; mes quant il gouverne selon les paroles de la discipline, ce est a dire selon les lais de la cité et il est en partie tenant princey et en partie subject sous le roy, adonques ce est princey politique.

*G.* Et pour ce vouloient il dire que telz princeys ne different pas en espece comme different un cheval et un asne ou couleur verte et blanche, mes qu'il different seulement en quantité, comme un grand cheval et un petit. //

## References

*Biographie universelle* sv. "Oresme"

*Dictionary of Scientific Biography.* sv "Oresme"

Durand, B. 1941. "Oresme and the Medieval Origins of Modern Science", *Speculum* 16, 167-85

Knops, J.P.H. 1952. *Etudes sur la traduction francaise de la morale à Nichomache par Nicole Oresme.* s'Gravenshague:

Meunier, F. 1857. *Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de Nicole Oresme.* Paris: Lahure

Sarton 1947: III.1486-97

## *William Caxton (1422?-91)*

Founder of the Printing Industry in Britain

> 1438 Apprenticed to a mercer (cloth-merchant)
>
> 1441-70 Lived in Bruges as an unofficial representative of the English government and as a private merchant
>
> 1470-74 Learnt printing at Cologne
>
> 1476 Returned to England, made contacts at Court
>
> 1477-91 Established his Printing-press at Westminster.

## Translations

> 1475 *Recuyell of the Historye of Troye* (from French of Raoul le Fèvre).
>
> > *The Game and Playe of Chesse*
>
> 1477 *The Historye of Jason*
>
> 1481 *Seige of Jerusalem* (from French of Godefroy de Boulogne)
>
> > *Mirrour of the Worlds*
>
> > *Reynard the Foxe*
>
> 1482 *Polycronicon* (from Latin of John Higden, revised from English of John Trevisa)
>
> 1483 *Golden Legend* (from French of Jehan de Vignay)
>
> 1484 *Order of Chyvalry* (from French version of Ramon Lull's Catalan)
>
> > *Book of the Knyght of the Tower*
>
> > *Aesop's Fables*
>
> > *Curial* (Alain Chartier)
>
> 1485 *Charles the Grete*
>
> 1487 *Booke of Good Maners*
>
> 1488 *The Royal Book* (from the French original compiled at the orders of Philippe le Bel)
>
> 1489 *The Fayttes of Arms* (From Christine de Pisan's French version of Vegetius, *De re*

*militari*)

    *Blanchardin et Eglantine*

    *The Four Sonnes of Aymon*

1490 *Eneydos* (from the French of Dares).

Most of his translations are published in the Early English Text Society Collection

## Cultural Background

By his time Anglo-Norman had pretty well died out in the general population, and the French spoken in Court circles was more or less the standard French of Paris. Not that English had benefited much from the demise of its rival: France was still regarded as a superior culture from which the English had a lot to learn. And English was far from shaking off the aura of an unpolished language with very few of the advantages of the other European languages. Caxton would have moved in court circles formed by the cultural interests of Charles V, and probably knew the literary circles around the princely courts.

## How did Caxton Translate?

Caxton claims to have translated literally:

    —following myn auctor as nygh (close) as I can or may, not chaunging the sentence (sense) ne presumyng to adde ne mynusshe (subtract) ony thing otherwyse than myn auctor hath made in Frensshe... (Prologue to *Jason*).

And like the medieval translators from Greek he constantly harps on his "symple and rude translacion where in be no curyous ne gaye terms of rhetoryk" (*Fayttes of Arms*). These passages are a fair description of his technique as we .see it in the opening passage of Alain Chartier's *Curial* reproduced below. There is minimal reordering of the sentence, a high degree of borrowing, and a preponderance of formal equivalence. Caxton does have the curious expression, "reduced into English", which may or may not imply that his English version is in some sense a comedown from a richer original.

And yet Caxton's English is not completely literal. Several scholars have remarked that an important French word will be translated twice (what I have called "rhythmic glossing" [Kelly 1979: 104]), once by a borrowing and once by a more familiar word:

    French line 11: merites = rewardes & merites

            line 24: services publicques = thynges publicques & servyses

When paired synonyms appear in the original they are carefully preserved; but, no matter what he says, the use of such features in his translations show a sense of rhetoric.

As with his Latin-speaking predecessors plainness is a selling-point:

    And as nygh as to me is possible I have made it so playn that every man resonable may

onderstonde it, yf he advysedly and ententyfly (attentively) rede or here it (*Mirrour of the World*).

Caxton is not really a theoretician: he quotes no predecessors from whom he derives his principles. It would seem that if he is to be put into any pigeonhole at all, he followed Boethius. This may reflect conviction, for in spite of a flourishing literature, there was a sense that English was not considered a fit subject for rhetorical remodeling under the aegis of Latin. His prologue to the *Eneydos* is a fair summing up of his linguistic interests, and lays particular stress on the dialect differences in the England of his time, and the problems they cause in intercomprehension. It is for this reason probably that he was so willing to be corrected on points of usage by members of the Court.

# [The Curial of Alain Charretier.]

4      Here foloweth the copye of a lettre whyche maistre
       Alayn Charetier wrote to hys brother / whyche desired
       to come dwelle in Court / in whyche he reherseth many
       myseryes & wretchydnesses therin vsed[1] / For taduyse
8      hym not to entre in to it / leste he after repente / like
       as hier after folowe / and late translated out of frensshe
       in to englysshe / whyche Copye was delyuerid to me
       by a noble and vertuous Erle / At whos Instance &
12     requeste I haue reduced it in to Englyssh.

            Yght welbelouyd brother, & persone Eloquent /
   r        thou admonestest and exhortest me to prepare &
            make redy, place and entree for the vnto the lyf
16     Curiall / whyche thou desirest / And that by my helpe
       and requeste thou myghtest haue therin offyce / And
       herto thou art duly[2] meuyd by comyn errour of the
       people / whiche repute thonours mondayne & pompes of
20     them of the courte / to be thynges more blessyd & happy
       than other / or to thende that I luge not wel[3] of thy
       desyre / Thou wenest parauenture / that they that wayte
       on offices / ben in vertuous occupacions, & reputest them
24     the more worthy for to haue rewardes & merites / And
       also thou adionstest other causes that meue the therto /
            by thexample of me / that enpresshe my selue for to
            serue in the courte Ryall / And to thende that thou
            myghtest vse thy dayes in takyng empryse wyth me /
            and that we myghte togidre enioye the svetenes 4
            of frendshyppe / whyche longe tyme hath ben bytwene
            vs tweyne / And thys knowe I wel / that thy courage
            is not wythdrawen fer from my frendshyppe / And the
            grace of humanyte is not dreyed vp in the / whyche 5
            compryseth hys frendes as presente, And leneth not at
            nede to counseylle & ayde them absente to hys power /

*Marginal notes:*

[Sign. J.] The Letter that Alain Charetier wrote to dissuade his Brother from coming to Court. English by Wm. Caxton.

Dear Brother, you ask me to get you a place at Court,

thinking that men in office are virtuous,

and that you will be in the company of me,

your old friend.

<div style="margin-left:note"></div>

| | |
|---|---|
| I too long for you. | And I trowe that thyn absence is not lasse greuous to me / than myn is to thy self / For me semeth, that 12 thou beyng absente, I am there where the places and affayres desioyne vs / But by cause god of fortune hath so departed our destynee / that thou awaytest frely on |
| that when I suffer daily in the public service, | thyn owne pryuate thynges / And that I am occupyed 16 on thynges publycque, & seruyses in sorowful passions / |
| I feel happy that you escape my troubles at Court. | that whan I haue on my self compassion / Thenne am I enioyed of thyn ease / & take grete playsir / in this, that *thou* auoydest the myserries that I suffre euery 20 day / And yf I blame or accuse fortune for me / I preyse and thanke her on that other parte for the / For so moche as she hath exempte the fro the anguysshes |
| [* sign. j. back] | that I suffre \*in the courte / And that she hath not 21 made vs bothe meschaunte / |

## Le curial

TU me admonnestes et exortes souvent, homme eloquent et mon frere tresamé, ad ce que je te prepare lieu et entree a vie curiale que tu appetes, et que par mon ayde et intercession
5 tu y puisses avoir office. Et ad ce es tu se devient esmeu par la commune erreur des hommes qui les honneurs mondains et pompes des gens curyaux reputent estre choses bieneurees plus que aultres. Ou adfin que je ne juge mal de ton desir, tu cuides par aduenture que ceulx qui vacquent aux offices publicques
10 soyent par vertueuses œuvres reputez plus dignes d'en avoir merites. Et si y adioustes aultre cause qui t'y esmeut, c'est assavoir 1 l'exemple de moy, qui m'enpesche de servir a la court royal, adfin que tu uses tes jours par compagnie avecq moy, et que puissions ensemble joÿr de la doulçour d'amistié qui de long
15 temps est entre nous deux. Et en ce congnois je bien que ton corage n'est point eslongié de nostre amistié, et que la grace d'humanité n'est point en toy asseichie, qui comprent ses amis presens et ne laisse au besoing a consellier n'a aidier les absens a son pooir. Et croy que ton absence ne m'est pas moins griefve,
20 que est la mienne a toy. Ainçois me samble que, toy absent je n'ay point moy mesmes la ou les lieux et les affaires nous desjoingnent. Mais puis que dieu ou fortune ont tant separé 2 nostre destinee, que tu vacques franchement a tes choses privees, et que je suy occupé aux services publicques en douloureuses
25 pacions: quant j'ay de moy mesmes compassion, lors sui je esjoÿ de ton aise, et prens plesir en ce que tu as evadé les miseres

que je souffre chascun jour. Et se je blasme ou accuse fortune pour moy, je la loe d'aultre part pour toy, en tant qu'elle t'a exempté des angoisses que je souffre en court, et qu'elle ne nous y a fais tous deux meschans.

## Why did he Translate

Caxton was in an enviable position: his translating skill was in demand, he had powerful patrons, and he was his own publisher. Judging from his publication list he had contact with other publishers from French to English. He obviously translated for enjoyment, but he was well aware of the teaching responsibilities of the medieval translator. It is significant that he translated from French, not Latin. France had become one of the centres of European culture, and in any case, England even almost four centuries after the Norman invasion, was still in the French sphere of influence. Translation from French therefore was to the taste of a rather sophisticated Court. But beside this commercial motivation, Caxton was aware of the value of literary translation in refining the taste of a less cultured society – and in this he echoes earlier English translators like Chaucer. Not that Caxton was the only translator from French in his England; but he is one with a very wide range, from literature, to recreation, to popular religion.

He is interested in the language itself too, remarking in his edition of Trevisa's *Polycronicon* that he has "chaunged the rude and olde Englyssh" to remove obsolete words that would stand in the way of comprehension. He seems to have been aware of playing a role in the standardisation of English on the basis of the usage of the Court and the mercantile classes of London. He has a strong sense of dialect differences in England, and seems to have been sensitive about his own Kentish dialect.

Prologue to *Eneydos* (1490)

AFTER dyuerse werkes made / translated and achieued / hauyng noo werke in hande, I, syttyng in my studye where as laye many dyuerse paunflettis and bookys, happoned that to my hande came a lytyl booke in frensho, whiche late was translated oute of latyn by somo noblo clerke of fraunce, whiche booke is named Eneydos / made in latyn by that noblo pocte & grete clerke vyrgylo / whiche booke I sawe ouer and redde therin, How, after the generall destruccyon of the grete Troye, Eneas departed, beryngo his olde fadur anchises vpon his sholdres / his lityl son yolus ou his hondo, his wyfo wyth moche other peoplo folow-yngo / and how he shypped and departed, wyth alle thystorye of his aduentures that ho had er ho cam to the achieuement of his conquest of ytalye, as all a longo shall be showed in this present boke. In whiche booke I had grete playsyr, by cause of the fayr and honest termes & wordes in frensho / whyche I neuer sawe to-fore lyke, no none so playsaunt ne so wel ordred; whiche booke, as me semed, sholde be moche requysyte to noblo men to see, as wel for the cloquence as tho historyes / How wel that many honderd yerys passed

was tho sayd booke of eneydos, wyth other werkes, made and lerned dayly in scolis, specyally in ytalye & other places / whiche historyo the sayd vyrgylo made in metre / And whan I had aduysed me in this sayd boko, I delybered and concluded to translate it in-to englysshe, And forthwyth toke a penne & ynke, and wrote a leef or tweyno / whyche I ouersawo agayn to corecte it / And whan I sawe the fayr & straunge termes therin / I doubted that it sholde not please some gentylmen whiche late blamed me, sayeng that in my translacyons I had ouer curyous termes whiche coude not be vnderstande of comyn peplo / and desired me to vse olde and homely termes iu my translacyons. and that I wolde I satysfye euery man / and so to doo, toke an olde boko and redde therin / and certaynly the englysshe was so rude and brood that I coude not wele vnderstande it. And also my lordo abbot of west-mynster ded do shewe to me late, certayn euydences wryton in olde englysshe, for to reduce it in-to our englysshe now vsid / And certaynly it was wreton in suche wyse that it was more lyke to dutcho than englysshe; I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be vnderstonden / And certaynly our langage now vsed varyeth ferre from that whiche was vsed and spokon

whan I was borne / For we englysshe men / ben borne
vnder the domynacyon of the mone, whiche is neuer
stedfaste / but euer wauerynge / wexynge one season /
and waneth & dyscreaseth another season / And that
comyn englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth
from a nother. In so moche that in my dayes hap-
pened that certayn marchauntes were in a shippe in
tamyse, for to haue sayled ouer the see into zelande /
and for lacke of wynde, thei taryed atte forlond, and
wente to lande for to refresshe them; And one of theym
named sheffelde, a mercer, cam in-to an hows and axed
for mete; and specyally he axyd after eggys; And the
goode wyf answerde, that she coude speke no frensho.
And the marchaunt was angry, for he also coude speke
no frensho, but wolde haue hadde egges / and she
vnderstode hym not / And thenne at laste a nother
sayd that he wolde haue eyren / then the good wyf
sayd that she vnderstod hym wel / Loo, what sholde
a man in thyse dayes now wryte, egges or eyren /
certaynly it is harde to playse euery man / by cause of
dyuersite & chaunge of langage. For in these dayes
euery man that is in ony reputacyon in his countre,
wyll vtter his comynycacyon and maters in suche
maners & termes / that fewe men shall vnderstonde
theym / And som honest and grete clerkes haue ben
wyth me, and desired me to wryte the moste curyous
termes that I coude fynde / And thus bytwene playn
rude / & curyous, I stande abasshed. but in my Iudge-
mente / the comyn termes that be dayli vsed, ben
lyghter to be vnderstonde than the olde and auncyent
englysshe / And for as moche as this present booke is
not for a rude vplondyssh man to laboure therin / ne
rede it / but onely for a clerke & a noble gentylman
that feleth and vnderstondeth in faytes of armes, in
loue, & in noble chyualrye / Therfor in a meane
bytwene bothe, I haue reduced & translated this sayd
booke in to our englysshe, not ouer rude ne curyous,
but in suche termes as shall be vnderstanden, by goddys
grace, accordynge to my copye. And yf ony man wyll
enter-mete in redyng of hit, and fyndeth suche termes
that he can not vnderstande, late hym goo rede and
lerne vyrgyll / or the pystles of ouyde / and ther he
shall see and vnderstonde lyghtly all / Yf he haue a
good redar & enformer / For this booke is not for
euery rude and vnconnynge man to see / but to clerkys
and very gentylmen that vnderstande gentylnes and
scyence ¶ Thenne I praye alle theym that shall rede
in this lytyl treatys, to holde me for excused for the
translatynge of hit. For I knowleche my selfe ignorant
of connynge to enpryse on me so hie and noble a
werke / But I praye mayster Iohn Skelton, late created
poete laureate in the vnyuersite of oxenforde, to ouersee

and correcte this sayd booke, And taddresse and
expowne where as shalle be founde faulte to theym
that shall requyre it. For hym, I knowe for suffycyent
to expowne and englysshe euery dyffyculte that is
therin / For he hath late translated the epystlys of
Tulle / and the boke of dyodorus syculus,[1] and diuerse
other werkes oute of latyn in-to englysshe, not in rude
and olde langage, but in polysshed and ornate termes
craftely, as he that hath redde vyrgyle / ouyde, tullye,
and all the other noble poetes and oratours / to me
vnknowen: And also he hath redde the ix. muses, and
vnderstande theyr musicalle scyences, and to whom of
theym eche scyence is appropred. I suppose he hath
dronken of Elycons well. Then I praye hym, & suche
other, to correcte, adde or mynysshe where as he or
they shall fynde faulte / For I haue but folowed my
copye in frensho as nygh as me is possyble / And yf
ony worde be sayd therin well / I am glad; and yf
otherwyse, I submytte my sayd boke to theyr correc-
tyon / Whiche boke I presente vnto the hye born my
tocomynge naturell & souerayn lord, Arthur, by the
grace of god, Prynce of Walys, Duc of Cornowayll, &
Erle of Chester, fyrst bygoten sone and heyer vnto our
most dradde naturell & souerayn lorde, & most crysten
kynge / Henry the vij. by the grace of god, kynge of
Englonde and of Fraunce, & lord of Irelonde / bysech-
ing his noble grace to receyue it in thanke of me, his
moste humble subget & seruaunt / And I shall praye
vnto almyghty god for his prosperous encreasyng in
vertue / wysedom / and humanyte, that he may be egal
wyth the most renommed of alle his noble progeny-
tours ¶ And so to lyue in this present lyf / that after
this transitorye lyfe he and we alle may come to
euerlastynge lyf in heuen / Amen :

References

Blake, N.F. 1969 *Caxton and his World*. London: Deutsch

——. 1984. "William Caxton", in Edwards, A.S.G., *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide*. New Brunswick: Rutgers, 389-412

——. 1983. "Reflections of William Caxton's 'Reynard the Fox' ", *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 4, 69-76

Belyea, Barbara. 1981. "Caxton's Reading Public", *English Language Notes* 19, 14-19

*Dictionary of National Biography* sv "Caxton"

Horall, Sarah. 1984. "William Caxton's Biblical Translation". *Medium Aevum* 53, 91-8

Kekewych, M. 1971. "Edward IV, William Caxton, and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England". *Modern Language Review* 66, 481-87

Lathrop 1933. sv. "Caxton"

Workman, S.K. 1940. *Fifteenth-century Translation as an Influence on English Prose*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

## C. RENAISSANCE AND HUMANISM

As the Turks were increasing the pressure on the Byzantine Empire in the fourteenth century Greek scholars began moving West, bringing their libraries with them. Once established in the West they made their living by setting up schools, mainly to teach philosophy from the authentic Greek texts. The centres they chose were Florence and Venice, both powerful trading republics with ruling families interested in scholarship. Major Florentine schools were set up by Manuel Chrysoloras (1355-1415) and Constantine Lascaris (fl. 1450-90). Among their pupils were *Marsilio Ficino* (1433-99), who translated Plato into Latin, and *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini* (1405-1464), later Pope Pius II. Greek studies received major encouragement from *Bessarion* (1389-1472), an envoy of the Eastern Church who changed sides and became a Cardinal. He left his library to Venice, and even during his lifetime helped create a climate in which humanist scholar-printers like *Aldus Manutius* (1447-1515), himself an excellent translator into Latin and Italian, could flourish. The centre of sixteenth-century culture was Italy, and indeed it almost rivalled Greece and Rome. From there the New Learning moved north into France, Germany, the Low Countries; and then into the rest of Europe.

Exposure to elements of the classical Greek heritage that had not survived in the West was the first element in the change of cultural direction we now call the Renaissance. The Greek schools reinforced the idea that the Classical Age had been a Golden Age from which the world had declined. And they rejuvenated the Classical ideal of the *orator*, whom Quintilian had defined as "the good man, skilled in speaking". His intellectual and moral excellence depended on proper handling of language and its resources. The Greek schools sought to give an example of the ancient *enkuklios paedeia*, that is an all-round education which, though based on the language arts, gave access to every branch of learning, and, through proper and skilled use of language, made the scholar virtuous. This literary and linguistic training was directed towards producing scholars with a wide range of interests and abilities who could turn their hands to any part of the ancient tradition.

Of equal importance to these early humanists were the Bible, ancient sciences and medicine. Again the medieval period had been pretty prolific, but it was felt necessary to work from the original texts to get rid of medieval accretions. Hence one of the activities most important to humanists no matter their discipline, was searching out Latin and Greek manuscripts and producing a critical text from them. A large number of manuscripts of classical literature were unearthed in European libraries, some of them completely unknown. The same principle was applied to scientific and Biblical work, important doctors like *Thomas Linacre* (1460-1524) and *Janus Hagenbut [Cornarius]* (1500-1558), the first Dean of Medicine at Jena, scouring Europe for manuscripts of ancient medical works. In Biblical work *Desiderius Erasmus* (1466?-1503) did the

same thing and his Greek-Latin New Testament based on the latest manuscripts was very influential. The important element in all of this work was the creation of a spirit of criticism. This, combined with an inevitable redefinition of the relationship between God, Man and the Church, produced an intellectual and social ferment culminating in radical questioning of all medieval values, social, artistic, scientific and religious.

The basic discipline to which translation conformed was rhetoric. In teaching translation the age demanded the target text have all the "feel" of the original. One of the first to attempt to dethrone the translation model of Boethius through the new scholarship was an early pupil of the Florentine schools, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino*, (1370?-1444), who translated Aristotle into Latin (ca 1420) amid considerable controversy over his methods. Though his style of translation had risen from contact with the normal native-speaker's ambivalence at what a translator can do to a beloved text, the actual norms involved became those of Cicero and Horace, and Cicero himself became the preeminent model in Latin prose composition, and therefore translation. But the Renaissance sense of style brought up the question of how far one could take the authority of Cicero in matters relating to Latin style. The large number of scholars regarding Cicero as the only guide in Latin style were vigorously opposed by Erasmus, whose *Ciceronianus* points out that different people have different styles, and that even in Latin one must have one's own style and that style must be congruent with matter. He did have followers. In his preface to Hippocrates *Cornarius* notes that he has written in a technical style, with which Cicero has nothing to do. Indeed, as Cicero had never written on scientific subjects his stylistic authority was not relevant. This is also picked up by *Bartholomew Clerke* (1537-90) discussing his Latin version of Castiglione (1571). In their view a clear Latin was its own justification, and whether it conformed to a revered model or not was beside the point. Though the centre of their intellectual world was in the Classics, the Humanists saw popular education as an essential priority. In applying the same standards of elegance and naturalness to the vernaculars, they intended to do what the Roman translators had done to Latin: bring the vernacular languages to maturity.

The Humanists emphasised the necessity of popular education. Realising that one could not expect everybody to know Latin and Greek in a society that was largely illiterate, they championed the translation of classical works into the vernaculars. Indeed the Humanist printing presses, like that of Aldus Manutius in Venice and Frobenius in Antwerp, commissioned vernacular translations and sold them rather widely. One essential aim was forming functional styles in the vernaculars by classical example. One must note, however that what could be termed a "modern language" changes subtly. Europe's shape was modern, and the standard languages of political and cultural centres, as English, French, Spanish and Italian were, moved into the territory of those like Catalan and Provençal which were not.

Translation then, was an essential aspect of scholarship, no matter the field. Another quotation from Horace takes on authority: "Ut pictura poesis" (A poem is like a picture. *Ars poetica* 361). Though this critical commonplace appears very early (we see it in *Henricus Aristippus's* twelfth-century version of Plato), it gives rise to the very common image of translation as a protrait of the original (cf. *Jacques Peletier du Mans* [1517-82]). It would seem that the only fifteenth-century Humanist work on translation with a wide circulation was *Alfonso de Madrigal's Comento de Eusebio*, a translation of Eusebius's *Chronica* with Jerome's Latin version, and comments in Latin and Spanish. De Madrigal recognises two types of translation, *interpretacion* (word for word) and *exposicion* (a translation made longer than the original by explanatory expansions).

One important discussion of this distinction that directly follows de Madrigal is that of *Juan Luis Vives* (1492-1540). In his *De ratione dicendi* he adopts Madrigal's distinction between literal and free, only to point out that literal translation is impossible owing to the differences between languages in idiom, grammar, etc. But he nuances this categorical statement by claiming that a target language will often be enriched by borrowing turns of phrase from the source. Yet he shows the literalist temper of his generation:

> The more exactly a translator preserves the graces of his original and the more literal the version, the more powerful and valuable the translation. For it expresses the original with more truth.

This was exactly the practice of *Erasmus* and *Sir Thomas More* (Kelly 1979: 73, 181). But their performance does give some latitude in defining "literal".

The authority of Cicero and Horace is often coupled with that of Jerome. The frequent condemnation of word-for-word translation (almost in the words of Cicero himself) is tempered by realisation that close translation has a place in attaining what *Lord Berners* (1467-1533) calls "the true report of the sentence". There is constant agreement with Jerome that the unit of translation is not the word but the phrase, and the sense that one must somehow deal with foreign customs in translation grows throughout the period. The most publicised statement on the new translation norms was that of *Estienne Dolet* (1509-46), but translation had been of vital concern to scholars for a long time before.

It was at about this time that dictionaries first appeared as classroom and translation aids, one of the pioneers being the *Dictionarium* of Ambrosius Calepinus (1502). The famous dictionaries of the time are the *Thesaurus linguae graecae* (1576) of *Henri Estienne* (1531-98) and the various bilingual dictionaries by his son, Robert. These covered French, Greek and Hebrew.

37

## Section Bibliography

Amos, F.R. 1920. *Early Theories of Translation*. New York: Columbia University Press

Banass, Tine. 1978. "The Function of Translated Literature within a National Literature: The Example of Spain". in Holmes, James S. et al., *Literature and Translation*. Leuven: ACCO, 181-204

Bertelli, L.A. 1965. "A Glimpse at the History of Translation in Italy". *Babel* 11, 76-8

*Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol 3: 94-198

Chavy, Paul. 1981. "Les traductions humanistes au début de la renaissance française: traductions médiévales, traductions modernes". *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 8, 284-306

Conley, C.H. 1927. *The First English Translators of the Classics*. New Haven: Yale

Hennebert, F. 1858. *Histoire des traducteurs français des auteurs grecs et latins pendant le XVIe siècle*. Gand

Hermans, Theo. 1985. "Images of Translation: Metaphor and Imagery in the Renaissance Discourse on Translation". in Theo Hermans (ed.) *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation*. Beckenham: Croom Helm, 103-35

Kushner, Eva & Paul Chavy, edd. 1981. "Translation in the Renaissance/ Traduction à la renaissance". *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 8.2 (whole number)

Lowry, Martin, 1979. *The World of Aldus Manutius*. Oxford:Blackwell

Matthiessen, F.O. 1931. *Translation an Elizabethan Art*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard.

Larwill, P.H. 1934. *La théorie de la traduction au début de la renaissance*. Munich: Wolf

Norton, Glyn P. 1977. "Translation Theory in Renaissance France". *Renaissance and Reformation* 10, 1-13

—— 1984. *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and their Humanist Antecedents*. Geneva: Droz

Pound, E. 1917. "Notes on Elizabethan Classicists" in T.S. Eliot, (ed.) *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound* London: Faber. 1954, 227-49

——. 1920. "Translators of Greek, Early Translators of Homer". ibid. 249-75

Rice, Eugene F. 1985. *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins/Rickard, P. 1968. *La langue française au seizième siècle*. Cambridge: CUP

Scott, M.A. 1916. *Elizabethan Translators from the Italian*. Baltimore: MLA

Shire, Helen Mennie. 1978. "The Function of Translated Literature within a National Literature: The Example of England and Scotland". in Holmes, James S. et al., *Literature and Translation*. Leuven: ACCO, 177-180

Strand, K.A. 1961. *Reformation Bibles in the Crossfire*. Ann Arbor: U. Michigan Press

Starnes, D.T. 1937. "Bilingual Dictionaries of Shakespeare's Day" *PMLA* 52, 1005-18

Stoneman, Richard. 1982. *Daphne into Laurel*. London: Duckworth

Ullmann, S. 1966. "Classical Influence on the Vocabulary of the French Renaissance". *Language and Style*. Oxford: Blackwell, 243-62

## Week 3 Religion and Science

Sixteenth-century humanism was essentially religious, and the Bible held an important place in translators' activities. They had the medieval conviction that the final goal of all learning was knowledge of God. Hence because the new learning was naturally at the service of Biblical scholarship, Erasmus established a Greek text of the New Testament using the techniques applicable to any ancient author. Where the Middle Ages had been inspired by Jerome's sanctity, the Renaissance, Erasmus and Luther in particular, were attracted by his emphasis on scholarship, and quote him as an essential authority. Like St Jerome, Humanist translators took sound scholarship as a completely adequate guarantee of accuracy, and also applied his stylistic practice to Biblical work. Thus the Bible was treated no differently from any other ancient text. Hence the study of Biblical Hebrew was revived: one of the great grammars of Hebrew being that of *Johannes Reuchlin* (1455-1522), a friend of Luther's. Much to the scandal of the traditionalists they adopted Jerome's attitude and practice – that even though the original was divinely inspired, the translator was not and all that was needed for a good job was sound scholarship. Translators first sought to produce a Latin Bible of Humanist standard; and there are a large number of them. Even in Latin the Bible was subject to controversy. Erasmus's 1523 New Testament studiously tried to be neutral, but other translators like *Théodore de Bèze* (1519-1605) and *Sebastian Castalio* (1515-63) produced Bibles in fairly classical Latin, but with strong doctrinal leanings.

Its skill and scholarship put Erasmus's New Testament in the forefront, and much to his sorrow he was used as a weapon by both sides. Of the vernacular Bibles Luther's (1534) is preeminent, and other German versions were produced by reformers in Switzerland. Luther's is in many ways a team effort. His correspondance traces discussions on points of difficulty with others like *Philip Melancthon* (1497-1560) and *Spalatin* (1482-1545). Other important Continental Bibles were the 1641 Italian version by the Calvinist, *Giovanni Diodati* (1576-1649), which he himself turned into French in 1644, and the French Bibles of *Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples* (1455-1537), *Pierre Olivétan* (ob. 1538), and De Bèze which came out in 1528, 1535 and 1556 respectively. De Bèze's is known as the "Geneva Bible". In Spain the first complete version of Scripture was published in 1569 by *Cassiodoro de Reina* (1520-94), a follower of Jean Calvin. and in Italy the first complete Bible was by *Antonio Brucioli* (ca 1495-1566) in 1532. In England there is a long progression from the Tyndale Bible of 1526-30 to the Authorised Version of 1611.

In general Catholics tended to lag. Spain continued the medieval custom of translating the Epistles and Gospels used at Mass. France often readapted Protestant or doubtful Bibles, for example the Catholic *Bible de Louvain* (1550) was Lefebvre d'Etaples brought up to date. Likewise in Germany: *Hieronymus Emser's* version (1523) tried to "correct" those parts of Luther's Bible already circulating. In England the Douay-Rheims version appeared in 1588 as an emergency measure to counter the Protestant accusation, partially justified, that the Catholics were afraid of the Bible. The preface of the Catholic Douay-Rheims version (1588-1609) clearly indicates that the hand of the Catholic authorities was forced by the spread of the Protestant Bibles.

Most of the Protestant Bibles were taken from the original Hebrew and Greek, the only major exception being Coverdale's (1535), taken from the Vulgate. The Council of Trent defined Jerome's Vulgate as accurate and definitive, and from then until the appearance of Ronald Knox's Bible in 1949, Catholic Bibles were almost exclusively taken from the Vulgate. The Authorised Version of 1611 is an excellent example of teamwork. The work was divided between six "companies", each responsible for a particular group of books. The companies drew on the best talent available in England: not only theologians but also experts in Classical languages. Each company had a reference library containing every dictionary they could lay their hands on, and wide range of theological literature, and copies of as many Latin and vernacular Bible they could find. The work was done through a mixture of minuted meetings, and individual translation in the study. Drafts from each company were submitted to a reviser's panel, then to a publication panel to ensure that the style was uniformly good, and then sent to the printer.

One of the necessary concomitants of the Reformation was the development of vernacular liturgies. In England the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549) rose out of English versions from the "Primers" (vernacular books of devotion for the laity, often translated from the official liturgical books) and translations from the Sarum Missal and Breviary. The committee who did that was headed by *Thomas Cranmer* (1489-1566), the Archbishop of Canterbury. Other Reformers who did similar liturgical adaptation mixed with translation were *Martin Luther* and *Jean Calvin* (1509-1556). As the Reformation spread there were translations of Luther's liturgy into Scandinavian languages, which were adopted as the normal worship. Attempts to proselytise England by English translations of Luther's liturgy were not popular with the authorities. Translators also entered with gusto into religious controversy. Luther's works were translated into English by *Richard Taverner* (1505-75) who was also responsible for Taverner's Bible (1539), and *Thomas Norton* (1532-84), a noted scourge of Catholics, translated Calvin's *Les Institutions de la religion chrestienne*, which Calvin himself had translated from his own Latin.

Beside the religious the scientific work is tame, although it too shared the aim of changing the intellectual paradigm. Because the basic training of a scientist was classical and literary, scientific

and medical truth were to be sought in ancient documents untrammelled by medieval corruptions, just as in religion. Hence noted translators like *Thomas Linacre* (1460-1524) and *Janus Cornarius* (1500-58) scoured libraries for medical and scientific manuscripts, edited them and translated them, usually into Latin, the normal teaching language. Interpretation of these medical books depended on the new science of philology, as did Biblical work. Running alongside this is translation from alchemy. Continental alchemists like Paracelsus (1493-1541) who wrote in their own languages (in the case of Paracelsus, German), were translated into Latin, and then from there into the local vernaculars. There was also considerable interest in medieval alchemy, mainly works ascribed to the thirteenth-century scholastics Roger Bacon and Albert the Great, or to later alchemists like Basil Valentine and Nicholas of Cusa. These were to have considerable effect on popular medicine and cause conflict later on.


*Linacre, Thomas (1460-1524)*
Founder of the Royal College of Physicians
> 1484 Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; learnt Greek from Cornelio Vitelli
>
> 1485 Went to Florence as Tutor to son of Lorenzo de Medici
>
> 1496 Went to Rome, the to Venice; Met great humanist printer, Aldus Manutius
>
> 1490? Doctor of Medicine (Padua)
>
> 1491 Returned to Oxford as Professor of Greek and Medicine
>
> 1497 Taught Thomas More and Erasmus
>
> 1590-1 Tutor to Prince Arthur, heir to the English throne
>
> 1509 Royal Physician
>
> 1518 Founded London College of Physicians (modern Royal College)
>
> 1520 Became a priest; retired from active academic life, devoted himself to writing on languages and medicine
>
> 1523 Tutor to Princess Mary
>
> 1524 Left money in his will for founding lectureships in Medicine


Translations
N.B. All the following are from Greek to Latin.
> 1491 Proclus, *De Sphaera*
>
> 1517 Galen, *De sanitate tuenda*
>
> 1519 Galen, *Methodus medendi*
>
> 1521 Galen, *De temperamentis*
>
> 1523 Galen, *De naturalibus facultatibus*

——, *De pulsuum usu*

1524 ——, *De symptomatum differentiis et causis*

## Cultural Background

Linacre's contact with Italian humanism was remarkably close both professionally and personally. After studying at Oxford, where Greek seems to have been taught since 1476, and where Latin studies were strongly humanistic, he seems to have worked in Florence under the Italian *Angelo Poliziano* (1454-94) and the Greek Demetrius Chalcondylas. When he went to Venice he had much to do with Aldus Manutius, the great printer who insisted that Greek be spoken in his household. He moved in an English humanistic circle of some eminence: his friends included *John Colet* (1466-1519), *Thomas More* (1478-1535), John Fisher, and Erasmus himself.

It seems to have been his studies in Padua that had the greatest influence. There medicine was studies in the Faculty of Arts, together with Letters, Philosophy and Theology. It sought a balance between the medieval traditions and the newly validated traditions of Hippocrates and Galen. The essential tool was philology applied to the Classical texts, with its careful analysis of the meaning of words, sentences, and the things behind them. But this was balanced with some clinical experience, a melding of theory and practice certainly not out of keeping with the way the langages themselves were taught.

## Why did he Translate?

Linacre's scholarly activities were wider than one would expect from a medical man, but not untypical of the Humanist. He was part of the reaction against the Middle Ages; and like his contemporaries, sought to return to the ancient classical Golden Age, from which the Low Latin and Medieval periods had deviated so disastrously. Hence the breadth of his interests. Though his translations concern only Greek medicine, he is also responsible for important writings on Greek and Latin grammar. It must be emphasised that none of this work was "museum translation": it was all of current interest. There was need to update the medical training in England, and these translations were meant to bring the ancient doctrines in their pure form. and in the case of his medical work was directed specifically towards his students, who could read Latin but not Greek.

As a humanist he followed the classical idea that only a fully rhetorical style would do for transmitting important information. In this he was following the example of Galen himself, who was an important writer on rhetoric as well as on medicine. And he set about replacing the medieval Latin versions of important works by versions of refined taste, and greater accuracy.

## How Did he Translate?

His reputation with his contemporaries was very high. In general his approach to translation is that of Luther and Erasmus: he translated from his own edition of the Greek texts and some of them were published bilingually, that is in two columns on the page. He uses a controlled literality in his work in that the degree of dynamic equivalence is lower than one might expect; and he annotates very fully.

His apprenticeship under Vitelli had made him very particular in stylistic matters, and he joined in the Renaissance fight between the Ciceronians and the anti-Ciceronians rather quietly. In Linacre's view a clear Latin is its own justification, and whether it conforms to a revered model or not is beside the point. Thus he is not afraid to coin words, and like his contemporary Erasmus, he translates pretty closely without inelegance.

## References

Bennet, J.W. 1968. "John Morer's Will: Thomas Linacre and Prior Sellyng's Greek Teaching", *Studies in the Renaissance* 15, 70-91

*Dictionary of National Biography*, sv. "Linacre"

*Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, sv. "Linacre"

Maddison, F., Pelling, M., Webster, C. (eds.) 1977. *Essays on the Life & Work of Thomas Linacre*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

## *Martin Luther (1483- 1546)*

Founder of the Lutheran Church

> 1506 Ordained Priest in the Augustinian community at Erfurt
>
> 1508 Master of Theology, Wittenberg
>
> 1512 Doctor of Theology, Wittenberg
>
> 1513-16 Lectures on the Bible at Wittenberg
>
> 1517 Nails 95 Theses to the door of Wittenberg church
>
> 1521 Condemned at the Diet of Worms as a heretic
>
> 1522-30 Consolidation of the Lutheran Church in Germany

## Translations

> 1522-34 The complete Bible in German
>
> Lutheran Liturgy in German

### Theoretical Writings on Translation

1530 *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*

1531-33 *Summarien über die Psalmen*

Some passages in the *Tischreden*

### Cultural Background

Luther's role as a heresiarch overshadows the traditional elements in his background. In essence his early formal education would not have differed all that much from that of Oresme – a good training in Latin emphasising the Christian and medieval parts of the Classical heritage, a solid course in scholastic philosophy and theology, an introduction to Biblical work through medieval commentaries like that of Nicholas of Lyra, and a training in preaching. Luther is a good example of the importance of St Augustine in this type of education. From Augustine came the standard pattern of Biblical interpretation, the theory of the "four senses of Scripture". Though this does not dominate and indeed is balanced against Jerome's more prosaic approach, it is a constant presence in Luther's work.

It is his knowledge of Greek and Latin that makes him a Humanist. His Greek came from early contact with German scholars like Steinhowel and Reuchlin who had studied in Italy. He was also strongly influenced by Erasmus, a personal friend, who was as convinced as the Romans of the Classical age that the study of Greek was essential if one was to understand Latin.

Luther translated his Bible at a time when the routine of a translation had been established for any ancient text. First the source text was checked for accuracy against the manuscript and printed tradition; second it was read and placed within its own social context by comparison with other ancient texts; and then it was translated and annotated, usually with marginal notes.

### Why did he translate?

His Bible is a typical product of its time, bearing the marks of the great linguistic, nationalistic and religious controversies of the early sixteenth century. Luther's prime aim in translation was the reform of the religious experience of the laity by giving them direct access to the Bible in their own language. This fell within his major goal of reforming his Church by casting off a lot of the medieval accretions and getting rid of clerical corruption. Like his Humanist literary and academic colleagues, he also sought to standardise his own language and make it as sensitive an instrument as the classical languages. Hence his insistence on using the speech of the common man, a theme found in Erasmus among others. As a largely unwritten language German did not yet have the sophistication of Latin and Greek. Luther himself was in a peculiarly effective position to contribute to the standardisation of German, as his dialect lay between its High and Low dialects. This goal of creating a standard literary language

differentiates Luther's Bible from other vernacular Bibles: traditionally they had been written in a standard literary dialect.

## How did he translate?

Luther's frequent pronouncements on translation revolve round a dilemma that is still with us. Given its importance, the Bible must be as exact a translation as possible, yet it must also be completely understandable. Luther is in the "philological" tradition of Jerome, whom he admired greatly, and balanced against Augustine's ideas on scriptural exegesis. His scholastic training with its mixture of Platonism and Aristotelianism shows most forcibly through his theology, whose exegetical principles provide the basis for his thought on translation. For him all interpretation begins in grammar, because even grammar is of theological importance. This comes up countless times in his discussions of translation: he takes as most accurate those which can be accounted for through the "grammar" of Hebrew or Greek. Luther's humanist training made him very aware of the ancient rhetorician's concern with proper delineation of the connections between words and things (*copia rerum et verborum*). Thus though the basic translation is always literal this was no excuse for producing a hellenised or latinised German: just as the original Hebrew and Greek are idiomatic, so any German translated from them must be idiomatic. Therefore the full force of the original can only be decently rendered into German by functional equivalence.

Like Jerome Luther was concerned with the integrity of his source text. Ironically, where Jerome had invoked the need for a sound text to account for working directly from the Hebrew in translating the Old Testament, Luther invoked it against Jerome himself in refusing to work from his Vulgate. He used Erasmus's Greek text with its Latin version in parallel columns. For the Old Testament Luther used the Massoretic text of the nineth century.

Although Luther's Bible is widely assumed to be a solo effort, and indeed Luther did do all the actual translation, the actual research that went into it was done by a team. Luther went to his colleagues, Melanchthon, Spalatin and Forster, for advice on matters from the value of the Roman coinage of Judaea (Melancthon put together a coin collection specifically for this purpose), to the theological meaning of key passages. Luther also worked from a number of aids, including traditional manuals on preaching, medieval scripture commentaries, and Latin versions of the Bible.

TABLE TALK

### *Two Rules for Translating the Bible*
*Summer or Fall, 1532*                                    *No. 312*

"In translating the Holy Scriptures I follow two rules:
"First, if some passage is obscure I consider whether it treats of grace or of law, whether wrath or the forgiveness of sin [is contained in it], and with which of these it agrees better. By this procedure I have often understood the most obscure passages.

Either the law or the gospel has made them meaningful, for God divides his teaching into law and gospel. The law, moreover, has to do either with civil government or with economic life or with the church. The church is above the earth in heaven, where there is no further division but only a mathematical point, and so principles cannot fail there. This is (and Gerson[138] said it is supreme wisdom) to reduce all things to the first principle, that is, to the most general genus. In theology there are law and gospel, and it must be one or the other. Gerson calls this reduction to the most general genus. So every prophet either threatens and teaches, terrifies and judges things, or makes a promise. Everything ends with this, and it means that God is your gracious Lord. This is my first rule in translation.

"The second rule is that if the meaning is ambiguous I ask those who have a better knowledge of the language than I have whether the Hebrew words can bear this or that sense which seems to me to be especially fitting. And that is most fitting which is closest to the argument of the book. The Jews go astray so often in the Scriptures because they do not know the [true] contents of the books. But if one knows the contents, that sense ought to be chosen which is nearest to them."

## References

There is a huge bibliography on Luther. The most useful references for our purposes are given below:

Bainton, R.H. 1951. *Here I stand; A Life of Martin Luther.* London: Hodder & Stoughton

Bluhm, H.S. 1965. *Martin Luther, Creative Translator.* St Louis: Concordia

—— 1969. "An 'Unknown' Luther Translation of the Bible". *PMLA* 84, 1537-1544

*Cambridge History of the Bible,* vol 3: 94-103

Keinath, H.O.A. 1965. "Melancthon and Luther's Translation of the Bible", *Concordia Theological Monthly* 5, 842-6

Kelly 1979: sv. "Luther"

Lefevere 1977: sv. "Luther"

Steiner 1974: sv. "Luther"

[138] Jean Gerson (1363-1429), learned French scholar to whose works Luther often appealed.

## *Estienne Dolet (1509-46)*

Scholar and Printer, supposed to be an illegitimate sone of François 1; Trained as a lawyer

1533 Speaks at Toulouse against Decrees of Parliament of Toulouse on riotous assembly

1536 Abandons Law for Letters; attacks Erasmus in the quarrel between Ciceronians and anti-Ciceronians

At about this time sets up as a bookseller and printer at Lyon.

1546 Burnt on the charge of Lutheran opinions.

Translations

1542 *Les Epitres familières de Cicéron*

1544 *Deux dialogues de Platon*


## Theoretical Works on Translation

1540 *La manière de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre* (Rickard 1968: 104-107)


## Cultural Background

Dolet had the Humanist education normal at his time, which included a balance between Latin and Greek, literature and philosophy. By then the remnants of the medieval literary traditions had finally gone underground, in learned circles to be replaced by the artistic ideology of the Humanist prose writers as embodied in the teachings of the fifteenth-century Florentine translators. Like most of his contemporaries, he was very strongly influenced by Erasmus, learning from him the necessity of making a balance between matter, style and religious experience. As far as religion was concerned there is no proof that he was a Lutheran, but like most of his Humanist contemporaries he was rather unorthodox. It is probable that he was influenced by Luther. However he was almost certainly in the circle influenced by Jean Lefebvre d'Etaples who, like Luther, combined classical scholarship with research on religion and the Bible.


## Why did he Translate?

As was normal at the time, Dolet's translation activity was part of a general programme of scholarly writing and popular education. In this light it is significant that he followed the Italian example and ran a printing press. By the time he had translated Cicero's letters in 1542 he was well aware of his reputation:

> —si i'ay travaillé pour acquérir los (praise) & bruict en la langue latine, ie ne me veulx
> efforcer moins à me faire renommer en la mienne maternelle Francoyse.

And his preface to his Plato claims that he will be remembered after his death for his translations. Ironically, the pretext for his execution was a contentious passage in his Plato which was taken to be heretical.

As far as the originals themselves and their translations are concerned, Dolet takes a very wide view. His translation of Cicero's *Epistolae ad familiares* was undertaken to cast light on the speeches and their historical setting. Quite rightly he warns his readers that one can not really understand Cicero's more famous works unless one knows the Letters, drawing attention to the absolute necessity of knowing about Roman daily life, religion, politics, constitution and politics if one is to gain anything from reading even a translation of a Roman literary work. The

emphasis on social background reminds one of Luther's similar concerns on the Bible.

But it would seem that Dolet wishes to emphasise to his public the need to develop a vernacular literary style in French. In his prefaces he has a number of very perceptive discussions of Latin style, and his famous little pamphlet on translating must be understood as part of his concern with good style in both classical languages and his own. His preoccupations with his own language match those of Luther in German with this difference, that the predominant social and political position of Paris meant that French was already being standardised on the model of the language of the *Ile de France*. We are before the period of *les belles infidèles*, but French is not yet sure of its standards. In one sense a lead does come from Luther's insistence on education through the language of the common man, but the influence of Erasmus and the fifteenth-century Florentine school of translation is obvious in his complaint that French is not as *copieux* as Latin. And as Cicero had done with Latin, Dolet was setting out to give French added range and flexibility.


## How did he Translate

It would be a mistake to take *La manière de bien traduire* as anything but a general programme, or to see it as something new. Indeed it had already been said by the translators of the Florentine School, Marsilio Ficino in particular, and by Erasmus. He translates with an eye to his author as well as to his readership. One would expect a prominent Humanist like him to demand that *il fault avoir raison de la phrase*. He is also concerned about equivalences, remarking the problems caused by *les mots anciens* (i.e. those denoting magistracies and other public institutions in Rome). For these he recommends a mixture of borrowing and dynamic equivalence:

> From Dolet's preface to Cicero's Epistles
>
> Au demeurant, ie te veulx advertir, que la langue Françoyse n'est si copieuse, qu'elle puisse exprimer beaucoup de choses en telle briefveté que la Latine. Parquoy si quelque fois i'use de circonlocutions commodes, tu ne le trouveras estrange, puis qu'aultrement ne se peult faire. Ce qui advient pour la diversité des langues, car ce, que l'une exprime en ung mot, l'aultre l'exprime en plusieurs. Et ce qu'icelle a en plusieurs, l'aultre l'a en ung. En quoy il fault avoir raison de la phrase, & propriété de chasque langue, pour se trouver excellent interpreteur & parfaict.
>
> D'avantage si en ce livre tu trouves quelques motz d'antiquité, comme auspices, augures, sesterces, terunces, comices, Calendes, Ides, Nones, Consuls, Questeurs, Preteurs, Dictateurs, Tribunes, Aediles & plusieurs aultres dictions du siecle Rommain, garde-toy de les vouloir reprendre, ou reiecter, car cela seroit confondre la vénérable antiquité. Qui plus est ilz ne se peuvent aultrement traduire en nostre langue. Et si tu en veulx sçavoir, & entendre la signification, il te fault avoir recours aux Autheurs Latins, ou Françoys, qui expliquent telz termes.

He was also involved in the Ciceronian reaction against Erasmus's attacks on the unthinking imitation of Ciceronian norms in Latin prose. His concern seems to have been that Erasmus had as many blinkered followers as the Ciceronians, and that they would throw out the baby with the bathwater, and so lose what was valuable in the Ciceronian tradition. In translation terms this meant he exercised extreme care in creating in French a *copia rerum et verborum* to match that of Latin as in the text below.

### Dolet on Cicero, Epistulae ad familiares, I.x

M.T. Cicéron à Valerius Iurisconsulte Salut.

Ie ne voy rien, parquoy ie doubte to saluer par ce beau tiltre, veu principalement, que l'on peult user maintenant d'audace, au lieu de sapience. I'ay remercié Lentulus par letres en ton nom. Mais ie ne vouldrois que tu ne me feisses plus escripre, & que tu retournasses à Rome, & que tu aymasses mieulx estre en ung lieu, où tu fusses nombré pour sçavant que demeurer là, où tu es tenu pour seul sçavant. Toutes fois ceulx, qui viennent de par delà, disent, que tu es en partie superbe, pour ce que tu ne respons rien, quand on te demande quelque chose de droict, & en partie injurieux, pour ce que tu répons mal. Ie désire fort, que ryons ensemble. Parquoy donne ordre que tu retournes au plus tost sans aller en ton pais d'Apulie affin que nous nous puissions resjouir, que tu es retourné sain et saulve. Car si tu vas en ton pais, tu n'y congnoistras personne non plus que Ulisses au sien. Adieu.

### References

Boulmier, J. 1857. *Estienne Dolet.* repr. Geneva: Slatkine

Chassaigne, M. 1930. *Estienne Dolet.* Paris: Albin Michel

Horguelin 1981: sv. "Dolet"

Kelly 1979 sv. "Dolet"

Rickard 1968: sv. "Dolet"

# C. RENAISSANCE AND HUMANISM II

## Week 4 Literary and Educational Translation

Like his medieval counterpart the Renaissance translator was essentially an educator. The rise of the vernaculars seems to have slowly shifted the centre of translation towards literature; though one must be aware that distinction between translation genres is essentially modern. For Erasmus, for instance, translating the New Testament was not all that different from translating the Greek dramatist, Euripides. The Renaissance shows a shift in the ethics of scholarship away from the medieval intellectual priorities. Literature and its translation were to be "works of Art", and other types of translation benefited, as they had in the Classical era. Hence the rhetoric of the text became part of the message. In literary translation in particular this age sought to create within the bounds set by an existing work, and thus to balance freedom, imitation, discipline and creativity. Literary translation brought to fruition what the Romans from the preclassical dramatists to Jerome had to teach. Indeed translation held a central place in education as a method of criticism of both the author and oneself.

As we have seen humanist translation begins in philosophy, and from Ficino right through the sixteenth century there were countless translations of Greek and Latin philosophers, each claiming to be more authentic than the last. One important issue was education. Educational works by Erasmus (particularly the *Colloquia*) and Vives, especially his work on the education of women, was widely translated. One of the most characteristic manifestations of this interest was concern for the education of the Prince, that idealised Renaissance figure who embodied all possible human virtues. The tone was set by works such as *Doctrinall of Princes* (1533) translated by *Sir Thomas Elyot* (1490?-1546) from the Greek of Isocrates (436-338 BC), and the versions of Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* by *Thomas Hoby* (1424-1585) and *Juan Boscan* (ob. 1542). There was censorship: Machiavelli was feared and the English version of *Il principe* by *Sir Thomas Bedingfield* (ob. 1613) was unfavourably noticed by Queen Elizabeth I and remained in manuscript until after 1960.

Though by the nature of things, philosophy was the major concern of these first humanist translators, we do find fourteenth-century translators like *Alessandro Braccese* (1445-1503) and *Aldus Manutius* (1455-1515) who did do some literature. But in the rest of Europe literary translation arrived late in the sixteenth century, though there are some interesting pioneers like *Gavin Douglas* (1475?-1522), Bishop of Dunkeld, whose Scots version of the *Aeneid* is one of the most interesting in English. When it did translators worked with equal skill to or from their vernaculars. The major inspiration was classical within an Italian cultural dominance, and in all countries this shaped literature, especially poetry. In France the group of poets around *Pierre*

*Ronsard* (1524-85) (the *Pléiade*) is a very important group of translators with the usual interest in the latest from Italy as well as Greek and Latin literature, and *Jacques Amyot* (1513-93), whose French version of Plutarch's *Lives* was translated into English by *Sir Thomas North* (1535?-1601?); in England *Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey* (1517?-1547) is known for his translations of Petrarch and the Classics; *Jasper Heywood* (1535-1598) for his versions of Seneca's drama, *Arthur Golding* (1536?-1605?) for his Ovid, and the most famous of them all, *George Chapman* (1559?-1634?) for his Homer. In Spain we have the Franciscan poet, *Fray Luis de Leon* (1520?-91), also known from his work from classics.

## *George Chapman (1559?-1634)*

Dramatist and Poet

Probably attended Oxford and left without a degree. Probably soldiered in France and Holland during the 1580s. Renowned in his own time as a classical scholar. Perhaps the "rival poet" mentioned in Shakespeare's sonnets.

> 1594 First poems published
>
> 1598-1634: Play-writing and production either alone or in collaboration with Jonson, Shirley, Fletcher and Massinger. Published a considerable amount of poetry, including some translations from Latin and Greek.

### Translations

> 1598-1616: *The Whole Works of Homer; Prince of Poetts* (ed. Allardyce Nicoll, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956).
>
> *Seven Penitentiall Psalms of Petrarch*
>
> Extracts from Hesiod, Juvenal, Musaeus

### Theoretical Statements

There are many references to translation in the prefaces of his various poems. The most important and complete is his verse preface to Homer.

Homer's Illiads, To the Reader 90-146 (1598)
ed. Allardyce Nicoll, Princeton, 1956

|  |  |
|---|---|
|  | Which how I have in my conversion prov'd |
|  | I must confesse I hardly dare referre |
|  | To reading judgements, since so generally |
| *Of Translation, and* | Custome hath made even th' ablest Agents erre |
| *the naturall difference* | In these translations: all so much apply |
| *of Dialects necessarily* | Their paines and cunnings word for word to render |
| *to be observed in it.* | Their patient Authors, when they may as well |
|  | Make fish with fowle, Camels with Whales engender, |
|  | Or their tongues' speech in other mouths compell. |

For even as different a production
   Aske Greeke and English, since, as they in sounds
And letters shunne one forme and unison,
   So have their sense and elegancie bounds
In their distinguisht natures, and require
   Onely a judgement to make both consent
In sense and elocution, and aspire
   As well to reach the spirit that was spent
In his example, as with arte to pierce
   His Grammar and etymologie of words.

*Ironicè.*

But as great Clerkes can write no English verse
   Because (alas! great Clerks) English affords,
Say they, no height nor copie—a rude toung
   (Since 'tis their Native)—but in Greeke or Latine
Their writs are rare, for thence true Poesie sprong—
   Though them (Truth knowes) they have but skil to chat·in
Compar'd with that they might say in their owne,
   Since thither th' other's full smile cannot make
The ample transmigration to be showne
   In Nature-loving Poesie: so the brake
That those Translators sticke in that affect
   Their word-for-word traductions (where they lose
The free grace of their naturall Dialect
   And shame their Authors with a forced Glose)

*The necessarie*
*nearenesse of*
*translation to the*
*example.*

I laugh to see—and yet as much abhorre
   More licence from the words than may expresse
Their full compression and make cleare the Author.
   From whose truth if you thinke my feet digresse
Because I use needfull Periphrases,
   Read Valla, Hessus, that in Latine Prose
And Verse convert him; read the Messines
   That into Tuscan turns him, and the Glose
Grave Salel makes in French as he translates—
   Which (for th' aforesaide reasons) all must doo—
And see that my conversion much abates
   The licence they take, and more showes him too,
Whose right not all those great learn'd men have done
   (In some maine parts) that were his Commentars.
But (as the illustration of the Sunne
   Should be attempted by the erring starres)
They fail'd to search his deepe and treasurous hart.
   The cause was since they wanted the fit key

*The power of nature*
*above Art in Poesie.*

Of Nature, in their down-right strength of Art,
   With Poesie to open Poesie—
Which in my Poeme of the mysteries
   Reveal'd in Homer I will clearely prove,
'Till whose neere birth suspend your Calumnies
   And farre-wide imputations of selfe love.

## Cultural Background

Chapman was very firmly rooted in the classical world. In consequence, one must measure his ideas on translation against his ideas on poetry. Poetry as Art followed Nature, and did not control it. And this applied to all poetic texts including translations. He also had the Platonist belief that the Poet was inspired, and therefore the translator who did his job properly was also inspired: one of his discussions of his Homer is couched as a dialogue between himself and Homer, in which he claims that Homer has shared his own creative fire with him. This is related to a statement by Cicero that "to translate Demosthenes properly, one must become Demosthenes".

His ideas on language were of a piece with his ideas on the Poet. Writers and literary scholars have never fully accepted the idea that language is necessarily arbitrary, but see the Word as having a necessary connection with its referent, and in some ways enjoying the power to generate it. In Chapman this is translated into his emphasis on Nature in both original and translation. The most obvious element of Nature in a language is its pronunciation. But as pronunciations differ from language to language, the reality that they generate also differs. Therefore literal translation, even if possible, would be misleading, and a free translation whose equivalence is measured by meaning is the only possible.

We have therefore in Chapman a mixture of late medieval Platonism, Aristotelian doctrines on Art, and the rhetorical doctrines on translation from Cicero and Quintilian.

## Why did Chapman Translate?

Like most Renaissance writers Chapman believed that translation of the Classical literatures was necessary to the maturation of both the national language and its literature. In this they followed the example of the Roman translators, particularly Cicero and Horace, who sought to improve Latin and Roman culture by assiduous translation from Greek. However in the English sixteenth century the canon of "classical" literature had widened: not only did it contain both Latin and Greek, but also the works of the Italian humanists: hence the inclusion of works from the Italian poet, Petrarch. Literature was to benefit from absorbing both models and literary ideologies from the Ancients; and English from the stretching of its resources to handle these new ideas and forms.

## How did he Translate?

Chapman's basic principle was the Classical one that translation was imitation. This he takes in the sense defined by Cicero: that imitation is the emulation of the best qualities of the original. Thus Chapman agreed with his contemporaries that translation was following in the footsteps of the original author ("...if you think my feet digresse/ Because I use needfull Periphrases...").

Cicero's principle he then interprets in the sense of Quintillian: that the imitator is worth nothing unless he brings something of his own to the task. From Cicero also comes the condemnation of word-for-word translation. Like most of the writers of his time Chapman had a pride in his own language and fully realised that English had its own customs and nature that differed considerably from those of the source languages. His ruling principle is the literary one, "to open Poesie with Poesie"; and to this end he preached a balance between free and literal translation based on a functionalist view of language.

Chapman was a "learned poet" in the ancient sense in that he knew the cultural and mythological context of his original well enough to measure them against contemporary authorities. The explanatory and sometimes polemical footnote was an essential part of such a translator's armoury, and Chapman uses them to the full. A large number of his footnoted comments are linguistic analyses of his Greek or Latin originals to show the reader how he arrived at the version he published, and to justify that his periphases were "needfull".

# THE SECOND BOOKE
## *of*
## HOMER'S ILIADS

### THE ARGUMENT

*Jove cals a vision up from Somnus' den*
*To bid Atrides muster up his men.*
*The king (to Greekes dissembling his desire)*
*Perswades them to their countrie to retire.*
*By Pallas' will Ulysses stayes their flight*       5
*And wise old Nestor heartens them to fight.*
*They take their meate; which done, to armes they goe*
*And march in good array against the foe.*
*So those of Troy, when Iris, from the skie,*
*Of Saturn's sonne performs the Ambassie.*       10

### Another Argument

*Beta the dreame and Synod cites,*
*And Catalogues the navall knights.*

*Jupiter carefull in performing his vow to Thetis.*

The other Gods and knights at armes all night slept. Onely Jove
Sweet slumber seisd not: he discourst how best he might approve
His vow made for Achilles' grace and make the Grecians find
His misse in much death. Al waies cast, this counsel serv'd
    his mind
With most allowance—to dispatch a harmefull dreame to greet     5
The king of men, and gave this charge: 'Go to the Achive fleet,

*Jupiter cals up a vision.*

Pernicious dreame, and, being arriv'd in Agamemnon's tent,
Deliver truly all this charge. Command him to convent
His whole hoast arm'd before these towres, for now Troy's
    broad-waid towne
He shall take in: the heaven-housd Gods are now indifferent     10
    growne;
Juno's request hath wonne them; Troy, now under imminent ils,
At all parts labours.' This charge heard, the vision straight fulfils.

## Homer's Iliads

Amids the calme night in my sleepe did through my shut eyes
   shine
Within my fantasie. His forme did passing naturally      45
Resemble Nestor: such attire, a stature just as hie.
He stood above my head and words thus fashiond did relate:

*Agamemnon tels his vision.*

  "Sleepes the wise Atreus' tame-horse sonne? A counsellor of
   state
Must not the whole night spend in sleepe, to whom the people are
For guard committed and whose life stands bound to so much   50
   care.
Now heare me then, Jove's messenger, who, though farre off
   from thee,
Is neare thee yet in love and care, and gives command by me
To arme thy whole hoast. Thy strong hand the broad-waid
   towne of Troy
Shall now take in. No more the Gods dissentiously imploy
Their high-housd powres: Saturnia's suite hath wonne them all   55
   to her
And ill fates over-hang these towres, addrest by Jupiter.
Fixe in thy mind this." This exprest, he tooke wing and away,
And sweet sleepe left me. Let us then by all our meanes assay
To arme our armie. I will first (as farre as fits our right)
Trie their addictions and command with full-sail'd ships our   60
   flight,
Which if they yeeld to, oppose you.' He sate, and up arose
Nestor, of sandy Pylos king, who (willing to dispose
Their counsell to the publicke good) proposd this to the State:

*Nestor to the Greekes.*

  'Princes and Counsellors of Greece, if any should relate
This vision but the king himselfe, it might be held a tale   65
And move the rather our retraite; but since our Generall
Affirmes he saw it, hold it true and our best meanes make
To arme our armie.' This speech usde, he first the Councell brake.
The other scepter-bearing States arose too, and obeyd
The people's Rector. Being abroad, the earth was overlaid   70

*Simile.*

With flockers to them that came forth. As when of frequent Bees
Swarmes rise out of a hollow rocke, repairing the degrees
Of their egression endlesly with ever rising new
From forth their sweet nest, as their store, still as it faded, grew
And never would ceasse, sending forth her clusters to the spring   75
They still crowd out so—this flocke here, that there, belabouring
The loaded flowres: so from the ships and tents the armie's store
Troopt to these Princes and the Court along th'unmeasur'd
   shore—

*Fame, Jove's Ambassadresse.*

Amongst whom Jove's Ambassadresse, Fame, in her vertue shin'd
Exciting greedinesse to heare. The rabble, thus inclin'd,   80
Hurried together. Uprore seisd the high Court; earth did grone
Beneath the setling multitude; tumult was there alone.
Thrice three voiciferous heralds rose to check the rout and get
Eare to their Jove-kept Governors, and instantly was set
That huge confusion: every man set fast, and clamor ceast.   85
Then stood divine Atrides up and in his hand comprest

*The scepter of Agamemnon.*

His scepter, th'elaborate worke of fierie Mulciber,
Who gave it to Saturnian Jove, Jove to his messenger,
His messenger (Argicides) to Pelops, skild in horse,
Pelops to Atreus, chiefe of men; he, dying, gave it course   90
To Prince Thyestes, rich in heards, Thyestes to the hand
Of Agamemnon renderd it and, with it, the command
Of many Iles and Argos all. On this he, leaning, said:

p 55

## COMMENTARIUS.

### 72.

'Hύτε ἔθνεα, &c. *Sicut examina prodeunt apum frequentium,* &c. In this simile Virgil (using the like in imitation) is preferred to Homer; with what reason I pray you see. Their ends are different; Homer intending to express the infinite multitude of soldiers every where dispersing; Virgil, the diligence of builders. Virgil's simile is this: 1. Æneid, 430.

> "Qualis apes æstate nova per florea rura
> Exercet sub solo labor; cum gentis adultos
> Educunt fœtus; aut cum liquentia mella
> Stipant; et dulci distendunt nectare cellas;
> Aut onera accipiunt venientum; aut, agmine facto,
> Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent:
> Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella."

Now compare this with Homer's, but in my translation; and judge if, to both their ends, there be any such betterness in Virgil's but that the reverence of the scholar, due to the master (even in these his maligners), might well have contained their lame censures of the poetical fury from these unmannerly and hateful comparisons. Especially, since Virgil hath nothing of his own, but only elocution; his invention, matter, and form, being all Homer's; which laid by a man, that which he addeth is only the work of a woman, to notify and polish. Nor do I, alas, but the foremost rank of the most ancient and best learned that ever were, come to the field for Homer, hiding all other poets under his ensign. Hate not me then, but them, to whom, before my book, I refer you. But much the rather I insist on the former simile; for the word ἰλαδὸν, *catervatim*, or *confertim*, which is noted by Spondanus to contain all the ἀπόδοσις, reddition, or application of the comparison, and is nothing so.

For though it be all the reddition Homer expresseth, yet he intends two special parts in the application more, which he leaves to his judicial reader's understanding, as he doth in all his other similes; since a man may pervially (or, as he passeth) discern all that is to be understood. And here, besides their throngs of soldiers expressed in the swarms of bees, he intimates the infinite number in those throngs or companies, issuing from fleet so ceaselessly that there appeared almost no end of their issue; and thirdly, the every where dispersing themselves. But Spondanus would excuse Homer for expressing no more of his application, with affirming it impossible that the thing compared, and the comparison, should answer in all parts; and therefore alleges the vulgar understanding of a simile, which is as gross as it is vulgar, that a similitude must *uno pede semper claudicare.* His reason for it is as absurd as the rest; which is this, *Si ea inter se omnino responderent, falleret illud axioma, nullum simile est idem;* as though the general application of the compared and the comparison would make them any thing more the same, or all one; more than the swarms of bees and the throng of soldiers are all one or the same; for answering most aptly. But that a simile must needs halt of one foot still showeth how lame vulgar tradition is, especially in her censure of poesy. For who at first sight will not conceive it absurd to make a simile, which serves to the illustration and ornament of a poem, lame of a foot, and idle? The incredible violence suffered by Homer in all the rest of his most inimitable similes, being expressed in his place, will abundantly prove the stupidity of this tradition, and how injuriously short his interpreters must needs come of him in his strait and deep places, when in his open and fair passages they halt and hang back so.

215. Τὸν μὲν ἀρίζηλον θῆκεν Θεός, &c. *hunc quidem clarum* (or *illustrem*) *fecit Deus,* as it is by all translated; wherein I note the strange abuse (as I apprehend it) of the word ἀρίζηλος, beginning here, and continuing wheresoever it is found in these Iliads. It is by the transition of ζ into δ in derivation, according to the Doric; for which cause our interpreters will needs have Homer intend ἀρίδηλος, which is *clarus*

## References

Bartlett, Phyllis B. 1941. *The Poems of George Chapman*. New York: MLA. (has an excellent introduction).

Jacquot. J. 1951. *George Chapman (1559-1634), sa vie, sa poésie, son théatre, sa pensée*. Paris: Belles Lettres

Kelly 1979; sv. "Chapman"

Lathrop 1933; sv. "Chapman"

MacLure, M. 1966. *George Chapman*. Toronto: University of Toronto

Snare, G. 1978. "Chapman's Ovid". *Studies in Philology* 75, 430-50

Ure. Peter. 1982. "Chapman as Translator and Tragic Playwright". in Ford, B. & Vickers, B. *New Pelican Guide to English Literature*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 420-35.

## *Baudoin, Jean (1564-1650)*

Writer and courtier

> 1605 *Lecteur* to Queen Marguerite de Navarre
>
> 1615 Passes to service of Louis de Marillac on death of Marguerite
>
> 1620 Mission to England for the Queen Mother
>
> 1621-30 Goes to England several times on public and private business
>
> 1634 Founding member of the *Académie française*

## Translations

> He translated about fifty titles of which the most important are
>
> 1611 Les essays politiques et moraux de messire François Bacon (reprinted 1626)
>
> 1624-5 L'Arcadie de la comtesse de Pembrok, traduite de l'anglois du chevalier Sidney
>
> 1633 Le commentaire royal, ou l'histoire des Yncas rois de Pérou (Garcilasso de la Vega)
>
> 1648 L'homme dans la lune (Francis Godwin)
>
> 1606-1651 Translations into French from Greek and Latin historians including Dio Cassius, Lucian, Suetonius, Sallust, Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus.
>
> Contemporary historians include Scipio Ammirato, Saint-Marthe l'Aîné, Pietro de la Valla, Octavio Finelli, Davila, Garcilasso de la Vega
>
> Moral and religious works by Justus Lipsius, Laurent Selva, Vincentio Gilberto

## Cultural Background

Baudoin was translating in a Europe in which the Latin and Greek Classics, though still vital, were being challenged by moderns. The New World was also being explored, hence the work

from Spanish writers. The Reformation and its aftermath had put Catholicism on the defensive, even in countries like France where it was the state religion, and so there is a lot of religious work, both polemical and liturgical in Baudoin's list. The preponderance of Italian works among his versions from modern languages illustrates more than his linguistic skills: it reflects the hold Italians had over French culture the century before. The absence of German is notable: it was still on the frontiers of European culture. Besides France was still somewhat surprised that England could offer cultural enrichment.

## How did Baudoin translate?

Baudoin's only comments on his style of translation are the normal protestations of fidelity, such as this from his Tacitus (1618):

> Il vaut bien mieux explicquer nettement sa conception ou celle de l'Autheur qu'on traduict, que la desguiser par des paroles fardées.

However one senses the beginning of *les belles infidèles* in these translations: Baudoin is very conscious of the dictates of *le bon goût* and of the absolute necessity of pleasing a public that was extremely finicky over its language standards (cf. the snippet from Bacon quoted below). In contrast to the previous generation he arrogated to himself the right to comment on and "correct" the language of his authors to fit the language attitudes of his public. It seems strange that the most praised of his versions are those from English, a language the French were just discovering, and which he was not too expert in. He translated second-hand: his version of Bacon's *Essays* was done from the Italian version by Sir Thomas Mathew, *L'homme dans la lune* seems to have been based on a French crib by a Scot named Thomas Anan, and his *Arcadie* was translated with the help of people with whom he quarrelled later.

Baudoin on Bacon

### De la bonté considérée en deux façons

Ie prends icy la Bonté pour un désir inviolable qui porte l'esprit au bien de tous les hommes en général. Les Grecs le nomment *Philantropie*, parce que le mot de *Courtoisie*, comme nous usons d'ordinaire, a trop peu de force pour l'exprimer.

I'appelle Bonté l'habitude; & Bonté naturelle l'inclination. Ceste vertu surpasse toutes les autres en préeminence, et semble estre un caractère de la Divinité, sans lequel l'homme est un vrai objet de mal-heur, de misere, & d'inquiétude, plus ravalé que s'il estoit un ver de terre, ou quelque insecte nuisible.

I take goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call *philanthropie*; and the word humanity (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I

call the Habit, and Goodness of Nature the Inclination. This, of all the virtues and dignities of the Mind, is the greatest, being the character of the deity; and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin (Bacon).

Why did he translate?

Baudoin's reputation as a writer rested on his translations. Like most writers of the time he was an obsequious writer of dedications and a long-winded writer of prefaces. These prefaces go to considerable lengths on why he translated, on the importance of his authors, and what his readers should learn from his versions. Besides as a member of one of France's royal households, Baudoin was in demand as a translator and he seems to have have translated on demand. His *Négotiations ou lettres d'affaires ecclésiastiques* (1650 reprinted 1658) from the Italian of the Cardinal of Ferrara was translated from an unpublished manuscript for an *assemblée générale* of the French clergy.

Baudoin draws attention to the utility of his authors in the education of the "Prince". Classical historians helped shape political attitudes in France, and at a time when there was some political murmuring all over Europe were exploited to show that absolutist régimes went back a long time. The introduction to his Caesar reproduced here gives a number of lessons on the attributes of a King, and then discusses the ways in which the French people are heirs to the warlike attributes of the Romans. The fate of the Incas related in his Garcilasso de la Vega (1633) is presented as a warning to the French people on "la Décadence d'un Grand Empire, advenüe par la tyrannie d'un Usurpateur". Even the opposition was bent into service: from his 1618 Tacitus, a notoriously anti-Imperial Roman author, come lessons on the craft of the Prince. Bacon was treated in France as Descartes in England – as a great foreign philosopher overshadowed by the greater home-grown son. But with much to offer all the same.

From his Caesar

. L'ytilité doncques que pourront
receuoir nos Concitoyens qui n'entendent la langue Latine (car pour
eux me fuß-je foubsmis au labeur de ces traductions) fera en premier
lieu d'y veoir comme en vn miroüer, la grande & noble antiquité de
leurs anceftres : Combien illuftres & redoutez ils ont efté de tout
temps ou fuict de la guerre & des armes, à l'adueu mefme & tefmoi-
gnage de celuy auquel ia ,aü entre Capitaine ny Chef d'armée ne
f'efgalla : les maux en apres & ruines qu'ont accouftumé d'apporter
en toutes dominations & Eftats les rancunes & partialitez dome-
ftiques, prouenans la plus-part de l'oyfiueté mere nourrice de tous
vices. Que fi quelqu'vn veut alleguer que cefte hiftoire ne nous eft
qu'vn renouuellement de douleur, d'auoir ainfi efté domptez & re-
duits à fubiection par vn Eftranger, auec vne marque & approba-
tion de noftre vergoigne & opprobre, pour ne feftre peu defendre
d'vn fi petit nombre de gens, on peut repliquer à l'encontre, que cela

*... nous doit mesme tourner à grand gloire, d'auoir à tout le moins esté suppeditez par Cesar, à qui rien ne peut onques resister, non pas toutes les forces iointes ensemble de son peuple vainqueur & dominateur de la Terre & des Mers, & encore soubs la conduite d'un si grand & renommé Capitaine comme estoit Pompée. Aussi la conqueste d'vne si puissante & valeureuse nation que la nostre, n'estoit deuë de droict qu'au plus valeureux de tous les mortels, si que nous-nous en deuons consoler, auec le dire du Poëte, Æneæ magni dextra cadis. Et à tant ie finiray ce propos, pour venir au reste qu'il m'a semblé deuoir premettre auant que de venir à l'autheur.*

## References

Cioranescu, A. 1942. "Pour l'histoire du Roman royal", *Modern Language Notes* 57, 190-1

Kynaston-Snell, H. 1940. *J. Baudoin et les* Essais *de Bacon en France jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle* (Thèse Clermont-Ferrand)

Lawton, H.W. 1926 "Notes sur J. Baudoin et sur ses traductions de l'anglais", *Revue de littérature comparée* 6, 673-681

Pellison, 1858. *Histoire de l'académie française.* éd. P. Livet. I.238-40

## D. THE AGE OF REASON I

1600 marks the coming of age of the vernacular languages, but it is not until the mid-eighteenth century that translations of important writings into Latin ceased to be a commercial proposition. And by the end of the sixteenth century France had taken over from Italy as the cultural leader of Europe, a position it held in some form or other until after the First World War. During the seventeenth century French educators had designated the mother tongue *étude nécessaire*,and other nations had followed suit by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Thus French rhetoricians and grammarians led the development of a rationalist approach to language. Though the *philosophes* of the seventeenth century take most of the credit, the movement actually began in the late sixteenth century in an anti-Ciceronian movement led by the French philosopher, Petrus Ramus, and his rhetorician colleague, Antoine Muret. By a rather amazing feat of intellectual propaganda French scholars managed to convince themselves and the rest of the world that language was ruled by reason above all things, and that French was the only language that was completely "logical". The English counterpart to this was the idea that one translated as a "Gentleman", the full norms of such restraint being set out by *Thomas Sprat* (1635-1713) in his *History of the Royal Society* (1666).

The *salon*, learned society and coffee-house are essential to the development of translation. In Britain figureslike *Dr Johnson* (1709-84) held court in the many coffee-houses in London, and ruled the literary life of their country almost with the same savagery as the French *salons*, the Royal Society and the Royal College of Physicians fostered translation until the centre of activity moved north. The Royal Society of Edinburgh brought together translators of all genres, one of the tangible results being Tytler's 1791 *Essay on Translation*.

The mainspring of the theory was the Roman Philosopher, Seneca the Younger, whose scathing detestation of Silver Latin rhetoric expressed itself in a deliberately unpolished style, and in the key maxim, "the language of truth is simple" with the implication that that polished language is a sign of dishonesty. Thus the ideal Muret had looked for in Latin was a bare direct style with the minimum of rhetorical flourish. This was imitated in both French and English to fit them to take over from Latin as "standard languages". And by 1680, their task was considered finished. Thus the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were much surer than the sixteenth that translation could be reduced to rules based on grammar. The basic classical authority on translation is Quintilian, Cicero being categorised as somebody who taught by example. He was therefore counted the greater translator, but the lesser teacher. Yet because theories of language loomed so large, the translators of the time traced the influence of logic on translation directly to Seneca, although in England one of the major influences was Francis Bacon. The reason for this was the role of translation in classroom teaching attested to by *Joseph Webbe* (fl.1612-35),

*Antoine Lemaistre de Saci*, (1613-83) and other leading language teachers.

Classroom method is described at length by *John Brinsley* (1585-1665?), a notorious Puritan schoolmaster, who ascribes it to the continental teacher, Martin Crusius. It assumes that the "natural" structure of the sentence is SVO, and that the disturbances of this order required by rhetoric are unnatural and therefore dishonest. The translation drill Brinsley taught is this:

a. arranging the source text in the "grammaticall order" (SVO) based on Nature and Reason;

b. construing (i.e. translating word for word) the result into the target language;

c. recasting any expression in the construe that offends against the customs of the target language;

d. if a literary text, recasting into the "rhetorical order".

The other important immediate influence is the Geneva Bible (1560) which remained current in Puritan circles. It had its word to say about language and translation:

> Now as we have chiefly observed the sense, and laboured alwaies to restore it to all integritie, so we have most reverently kept the proprietie of the words, considering that the Apostles spake and wrote to the Gentiles in the Greek Tonge, rather constrayned them to the lively Phrase of the Hebrew, then enterprised farre by mollifying their language to Speake as the Gentiles.

Ironically this method was endorsed by the Establishment and, whether they liked it or not, translation styles were the same no matter one's religious colour.

But respect for language individualities coexisted with these universalist ideas. One result of this was a growing tendency to accept that literary and scientific styles were different, and that the translation that produced them was different in technique as well:

> I conceive it a Vulgar Error in translating Poets to affect being *Fidus Interpres*; let that care be with them who deal in matters of Fact or matters of Faith.

So says *Sir John Denham* (1615-69). In essence literary translation used all four of Brinsley's steps, but scientific translation only the first three.

As modern languages become more flexible and recognised, there is a constant flow of translations between modern languages as well as classical in all disciplines. There is also much cross-influence in theory between languages and genres, the culmination of eighteenth-century theory being the Dissertations *George Campbell* (1719-96) prefaces to his *Four Gospels* (1789).

## Section Bibliography

Crosland, Maurice P. 1962. *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry*. London: Heinemann

Diderot, D. & D'Alembert, J.L. 1760-80. "La traduction" *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonnée des sciences, des arts, et des métiers*. Paris: Briasson

Draper, J.W. 1921. "The Theory of Translation in the Eighteenth Century", *Neophilologus* 6, 241-54

Goldsmith, Oliver. 1759. "An Account of the Augustan Age in England". *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. A. Friedman. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966. I:498-505

Johnson, Samuel. 1759. "The Idler, Essays 68, 69". *The Idler and Adventurer*. ed. W.J. Hale et al. Yale Edition II. Newhaven & London: Yale University Press, 1963

Kelly, L. G. 1987. "Medicine, Learned Ignorance and Style in Seventeenth-Century Translation." *Language and Style* 20, 11-20

Ladborough, R.W. 1938-39. "Translation from the Ancients in Seventeenth-century France". *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2, 85-104

Mounin, Georges. 1955. *Les belles infidèles*. Paris: Cahiers du Sud

Slaughter, M.M. 1982. *Universal Languages and Scientific Taxonomy in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: CUP

Steiner, T.R. 1975. *English Translation Theory, 1650-1800*. Assen & Amsterdam: van Gorcum

van Tieghem, P. 1917. *"L'année littéraire" comme intermédiaire en France des littératures étrangères*. Paris: Thèse, Université de Paris

West, C.B. 1932. "La théorie de la traduction au XVIIIe siècle par rapport surtout aux traductions françaises des ouvrages anglais". *Revue de littérature comparée* 12, 330-55

Zuber, R. 1968. *Les belles infidèles et la formation du goût classique*. Paris: Armand Colin

## Week 5 Literary Translation

It may be said that through developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "translation" was taken over by the creative writer, and became identified in popular opinion with literature. During these centuries literary translation is dominated by French models, naturally enough at a time when the French had designated their mother tongue *étude nécessaire*. It would hardly be unfair to see this period as suffering from the adolescent urge to show the world that one is independent of adult authority – in this case, the authority of the Classical world. The critics of the time gave translation the aim of surpassing the original. And yet the Age is dominated by the search for rules, and like naughty teenagers, its rhetoricians call on the Ancients, particularly Quintilian, in a crisis of literary criticism. As a result translators had most to say about their own language, its reputation and its standards. Zuber 1968 traces the developments in France through *Nicholas Perrot d'Ablancourt* (1606-64), *François de Malherbe* (1555-1638) and their contemporaries. Their influence was felt in England by *Abraham Cowley* (1618-67), *John Dryden* (1631-1700), *Alexander Pope* (1688-1744) and other Restoration and Augustan poets. In Germany their most influential follower was *Johann Christoph Gottsched* (1700-66).

In literary work proper these translators never managed to resolve the inherent contradiction between the ruling logical model of language and the other principle of creative freedom in translation. This was only resolved when they translated books on history, education, art and the like for the general public. Translators like Dryden show a marked difference between manners when they do such work, tending towards "metaphrase" rather that "paraphrase". Much of this work was commissioned, and often had a political purpose. In England, for instance Parliament commissioned legal and historical translation in an effort to legitimise translation, and much of the translation by *James Howell* (1594?-1666) and Dryden was political if not polemic in character.

However the issue went beyond that of linguistic norms into that of literary conception. The French put a very French tinge on what they translated – even to the extent of massive editing. English prose works for instance were cut by up to a half in some cases to discipline them to French taste. English translators tended to regard the French as irredeemably immoral, though their alterations were more discreet, if equally radical. And one tended to tame the classics to bring them in line with contemporary taste: in all countries there were long discussions on just how far one could go with a Latin of Greek author who had lapsed from taste.

Hence Dryden's famous typology of "metaphrase", "paraphrase", and "imitation". He himself opts for the second as ideal. But it is significant that in practice his poetic translation is more towards "imitation" while his technical work on painting and history lies more towards metaphrase. The ruling method in France can be seen by consulting the Port-Royal rules (quoted under Lemaistre de Saci, below), adhered to rather ferociously by *L'abbé Prévost* (1697-1763). From the beginning of the century, translators begin to demand authenticity and close translation. T.R. Steiner traces this change to the influence of *Pierre-Daniel Huet* (1630-1721), who championed literal translation. Among English translators affected by him were *Sir Edward Sherburne* (1616-1702). The new manner becomes standard later in the eighteenth century, as in the translations ascribed to *Tobias Smollett* (1721-71). French translation practice and theory was somewhat in similar turmoil in the mid-eighteenth century, *L'année littéraire* in particular leading a movement of repentance against the previous chauvinistic freedom accorded translators to be themselves. This has its linguistic expression in *Charles Batteux* (1713-1780), and in Spain by *Antonio Capmany Suris y Montpalau* (1742-1813). In practice it applied only to prose and to poetry translated into prose. In poetry translated into verse the old manner remains, as in the work of *Jacques Delille* (1783-1813).

## Cowley, Abraham (1618-67)

Poet, Courtier, Diplomat

　　1633 First books of poems published

　　1637 Admited to Trinity College Cambridge - wrote poetry in both Latin and English

　　1643 Ejected from Cambridge by the Puritans as a Royalist

　　1646 Went to Paris, employed as a diplomat by the English Royal Court in exile.

　　1656 Returned to England as a spy, arrested

　　1657 Took MD at Oxford

　　1660 On Restoration of King Charles II given the manor of Oldcourt, retired there.

### Translations

　　1656 *Anacreontiques. Pindarique Odes*

　　There are also translated fragments of Vergil, Horace and Martial scattered through his works.

### Intellectual Background

Cowley went through the classical education normal in England at the time. Thus he conflated the ideas on literature we find in Cicero and Quintilian with the ideas of Seneca. Onto this background he grafted the ideas of the French *philosophes*. During his exile in France he came under the influence of the *salons* with their twin emphasis on linguistic nationalism and the subjection of language to logic. On his return to England Cowley became one of a group who was grooming English as a standard language. Naturally he was also in the circle that founded the Royal Society in 1660, and contributed a revealing laudatory ode to Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1666).

### Why did Cowley Translate?

Chapman's general aim of acclimatising classical literature to English remains valid – but the sixteenth-century aim of learning from the Ancients is evolving. Cowley's preface to Pindar makes it clear that the idea of following in the footsteps of the Master is being contested by a view of translation as creative imitation of the original. Because the original comes from a different society and time, differences between the classical and modern sensibilities have to be compensated for. But there were universals of criticism: Cowley calls on the ruling image of a literary work as a painting from nature. The previous century had developed this image from the Roman poet, Horace *Epistles* II.1.

**How did Cowley Translate?**

A century later Samuel Johnson said of Cowley, "He was among those who freed translation from servility." In common with his contemporaries, Sir John Denham and Dryden, he saw compensating for the losses suffered in transfer as an essential element in literary translation. It is pretty certain that he respected Brinsley's "grammaticall translation", but where the Puritans had stopped at "a bare version", Cowley took it to the last step of arranging the bare version in "the rhetorical order", so "rhetorical" indeed that Johnson criticised him for "lax and lawless versification". Cowley was aware that he was stretching the concept of translation, and his work is certainly what Dryden called "imitation": he rearranged as he pleased, and footnoted his versions to show how his versions reordered a recalcitrant poet like Pindar in a "logical" way.

Preface to Pindarique Odes   (London, 1656)

IF a man should undertake to translate *Pindar* word for word, it would be thought that *one Mad-man* had tranflated *another*; as may appear, when a perfon who underftands not the *Original*, reads the verbal Traduction of him into *Latin Profe*, then which nothing feems more *Raving*. And fure, *Rhyme*, without the addition of *Wit*, and the *Spirit* of *Poetry* (*quod atque monftrare & fentio tantiim*) would but make it ten times more *Diftracted* then it is in *Profe*. We muft confider in *Pindar* the great difference of time betwixt his age and ours, which changes, as in *Pictures*, at leaft the *Colours* of *Poetry*, the no lefs difference betwixt the *Religions* and *Cuftoms* of our Countreys, and a thoufand particularities of places, perfons, and manners, which do but confufedly appear to our eyes at fo great a diftance. And laftly, (which were enough alone for my purpofe) we muft confider that our Ears are ftrangers to the Mufick of his *Numbers*, which fometimes (efpecially in *Songs* and *Odes*) almoft without any thing elfe, makes an excellent *Poet*; for though the *Grammarians* and *Criticks* have labored to reduce his Verfes into regular feet and meafures (as they have alfo thofe of the *Greek* and *Latine Comedies*) yet in effect they are little better then *Profe* to our Ears. And I would gladly know what applaufe our beft pieces of *Englifh Poefie* could expect from a *Frenchman* or *Italian*, if converted faithfully, and word for word, into *French* or *Italian Profe*. And when we have confidered all this, we muft needs confefs, that after all thefe loffes fuftained by *Pindar*, all we can adde to him by our wit or invention (not deferting ftill his fubject) is not like to make him a *Richer man* then he was in his *own Countrey*. This is in fome meafure to be applyed to all *Tranflations*; and the not obferving of it, is the caufe that all which ever I yet faw, are fo much inferior to their *Originals*. The like happens too in *Pictures*, from the fame root of exact *Imitation*; which being a vile and unworthy kinde of *Servitude*, is incapable of producing any thing good or noble. I have feen *Originals* both in *Painting* and *Poefie*, much more beautiful then their *natu. al Objects*; but I never faw a *Copy* better then the *Original*, which indeed cannot be otherwife; for men refolving in no cafe to fhoot *beyond* the *Mark*, it is a thoufand to one if they fhoot not *fhort* of it. It does not at all trouble me that the *Grammarians* perhaps will not fuffer this

libertine way of rendring foreign Authors, to be called *Tranflation*; for I am not fo much enamoured of the *Name Tranflator*, as not to wifh rather to be *Something Better*, though it want yet a *Name*. I fpeak not fo much all this, in defence of my maner of *Tranflating*, or *Imitating* (or what other Title they pleafe) the two enfuing *Odes* of *Pindar*; for that would not deferve half thefe words, as by this occafion to rectifie the opinion of divers men upon this matter. The *Pfalms* of *David*, (which I believe to have been in their *Original*, to the *Hebrews* of his time, though not to our *Hebrews* of *Buxtorfius* his making, the moft exalted pieces of *Poefie*) are a great example of what I have faid; all the *Tranflators* of which (even Mr. *Sands* himfelf, for in defpight of popular error, I will be bold not to except him) for this very reafon, that they have not fought to fupply the loft Excellencies of another *Language* with new ones in their own; are fo far from doing honour, or at leaft juftice to that *Divine Poet*, that, methinks, they revile him worfe then *Shimei*. And *Bucanan* himfelf (though much the beft of them all, and indeed a great Perfon) comes in my opinion no lefs fhort of *David*, then his *Countrey* does of *Judæa*. Upon this ground, I have in thefe two *Odes* of *Pindar* taken, left out, and added what I pleafe; nor make it fo much my aim to let the Reader know precifely what he fpoke, as what was his *way* and *manner* of fpeaking; which has not been yet (that I know of) introduced into *Englifh*, though it be the nobleft and higheft kind of writing in Verfe; and which might, perhaps, be put into the Lift of *Pancirollus*, among the *loft Inventions* of *Antiquity*. This *Effay* is but to try how it will look in an *Englifh habit*: for which experiment, I have chofen one of his *Olympique*, and another of his *Nemæan Odes*; which are as followeth.

The following version of Martial V.58 shows the influence of French ethnocentrism and is an excellent illustration of the principles outlined in his preface to Pindar:

> To Morrow you will live, you always cry;
>
> In what far Country does this Morrow Lye,
>
> That 'tis so mighty long e'er it arrive?
>
> Beyond the Indies does this Morrow live?
>
> 'Tis so far fetched this Morrow, that I fear
>
> 'Twill be both very Old and very Dear.
>
> To Morrow I will live, the Fool does say;
>
> To Day itself's too late, The Wise liv'd Yesterday.

> Cras te victurum, cras dicis, Postume semper.
>
> > Dic mihi, cras istud, Postume, quando venit?
>
> Quam longe cras istud ubi est? aut unde petendum?
>
> > Numquid apud Parthos Armeniosque latet?
>
> Iam cras istud habet Priami vel Nestoris annos.
>
> > Cras istud quanti, dic mihi posset emi?
>
> Cras vives? hodie iam vivere, Postume, serum est.
>
> > Ille sapit quisquis, Postume, vixit heri.

## References

Hinman, R.B. 1960. *Abraham Cowley's World of Order*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

Johnson, Samuel. 1779. "Abraham Cowley". *Lives of the Poets* I. London: Buckland, 1793

Kelly 1979: sv "Cowley"

Loiseau, J. 1931. *Abraham Cowley, sa vie, son oeuvre*. Paris: Didier

Taaffe, J.G. 1972. *Abraham Cowley*. New York: Twayne

## *Prévost d'Exiles, l'abbé Antoine-François (1697-1763)*

Benedictine monk, author of *Manon Lescaut*

    1713-15 Jesuit Novice

    1717 Serves in army

    1719 Goes to Holland

    1721 Enters Benedictines, ordained priest, gets good reputation as a teacher

    1728 Leaves Benedictines suddenly, flees to England, then Holland

    1734 Returns to France and the Benedictines

    1754 Prior of Saint Georges de Gesne

## Translations

    1727 Supposed to have translated French entries for *Gallia christiana* into Latin

    1730-31 *Lettres de Cicéron à M.J. Brutus et de M. Brutus à Cicéron avec un préface critique traduit de l'anglais de Conyers Middleton.*

    1732-37 *Histoire métallique des XVII provinces des Pays-bas* (van Loon)

    1735 *All for Love* (John Dryden)

    1742 *Pamela* (Richardson) [attributed]

    1743 *Histoire de Cicéron* (Conyers Middleton)

    —— *Histoire universelle* (de Thou)

1744 *Voyages de Capitaine Lade*

1751-52 *Clarissa Harlowe* (Richardson)

1755 *Nouvelles lettres angloises* (Richardson)

—— *Apologie des femmes* (Feijoo)

1760 *Histoire de la maison de Stuart* (Hume)

1763 *Almoran & Hamlet* (Hawkesworth)

There are many other fragmentary translations of English drama and poetry in *Pour et contre*, a periodical he edited between 1733-1740.

## Cultural Background

Prévost is known mainly for his *Manon Lescaut* (1731), one of the very influential novels of the eighteenth century. In spite of being classical in form, it already looks forward to Romanticism. It is this peculiar mixture of sensibility that made him an effective ambassador for English literature in a France that had only just discovered that the English were capable of such things. Prévost became an enthusiastic partisan of England after his first visit there, and his *Pour et contre* is a running commentary on England as viewed through the eyes of a sympathetic Frenchman. Together with Béat de Muralt, a Huguenot exiled to England, and *Voltaire*, Prévost built on the manner of Baudoin and was instrumental in making some sense out of the English for the vastly different French people of the eighteenth century.

## Why did he translate?

The comparative absence of translation from the Classics is remarkable. It is quite obvious that he was an Anglophile, and that his translations from English rose out of friendship for the English and interest in England rather than out of any scholarly aims.

## How did he translate?

He is typical of his age through his strong ethnocentrism, his intense willingness to adapt foreign texts to French manners, and in the overriding importance of *le bon goût*. The forward to Richardson's *Pamela*, which may or may not have been written by Prévost, puts the matter in a nutshell:

> Disons un mot de notre Traduction. Nous avons taché de la rendre aussi fidelle qu'il nous a été possible vû la différence des Langues. On sait que la langue angloise n'est pas tout à fait aussi châtiée que la Françoise: On souffre dans celle-là des expressions qu'on permettroit pas dans celle-ci. Il seroit aisé d'en citer un grand nombre d'exemples s'il étoit nécessaire. C'est ce qui nous a obligé à rendre le sens de nôtre auteur, plutôt que de suivre exactement ses expressions.

This has little to do with the languages in question: it reflects much more the norms of a supremely self-confident society that kept its writers very heavily regimented. Prévost writes in his introduction to *Clarissa Harlowe*:

> Par le droit suprême de tout Ecrivain qui cherche à plaire dans sa langue naturelle, j'ai changé ou supprimé ce que je n'ai pas jugé conforme à cette vue. Ma crainte n'est pas, qu'on m'accuse d'un excès de rigueur. Depuis vingt ans que la littérature anglaise est connue à Paris, on sait que pour s'y faire naturaliser, elle a souvent besoin de ces petites réparations. Mais je me suis fait un devoir de conserver, aux caractères & aux usages, leur teinte nationale. Les droits d'un Traducteur ne vont pas jusqu'à transformer la substance d'un Livre en lui prêtant un nouveau langage. D'ailleurs, quel besoin? L'air étranger n'est pas une mauvaise recommendation en France.

The key word here is *plaire*, and the key assumption that language and message were two entirely different things. English literature offended against French canons in many ways, and Prévost is typical in his manner of dealing with foreign literary customs. Like Shakespeare, Richardson is often vulgar, particularly when it is useful in defining the character. His lower-class characters often use slang, and eccentrics are carefully delineated by linguistic extravagance. Admittedly French is a little less supple in such situations, but Prévost goes out of his way to make sure that the standard of his French never lapses below the aristocratic, as in the following from Joseph Leman, Lovelace's servant in *Clarissa Harlowe*:

> Je serais bien fâché de ne pas vous rendre service quand je vois que vous avez la bonté de ne vouloir faire de mal à personne. J'avais cru, avant de vous connaître, que vous étiez fort méchant, ne vous déplaise. Mais je trouve qu'il en est tout autrement. Vous êtes franc comme or fin; et meme, autant que je le vois, vous ne souhaitez que du bien à tout le monde, comme je le fais aussi; car, quoique je ne sois qu'un pauvre domestique, j'ai la crainte de Dieu et des hommes, et je ne profite des bons discours et des bons exemples de notre jeune demoiselle, qui ne va nulle part sans sauver une âme ou deux, plus ou moins (*Clarisse* V).

> > I love your Honner for contriveing to save mischiff so well. I thought until I knowed your Honner, that you was verry mischevous, and plese your Honner; but find it to be the clene contrary. Your Honner means mighty well by everybody, as far as I see. As I am sure I do myself; for I am, althoff a very plane man, and all that a very honnest one, I thank my God. And have good principels, and have kept my young lady's pressepts always in mind: for she goes no where, but saves a soul or two, more or less.

Prévost's note on this passage is:

> L'auteur, s'attachant à garder les caractères, pousse ici la fidélité jusqu'à donner cette lettre avec les fautes de langage et d'orthographe, qui sont ordinaires dans la condition de Leman. Mais le goût de notre nation n'admet point de si grossières peintures. Il suffira de conserver ici un style et des traits

de simplicité qui puissent faire connaître un valet.

Secondly Richardson is a very leisurely and long-winded writer. He aims at an immediacy of impression by piling on all sorts of visual and audial details which at time swamp the story-line. Richardson was also fond of moralising: indeed his novels were meant to defend one sex against the other. The following is a good example of Prévost's technique:

> Belford! je te le répète, épargne mon Bouton de Rose. Observe, avec elle, une règle que je n'ai jamais violée sans qu'elle m'a couté de longs regrets: c'est de ne pas ruiner une pauvre fille, qui n'a d'autre support que sa simplicité et son innocence. Ainsi point d'attaques, point de ruses, pas d'agaceries. La gorge d'un agneau sans défiance ne se détourne pas pour éviter le couteau. Belford! garde-toi d'être le boucher de mon agneau (*Clarisse*, vol 1).

> > O Jack! spare thou therefore (for I shall leave thee often alone with her, spare thou) my Rosebud! – Let the rule I never departed from, but it cost me a long regret, be observed to my Rosebud! – never to ruin a poor girl whose simplicity and innocence were all she had to trust to; and whose fortunes were too low to save her from the rude contempts of worse minds than her own, and from an indigence extreme: such a one will only pine in secret; and at last perhaps in order to refuge herself from slanderous tongues and virulence, be induced to tempt some guilty stream, or seek her end in the knee-encircling garter, that peradventure was the first attempt of abandoned love. – No defiances will my Rosebud breathe; no *self*-dependent, *thee*-doubting watchfulness (indirectly challenging thy inventive machinations to do their worst) will sha assume. Unsuspicious of her danger, the lamb's throat will hardly shun thy knife! – Oh be not thou the butcher of my lambkin! (*Clarissa Harlowe* vol 4).

Yet Prévost was capable of pretty accurate translation:

> *Parler du loup*, est un vieux proverbe. L'agréable fripon m'a fait une visite & ne fait que sortir d'ici. Ce n'est qu'impatience et ressentiment de la conduite qu'on tient avec vous, & crainte aussi qu'on parvienne à surmonter vos résolutions.
>
> Je lui ai dit, comme je pense, qu'on ne vous fera jamais consentir à prendre un homme tel que Solmes; mais que l'affaire se terminera probablement par une composition, qui sera de renoncer à l'un et à l'autre.
>
> Jamais homme, dit-il, avec une fortune et des alliances si considérables, n'a obtenu si peu de faveur d'une femme pour laquelle il ait tant souffert.

> > *Talk of the devil* is an old saying. The lively wretch has made me a visit, and is but just gone away. He is all impatience and resentment at the treatement you meet with; and full of apprehensions too, that they will carry their point with you.
> >
> > I told him my opinion, that you will never be brought to think of such a man as Solmes; but that it will probably end in a composition, never to have either.
> >
> > No man, he said, whose fortunes and alliance are so considerable, ever had so little favour from

a woman for whose sake he had borne so much.

Richardson himself was very hurt by what Prévost had done. But There were many critics on both sides of the Channel who argued that Prévost vastly improved Richardson by cutting him by almost a third – the only major dissenting French voice in this judgment was Voltaire, and

### References

Havens, George R. 1921. *The Abbé Prévost and English Literature*. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965

Roddier, H. 1957. "L'Abbé Prévost et le problème de la traduction au XVIIIe siècle". *Cahiers de l'association internationale des études françaises* 7, 173-81

Wilcox, Frank Howard. 1927. *Prévost's Translations of Richardson's novels*. Berkeley: University of California

## Batteux, Charles (1713-1780)

Professor of Greek and Latin Philosophy at the *Collège royal*

     1730 Taught humanities and retoric in the Collèges de Lisieux et Navarre

     1754 Admitted to the *Académie des Inscriptions*

     1761 Admitted to the *Académie française*

### Translations

     1750 *Horace, Les poésies*. Paris: Dessaint & Saillant

     1751 *Les quatre poétiques, d'Aristote, d'Horace, de Vida, et de Boileau*

     1768 *Ocellus Lucanus, De la nature de l'univers; Timée de Locres, De l'âme du monde; Lettres d'Aristote sur le système du monde*

     1788 *Traité de l'arrangement des mots, traduit du grec de Denys d'Halicarnasse*

### Theoretical Writings

     1747 *Cours de belles lettres*

### Cultural Background

Batteux was a pupil of *l'abbé d'Olivet* (1682-1768), who was at one time tutor to Voltaire, and was thus brought up in the tradition of the *philosophes*. His influence can be traced as late as the 1980s in *stylistique comparée* and its derivatives. The role of classical philosophy in his formation is not untypical of a French churchman of the period, given the intense suspicion of certain aspects of Descartes and the horrible example of *Voltaire*. His attitude to rhetoric and

translation shows the strong influence of the Roman rhetorician, Quintilian.

The other influences on Batteux are a little difficult to trace. As far as his ideas on French style are concerned, they seem to have been influenced by *Charles Rollin*, Rector of the Sorbonne at the beginning of the eighteenth century, who published a definitive edition of Quintilian. His ideas on translation owe much to *Pierre-Daniel Huet* and to other important French translators like *Richard Simon* (1638-1712), the Biblical scholar.

Il est inutile de pousser plus loin ce détail. Tirons de ce principe des consé-

234   DE LA CONSTRUCTION

quences qui seront autant de règles de l'art de traduire. Il suit de là,

I. Qu'on ne doit point toucher à l'ordre des choses, soit faits, soit raisonnemens, puisque cet ordre est le même dans toutes les langues, et qu'il tient à la nature de l'homme plutôt qu'au génie particulier des nations.

II. Qu'on doit conserver aussi l'ordre des idées, ou du moins celui des membres. Il y a eu une raison, quelque fine qu'elle soit à observer, qui a déterminé l'auteur à prendre un arrangement plutôt qu'un autre : peut-être que ç'a été l'harmonie ; mais quelquefois aussi c'est l'énergie. Cicéron avait dit : *Neque potest is exercitum continere imperator, qui seipsum non continet*. Fléchier, qui a traduit cette pensée en orateur, n'ayant pu conserver l'ordre des idées, a au moins conservé l'ordre des membres ; il a dit : « Quelle discipline « peut établir dans son camp celui qui « ne peut régler sa conduite » ? Que serait-ce s'il eût mis : *Un général qui ne règle point sa conduite ne peut régler une armée ?* C'est le même sens ; mais ce n'est plus le même feu,

ORATOIRE.     235

parce que ce n'est plus le même ordre. D'un autre côté, s'il eût traduit, *Un général ne peut régler une armée, qui ne peut se régler lui-même ;* il eût fait un latinisme. Ainsi l'exemple de Fléchier nous donne une double leçon.

III. Qu'on doit conserver les périodes, quelque longues qu'elles soient, parce qu'une période n'est qu'une pensée composée de plusieurs autres pensées qui se lient entre elles par des rapports intrinsèques, et que cette liaison est la vie de ces pensées et l'objet principal de celui qui parle : *Utens eorum sententiis et earum figuris* (1). Dans une période les différens membres sont comme des pendans qui se regardent, et dont les rapports font harmonie : si on coupe les phrases, on aura les pensées ; mais on les aura sans les rapports de principe, ou de conséquence, de preuve, de comparaison, qu'elles avaient dans la période, et qui en faisaient la couleur. Il y a des moyens de concilier tout. Les périodes, quoique suspendues dans leurs différens membres, ont cependant des re-

(1) Cic. *de opt. Gen. Or. 7.*

236  DE LA CONSTRUCTION

pos où le sens est presque fini, et qui don-
nent à l'esprit le relâche dont il a besoin.
En voici un exemple tiré de l'oraison
de Cicéron pour le poëte Archias (II):
*Sed ne cui vestrum mirum esse videa-*
*tur, me in quæstione legitima, et in*
*judicio publico, quum res agatur apud*
*prætorem populi Romani, lectissimum*
*virum, et apud severissimos judices,*
*tanto conventu hominum ac frequen-*
*tia, hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non*
*modo a consuetudine judiciorum, ve-*
*rum etiam a forensi sermone abhor-*
*reat: quæso a vobis, ut in hac causa*
*mihi detis hanc veniam, accommoda-*
*tam huic reo, vobis, quemadmodum*
*spero, non molestam; ut me, pro*
*summo poeta atque eruditissimo ho-*
*mine dicentem, hoc concursu homi-*
*num litteratissimorum, hac vestra*
*humanitate, hoc denique prætore*
*exercente judicium, patiamini de stu-*
*diis humanitatis ac litterarum paulo*
*loqui liberius; et in ejusmodi perso-*
*na, quæ, propter otium ac studium,*
*minime in judiciis periculisque trac-*
*tata est, uti prope novo quodam et*
*inusitato genere dicendi.* On peut
traduire cette période sans la couper :

ORATOIRE.  237

« Mais comme l'affaire que je plaide
« est une question de droit, une cause
« publique, qui est portée au tribunal
« du préteur du peuple romain et de-
« vant les juges les plus austères; et que
« cependant j'ai dessein de la traiter
« d'une manière qui paraîtra peu con-
« forme à l'usage du barreau; j'ai, Mes-
« sieurs, à vous demander une grâce,
« que vous ne pouvez me refuser, eu
« égard à la condition de celui que je
« défends, et dont j'espère que vous
« ne vous repentirez pas vous-mêmes :
« c'est qu'ayant à parler pour un poëte
« célèbre, pour un savant, en présence
« de tant de gens de lettres, devant
« des juges si polis et un préteur si
« éclairé, vous me permettiez de m'é-
« tendre avec quelque liberté sur le
« mérite des lettres; et que, comme je
« représente un homme qui est étran-
« ger dans les affaires, et qui ne con-
« naît que l'étude et les livres, vous
« trouviez bon que je m'exprime moi-
« même d'une manière nouvelle, et
« qui pourra paraître étrangère dans
« le barreau. » Cette phrase est d'une
longueur extrême; cependant, moyen-
nant les repos qu'on y a pratiqués,

5

238 DE LA CONSTRUCTION

l'esprit la suit sans peine jusqu'au bout : si on la coupait, les membres cesseraient d'avoir les mêmes formes et les mêmes regards, et le traducteur serait infidèle. Il y a néanmoins des cas où on peut couper les phrases trop longues : mais alors, celles qu'on détache ne sont liées qu'extérieurement et artificiellement : ce ne sont point proprement des membres de périodes.

IV. Qu'on doit conserver toutes les conjonctions ; elles sont comme les articulations des membres : on ne doit en changer ni le sens ni la place. S'il y a des occasions où on puisse les omettre, ce ne sera que lorsque l'esprit pourra s'en passer aisément, et que, se portant de lui-même d'une phrase à une autre, la conjonction exprimée ne ferait que l'arrêter sans le servir.

V. Que tous les adverbes doivent être placés à côté du verbe, avant ou après, selon que l'harmonie le demande, ou l'énergie : c'est toujours sur ces deux principes que leur place se règle chez les Latins.

VI. Que les phrases symétriques seront rendues avec leur symétrie ou en équivalent. La symétrie dans le dis-

ORATOIRE. 239

cours est un rapport de plusieurs idées ou de plusieurs expressions : la symétrie des expressions peut consister dans les sons, dans la quantité des syllabes, dans la terminaison ou la longueur des mots, dans l'arrangement des membres. Voici une phrase de Salluste qui a toutes ces espèces de symétrie : *Animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur ;* « Nous nous servons de l'esprit pour commander, du corps pour obéir ; » ou si l'on veut : « En nous l'esprit commande, le corps obéit. » Et Cicéron, en parlant de M. Marcellus, à qui Catilina avait demandé de loger chez lui : *Quem tu videlicet, et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum, et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti.* « Vous comptiez sans doute qu'il ne manquerait ni de vigilance pour vous garder, ni d'adresse pour découvrir vos desseins, ni de courage pour les arrêter. » Si on ne peut rendre son pour son, substantif, verbe, adverbe, adjectif, comme ils sont dans le texte, il faut au moins s'acquitter par une autre sorte de symétrie.

VII. Que les pensées brillantes,

240 DE LA CONSTRUCTION

pour conserver le même degré de lumière, doivent avoir à peu près la même étendue dans les mots : sans quoi on ternit ou on augmente leur éclat ; ce qui n'est nullement permis.

VIII. Qu'il faut conserver les figures de pensées, parce que les pensées sont les mêmes dans tous les esprits ; elles peuvent y prendre partout le même arrangement : ainsi on rend les interrogations, les subjections, les antéoccupations, etc.

Pour ce qui est des figures de mots, telles que sont les métaphores, les répétitions, les chutes de noms ou de verbes, ordinairement on peut les remplacer par des équivalens. Par exemple, Cicéron dit d'un décret de Verrès qu'il n'était point *trabali clavo fixum ;* nous pouvons dire : Il n'était point tellement *cimenté* que, etc. Si ces figures ne peuvent se transporter ou se remplacer par des échanges, il faut alors reprendre l'expression naturelle, et tâcher de porter la figure sur quelque autre idée qui en soit plus susceptible ; afin que la phrase traduite, prise dans sa totalité, ne perde rien des richesses qu'elle avait dans l'original.

ORATOIRE. 241

IX. Que les proverbes, qui sont des maximes populaires, et qui ne font presque qu'un mot, doivent être rendus par d'autres proverbes. Comme ils ne portent que sur des choses dont l'usage revient souvent dans la société, tous les peuples en ont beaucoup de communs, si ce n'est pour l'expression, au moins pour le sens : ainsi on peut presque toujours les rendre. Madame Dacier l'a fait fort heureusement dans sa traduction de Térence.

X. Que toute paraphrase est vicieuse : ce n'est plus traduire, c'est commenter. Cependant, quand il n'y a pas d'autres moyens pour faire connaître le sens, la nécessité sert d'excuse au traducteur ; c'est à l'une des deux langues qu'il faut s'en prendre.

XI. Enfin qu'il faut entièrement abandonner la manière du texte qu'on traduit, quand le sens l'exige pour la clarté, ou le sentiment pour la vivacité, ou l'harmonie pour l'agrément : cette conséquence devient un second principe, qui est comme le revers du premier.

Les idées peuvent, sans cesser d'être les mêmes, se présenter sous différentes

242 DE LA CONSTRUCTION

formes, et se composer ou se décomposer dans les mots dont on se sert pour les exprimer ; elles peuvent se présenter en verbe, en adjectif, en substantif, en adverbe : le traducteur a ces quatre voies pour se tirer d'embarras. Qu'il prenne la balance, qu'il pèse les expressions de part et d'autre, qu'il les mette en équilibre de toutes manières ; on lui pardonnera les métamorphoses, pourvu qu'il conserve à la pensée le même corps et la même vie : il ne fera que ce que fait le voyageur, qui, pour sa commodité, donne tantôt une pièce d'or pour plusieurs pièces d'argent, tantôt plusieurs pièces d'argent pour une d'or.

## Why did he translate?

The lack of translation from modern languages in his work is odd in a French translator of this period. Batteux's translations are obviously directed towards his teaching of rhetoric. He took a major hand in the contemporary turmoil in French translation practice and theory and seems to have used his own translations of the *Poetics* (1751) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1788) to exemplify what he was about.

## What was his theory?

Batteux marks a decline in the reign of *les belles infidèles*. He is a translator whose theory and practice coincide. Where the rationalist grammar of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had taken the "grammatical order" as prior and natural, Rollin had developed an approach to sentence order based on the priority of "ideas" or information. This Batteux formalised by dividing the sentence into two parts, the *début* and the *but*, a theory recalling Plato's division of the sentence into *ònoma* and *rhema*. The *ordre de la nature* which dictates the sequence of *début* and *but* directly reflects *les passions* not grammar or logic. This in a direct reversal of orthodox doctrine Batteux calls *l'ordre de l'art*. It follows then that while in the grammar and rhetoric handed on from *les philosophes* there was only one "natural order", that of grammar, in Batteux's theory there were several. And indeed, far from being taken as predominant in forming the shape of the message, grammar was at the service of rhetoric. Therefore, where the seventeenth century had regarded grammar as a glue of no analytical importance, Batteux regarded it as one of the agencies bearing the message of the text.

His rules for translation then have to deal with the problem of reconciling grammar and discourse. For the sentence order of the source text has to be preserved as far as possible in the target. He is one of the first to give analytical respectability to the normal translation behaviour of sacrificing formal grammatical equivalence to rhetorical. His *métamorphose* corresponds directly to the Geneva School *transposition* as discussed by Sechehaye and Darbelnet. The "ideas" expressed by a word are not irrevocably tied to its part of speech, so that if formal grammatical equivalence is impossible, a functional equivalence measured by discourse priorities will be.

One notices throughout Batteux a transformed idea of eighteenth-century universalism. One tends to forget that even in eighteenth-century France there was a considerable body of scholarship on language differences. But languages do have a universality – it is not grammar that is universal but the "shape of the thoughts". The rhetoricians were in control.

### References

Batteux, C. 1747. *Principes de littérature* V. repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1967

—— 1747 *Cours de belles lettres*, Paris: Dessaint & Saillant

Horguelin 1981: 123-5

Kelly 1979: sv "Batteux"

## D. THE AGE OF REASON II

### Week 6 Religious Translation

The Authorised Version of 1611 was the last major Bible translation before the twentieth century. Luther's German Bible is kept constantly up to date, and the Douay-Rheims Bible was updated by Bishop Richard Challoner (1691-1781) in 1763. There was rather belatedly an official Spanish version of the Latin Vulgate in 1793. If one sets aside attempts like the Bible by *Lemaistre de Saci* (1613-84) taken from the Vulgate (important for translation techniques rather than for Biblical study), in France translation was merely an incidental aspect of Biblical scholarship. This gathers pace during the eighteenth century with the work of *Richard Simon* (1638-1712), Augustin Calmet, *Charles Houbigant* (1686-1783), and the Socinian, *Charles Lecène* (1647-1703). This work was extremely influential outside France, itself being translated into English in particular.

Of more immediate importance was the translation of other religious work. There are Welsh versions of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which bring the English Reformation to the Valleys. The flurry of religious persecution occasioned much exportation of Protestant liturgies. Thus we find French versions of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, English versions of the Lutheran and Calvinist liturgies, and the like to accommodate religious refugees who had not changed their home language. Among Puritans and Calvinists the French and English Geneva Bibles of the previous century dictated more than religious experience. The marginal notes of the English version quoted in the previous chapter lose no opportunity to drive home to the reader that the mind of the religious man is always open to divine illumination, and that by retaining an evangelical simplicity such a man has all wisdom. This was in tune with the intellectual background of the alchemist which supplemented the pragmatism of Bacon's *Novum Organum* with medieval and contemporary mystical sources as well: one of the most important figures in this intellectual tradition was the fifteenth-century Cardinal, Nicholas of Cusa, whose works on divine illumination, particularly, *The Idiot*, translated anonymously into English in 1560, were current and popular in Calvinist circles. The Lutheran mystic, Jakob Boehme, another popular author, focussed particularly on the necessary link between simplicity of thought and that of language in treating the question of wisdom; and the English Rosicrucian doctor, Robert Fludd, was read for his treatment of the necessary link between science and the Bible. Their works were translated into modern languages as an attempt to take over the new rationalism of Descartes and Bacon, the versions of Boehme by the English barrister, *John Sparrow* (1615-65?) for instance, detailing how their rationalism was subsumed in the "higher Reason" of the Bible. Another medieval mystic popular in vernacular translation, and often translated anonymously was Ramon

Lull, the thirteenth-century Franciscan scientist.

These translations were frankly polemical. The condemnation of Jansenism in 1643 and the subsequent ripostes from Blaise Pascal was noised abroad by translators with a fair gusto. Modern-language translation of work by great religious writers like the Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, were partially polemical, partly designed to try to heal the breach between Protestants. One curious example of this is the 'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, a book of meditations purporting to have been written by King Charles I before his execution in 1649. This appeared within a couple of months of the execution in a Latin version by *Bishop John Earle* (1601?-65) and a French version by a Huguenot refugee, Denys Cailloué (fl. 1630-66), and was heartily disapproved of by the Puritan Government.

This was counterbalanced by a lot of religious translation that was not polemical. Strangely enough French Catholicism provided much devotional literature to the Protestant parts of Europe, Fénélon, the Archbishop of Cambrai, being a very popular author. As Catholicism became more confident of itself, there is a lot of translation of Catholic religious material for Catholics, even into English where such work was often against the law, as in England. Even stranger, much of the English work is published in Ireland, then subject to English law.

As far as the method of translation is concerned, there is very little discernable difference between this work and technical translation, and most of it is into the vernaculars.

### *Lemaistre de Saci, Isaac-Louis (1613-1684)*

Jansenist Priest and Teacher

    1640 Entered Port-Royal

    1661 Left Port-Royal to escape condemnation as a Jansenist

    1666 Imprisoned in the Bastille

    1675 Returns to Port-Royal

    1679 Made to move out by the civil and religious authorities

**Translations**

    1647 Comédies de Térence

        Poème de Saint Prosper contre les Ingrats

        Fables de Phèdre

    1662 Imitation de Jésus-Christ (Thomas à Kempis)

    1663 Vie de Dom Bathélemy (from Spanish and Portuguese)

    1664 Homélies de Saint Jean Chrysostome

    1665- Books from the Bible (some posthumously published)

1666 Aeneid IV & VI

1675 Le Pastoral (Pope Gregory the Great)

1709(!) Panegyric of Trajan by Pliny the Younger

## Cultural Background

It is impossible to assess Lemaistre de Saci apart from the grammarian and literary theorist, *François de Malherbe* (1555-1638) and his Port-Royal colleagues, *Claude Lancelot* (1615-95) and *Antoine Arnauld* (1612-94). As the twentieth-century linguist, Albert Dauzat, was to remark, "Le Français est né grammarien"; Lemaistre de Saci worked in that culture, and contributed to it. They were products of the *salon* culture of early seventeenth-century France, and the religious rigorism that in Protestant countries produced Calvinists and Puritans and in Catholic, Jansenists. The immediate basis for their attitude to translation is certainly the work leading up to the grammars and Logic of Port-Royal. In its turn, this goes back to the ascendancy of Senecan ideas in the contemporary assessment of the relationship between prose style and "truth".

## Why did he translate?

Translation was an essential part of both secular and religious teaching. In the language classroom it was important in teaching mother-tongue style, and also as a contrastive technique in teaching the grammar of both source and target languages; and good translation in the minds of some was a necessary step to emancipating oneself once and for all from the domination of Latin.

## How did he translate

The Port-Royal rules given below show the influence of this ethnocentric approach. This view of grammar is the ancient *ars grammatica* which took in the study of literature and stylistics, as well as grammar proper. The French were more assiduous in moulding their language in accordance with the four requirements placed on language by the Roman philosopher, Seneca the Younger, whose theories dominated formal uses of language. Natural prose was first of all simple, that is it avoided complex words, grammar and sentence shapes; second it was clear in that it followed an intellectually transparent sequence of information. Third it was pithy in that statements were short and sentences did not straggle; and last it was pure in that obsolete words, neologisms and borrowings were avoided. The result was these principles and rules:

*Regles de la traduction françoife.*

1. La premiere chofe à quoi il faut prendre garde dans la traduction françoife, c'eft d'être extrêmement fidele & litteral, c'eft-à-dire, d'exprimer en notre langue, tout ce qui eft dans le latin, & de le rendre fi bien, que fi, par exemple, Ciceron avoit parlé en notre langue, il eût parlé de même que nous le faifons parler dans notre traduction.

2. Il faut tâcher de rendre beauté pour beauté, & figure pour figure; d'imiter le ftile de l'auteur, & d'en approcher le plus près qu'on pourra; varier les figures & les locutions, & enfin rendre notre traduction un tableau & une reprefentation au vif de la piece que l'on traduit; enforte que l'on puiffe dire que le françois eft auffi beau que le latin, & citer avec affurance le françois au lieu du latin.

3. Il faut diftinguer la beauté de notre pro-
fe d'avec celle de nos vers. La beauté de nos
vers confifte en partie dans les rimes, au lieu que
la profe françoife affecte de n'en avoir point:
car c'eft une regle générale d'éviter les rimes
dans la profe. Les vers veulent une certai-
ne mefure, & dans la profe il faut prendre gar-
de de ne finir jamais une période par un vers en-
tier ou par un demi vers, qui confifte en fix
fillabes s'il eft mafculin, & en fept s'il eft femi-
nin. Il n'y a qu'une feule exception pour la ri-
me, à favoir, qu'encore que ce foit une regle
générale de n'en faire point, néanmoins c'eft
quelquefois une beauté, lorfqu'il y a antichefe en-
tre deux membres, d'y joindre auffi la rime: mais
elle ne fe fauroit fouffrir en notre langue en tou-
te autre occafion qu'en celle là. Quant aux de-
mi vers, on eft obligé d'en laiffer un à la fin
d'une période, lorfqu'on ne peut tourner la
phrafe autrement, & que, fi on l'ôtoit, l'élocution
en feroit moins jufte & moins naturelle.

4. Il ne faut dans notre traduction, ni faire
de longues périodes, ni auffi affecter un ftile
trop concis. Et comme notre langue eft de foi
plus longue que le latin, & demande plus de
mots pour exprimer tout le fens, il faut tâcher
de garder un jufte milieu entre l'exceffive abon-
dance de paroles qui rendroit le ftile languiffant,
& la brieveté exceffive qui le rendroit obfcur.

5. Tous les membres d'une période doivent
être tellement juftes, & fi égaux entre eux, qu'ils
fe répondent, s'il eft poffible, parfaitement les
uns aux autres.

6. Il ne faut rien mettre dans notre tradu-
ction dont on ne puiffe rendre raifon, & que
l'on ne puiffe dire pourquoi on l'a mis; ce qui
eft plus difficile qu'on ne penfe.

7. On doit prendre garde à ne commencer
jamais deux périodes, & encore moins deux
membres par une particule, comme *car*, *mais*,
ou autres femblables.

8. Il faut tâcher auffi de ne point mettre de
fuite des mots qui commencent de la même
façon; comme *qu'on confifque*, *qui querelle*; &
bien qu'il y en ait qui ne commencent pas de
la même forte dans l'écriture, comme dans le
premier exemple qui eft marqué, il fuffit qu'ils
fe prononcent de même pour les rejetter, parce
que toute l'harmonie du difcours eft pour plaire
aux oreilles & non aux yeux.

9. Le plus beau membre eft celui qui eft
au deffous ou au deffus de la moitié d'un grand
vers héroïque, c'eft-à-dire, qui eft de cinq ou
fept fillabes. Les huit fillabes font bonnes auffi:
mais il faut prendre garde que fi la période finit
par un mot mafculin, il eft bon que le précedent
foit un feminin, comme par exemple, *fur la
montagne de Sinaï*. On a mis *montagne* qui eft un
mot feminin à caufe de *Sinaï* qui eft mafculin &
qui finit la période. Car on ne confidére pas ce
petit mot *de*. Au refte il ne faut pas s'affujettir à
finir toujours par quelqu'un de ces beaux mem-
bres qui ne font proprement que pour la fin des
grandes périodes, parce que le difcours en pa-
roitroit moins naturel par cette affectation perpé-
tuelle.

10. Lorfqu'une période eft trop longue & trop
embaraffée dans le latin ou dans le grec, il
faut, en la traduifant, la couper en plufieurs
petits membres: ce qui fait d'une part, qu'au lieu
qu'elle auroit été languiffante, on la fortifie de-
forte qu'elle fe foutient mieux; & de l'autre
qu'on rend clair & intelligible ce qui auroit été
rempli d'une obfcurité vitieufe.

Luke xvii.11-19 [cf. Campbell; the Jerusalem Bibles]

Un jour, comme il alloit à Jérusalem, & qu'il passoit par le milieu de la Samarie & de la Galilée,
étant prêt d'entrer dans un village, dix lépreux vinrent au-devant de lui, qui se tenant éloignéz,
élevèrent leur voix & lui dirent: Jésus, *notre* maître, aiez pitié de nous. Lorsqu'il les eut aperçus, il
leur dit: Allez vous montrer aux prêtres. Et comme ils y alloient, ils furent guéris. L'un d'eux,
voiant qu'il avoit été guéri retourna sur ses pas, en glorifiant Dieu à haute voix; & vint se jetter aux
pieds de Jésus le visage contre terre, en lui rendant graces: et celui-là étoit Samaritain. Alors Jésus
dit: Tous les dix n'ont-ils pas été guéris? Où sont donc les neuf autres? il ne s'en est point trouvé
qui soit revenu & qui ait rendu gloire a Dieu, sinon cet étranger. Et il lui dit: Levez-vous, allez,
votre foi vous a sauvé.

## References

*Cambridge History of the Bible.* III:114-5, 384-51

Delassault, G. 1957. *Le Maistre de Sacy et son temps.* Paris: Thèse, Université de Paris

Munteano, B. 1956. "Port-Royal et la stylistique de la traduction", *Cahiers de l'association
internationale des études françaises* 8, 151-72

## *Houbigant, Charles-François (1686-1783)*

Orientalist and Biblical Commentator

>   1704 Entered the Oratorians

>>       Taught Humanities at Juilly; Rhetoric at Marseille, Philosophy at Soissons

>   1722 Went deaf after overworking at the seminary of Saint-Magloire

>   1740- Published a lot on Hebrew

## Translations

>   1753-4 *Biblia hebraica cum notis criticis et versione latina* (4 vols).

## Cultural Background

Houbigant was a Biblical scholar above all else, though there are considerable traces of a good classical education in his writings. His ideas on translation seem to have been influenced by Huet. Did he know Charles Batteux?

## Why did he translate?

His version of the Old Testament is meant as a crib for use in Bible study in seminaries.

## How did he translate?

He is well within the Ciceronian tradition. The following passage from the first volume of his *Biblia hebraica* measures Cicero's metaphor of weighing out words against a good dose of Seneca:

>   I p. clxxxj

>   Finally the method of translation I have adopted is not extremely free, which everybody knows should be rigorously avoided), but midway between literal and free. For I believe that the task of the translator is to show Sacred Scripture exactly as it would have been if the authors had written in Latin. So when one presents the in Latin, one must represent them as writing Latin, not Hebrew; and he must present their ideas, and not their words, but in as many words as they did. My authority for this is Jesus ben Sirach whose Greek version (of *Ecclesiastes*) contains many things that show he did not translate word for word.

>   It is easy to answer those who see it as dangerous to abandon the very shape of the words for fear that leaving aside words means missing the sense: the translator who translates word for word often arrives at a version that makes no sense at all. A version that fails to get the flavour of the target language through sticking too close to the source language, in this case, Hebrew, can not but be obscure.

> Hebrew texts should not offer any problems more difficult than any other books, Latin or Greek; and these nobody believes one can translate if one remains fettered by the words of the original. In short there can be no danger if the Hebrew words are diligently weighed: a translator who does this need not fear he will wander far from the sense. There are many sides to the task of showing forth the sense; but that is no reason for taking a translator to task for taking the middle way, but ample cause for castigating one who refuses to trust his good judgement and common sense...

However he balances this call for freedom against norms of authenticity. Note that he sees discourse and grammatical structure as two different things:

> This is the other part of the task: the translator must bring over into his Latin text the very shape of the Hebrew Scriptures. For Holy Scripture must be held in such regard that the Word of God must be presented as it is; the translator must fulfil the expectations of the Christian reader who seeks to read the Word of God not of the translator.

The result is a technique not unlike that of Batteux's.

Within these norms he is very strict on nuances of style. Close translation is no excuse for bad style: this is an insult to the authors who must not be represented as slovenly writers. Hence the various books of the Bible must reflect their authors' stylistic characteristics in Latin as they do in Hebrew. This is particularly important in poetry, where the parallellism characteristic of Hebrew poetry must be reflected in the Latin version.

His discussion of vocabulary is also a long one, resting mainly on the old problem of bringing over into the target language the nuances of the Hebrew that will make sense of the religious and mystical use one will make of the target text.

## References

*Biographie universelle* sv. "Houbigant"
Kelly 1979, sv "Houbigant"
*New Catholic Encyclopedia* sv "Houbigant"
Vigouroux, sv "Houbigant"

## *Campbell, George (1719-96)*

Principal and Professor of Theology at Marischal College, Aberdeen

   1741 Entered Theological College at Edinburgh

   1748 Ordained minister at Banchory Ternan, Aberdeenshire

   1755 Founding member of Aberdeen Philosophical Society

   Appointed to Marischal College, Aberdeen

   .

## Translations

1789 *The Four Gospels Translated from the Greek*

## Theoretical Works

1776 *Philosophy of Rhetoric*

1789 The "Preliminary Dissertations" published as the first volume to his Gospels

## Cultural Background

The twelve "Dissertations" making up the first volume of his version places his work firmly within the "philological" tradition of Biblical scholarship, which stretches back ultimately to St Jerome. He makes the theology of his position as clear as Jerome did: provided one acts towards the Biblical text with normal professional responsibility, one's translation will be accurate, even if unmistakeably one's own. Thus on the one hand, Campbell works within a tradition that goes back to the translators of the Royal Society, and to some extent *Dryden*. This, as one might expect, is strongly supplemented by the French rhetorical and grammatical tradition following on the period of *les belles infidéles*. Though he nowhere mentions him, it is not unlikely that he was aware of the work of Charles Batteux (indeed there was an English version of Batteux's analysis of translation problems printed in Edinburgh [1760]), and many of Campbell's ideas show the influence of Pierre-Daniel Huet. Campbell marries this tradition to a Biblical scholarship that rises from Erasmus and Luther. But this is supplemented by Jerome and the Fathers of the Church, and by eighteenth-century French Biblical scholarship, chiefly Richard Simon and Charles Houbigant. And to these Catholics he adds *Charles Lecène*.

One difficult point about Campbell is that we do not know how much he took from current discussions of translation in the learned societies of Edinburgh. His style is not unlike the legal and technical work coming out at the time from people like *Thomas Nugent* (1700?-72). He did know Tytler with whom he largely agrees; and there also seems to be traces of current discussion of medical and technical translation in his dissertations as well as the Biblical and literary one would expect.

## Why did he translate?

His translation rose out of his preaching. Very early in his career he became impatient with the inadequacies of the Authorised Version before a congregation almost two centuries after it appeared. This impatience was sharpened by deficiencies in the Greek text turned up by eighteenth-century research. So he sought to replace the Authorised Version of the Gospels by a text that was accurate, and therefore religiously neutral. This he underlines by dedicating his version to the Anglican Lord Bishop of Carlisle.

How did he translate?

To my mind this is the best version of the Gospels in English. Campbell sums up the best of eighteenth-century translation theory; indeed we do not find as comprehensive or workable theory of translation until well into this century. He is a mine of clichés on the responsibility of translator to text:

### Dissertation X. Part 1

To translate has been thought, by some, a very easy matter to one who understands tolerably the language from which, and has made some proficiency in the language into which, the translation is to be made. To translate well, however, in my opinion, is a task of more difficulty than is commonly imagined. That we may be the better able to judge in this question, let us consider what a translator, who would do justice to his author, and his subject has to perform. The first thing, without doubt, which claims his attention, is to give a just representation of the sense of the original. This, it must be acknowledged, is the most essential of all. The second thing is to convey into his version, as much as possible, in a consistency with the genius of the language in which he writes, the author's spirit and manner, and, if I may so express myself, the very character of his style. The third and last thing, is to take care, that the version have, at least so far the quality of an original performance, as to appear natural and easy, such as shall give no handle to the critic to charge the translator with applying words improperly, or in a meaning not warranted by use, or combining them in a way which renders the sense obscure, and the construction ungrammatical, or even harsh.

In demanding that the translator be impartial, that he "lay no claim to originality", he castigates predecessors for rather too frequently preferring their religious opinions to the truth as it is in text. Hence a second cliché: "the translator's business should not be confounded with the commentator's". He warns against taking Classical Greek as the only authority for meaning: Biblical Greek was spoken at least five centuries later.

Campbell treats translation as an act of linguistic communication rather than as a way of finding equivalents. Thus he has much to say on the word and the discourse unit and very little on grammar. Naturalness of style is essential in Biblical work, particularly as he follows the Protestant view that the Bible must be within reach of every person. His attitude to stylistic equivalence is that of Jerome as reformulated by Erasmus, with strong touches of Luther:

There are two extremes in translating, which are commonly taken notice of by those who examine this subject critically; from one extreme, we derive what is called a close and literal, from the other, a loose and free translation. Each has its advocates. But though the latter kind is most patronised, when the subject is a performance mainly human, the general sentiments, as far as I am able to collect them, seem rather to favour the former, when the subject is part of Holy Writ. And this difference appears to proceed from a very laudable principle, that we are not entitled to use so

much freedom with the dictates of inspiration, as with the works of a fellow-creature. It often happens, however, on such general topics, when no particular version is referred to as an example of excess on one side, or on the other, that people agree in words, when their opinions differ, and differ in words when their opinions agree. For I may consider a translation as close, which another would denominate Free, or as Free, which another would denominate close. Indeed I imagine that, in the best sense of these words, a good translation aught to have both these qualities. To avoid all ambiguity, therefore, we shall call one extreme *literal*, as manifesting a greater attention to the letter than to the meaning; the other, *loose*, as implying under it, not liberty, but licentiousness. In regard even to literal translations, there may be so many differences in degree, that, without specifying, it is in vain to argue, or to hope to lay down any principles that will prove entirely satisfactory.

What makes him "modern" is his mixture of sociological considerations of equivalence with traditional theories of meaning going back to classical times. From the principle that nobody ignorant of Judaea as it was under Roman occupation has any business translating the New Testament, he develops a typology of translatability familiar from modern sources like Nida, Ariyeh Newman and the Czech school of translation theory. A word depending on its "scope" is either completely translatable, untranslatable or partially translatable. The scope of a word is a first a social concept: depending on whether source and target societies share the concept or thing denoted a word can be translated or not. It is also a communicative concept, determined by meaning and use in context. Thus in the case of money, a coin can be translated by its exact exchange equivalent, by what it will buy (for example a *denarius* was a day's wage), or by its social purpose (Roman money was used to pay taxes). In this we hark back to discussions we find in Luther and Melancthon.

His detestation of "commentary" did not extend to the well-turned footnote. These he treats as a teaching resource independent of text. Note his reference to Gronovius, the great humanist editor and scholar in the first footnote:

Luke xvii.11-19 [cf. Lemaistre de Saci (above); Jerusalem Bibles (below)]

Now, in travelling to Jerusalem, he passed through the confines of Samaria and Galilee, and being about to enter a certain village, there met him ten lepers, who stood at a distance, and cried out, "Jesus, Master, take pity on us." When he saw them, he said to them, "Go, show yourselves to the priests." And as they went, they were cleansed. And one of them perceiving that he was healed, turned back, glorifying God aloud. Then throwing himself prostrate at the feet of Jesus, he returned him thanks; now this man was a Samaritan. Jesus said, "Were not ten cleansed? Where then are the other nine? Have none returned to give glory to God, except this alien?" and he said to him, "Arise, go thy way, thy faith hath cured thee."

*Through the confines of Samaria and Galilee* δια μεσου Σαμαρειας και Γαλιλειας. I agree with Gronovius and others, that it was not through the heart of these countries, but, on the contrary, through those parts in which they bordered on each other that our Lord travelled at the time. I understand the words δια μεσου, as of the same import as 'ανα μεσον, as commonly understood. And in this manner we find it interpreted by the Syriac and Aramaic translators. No doubt the nearest way, from where our Lord resided, was through the midst of Samaria. But had that been his route, the historian had no occasion to mention Galilee, the country whence he came; and if he had mentioned it, it would have been more proper, in speaking of a journey from a Galilean city to Jerusalem, to say, through Galilee and Samaria, than, reversing the natural order, to say, through Samaria and Galilee. But if, as I understand it, the confines only of the two countries were meant, it is a matter of no consequence which of them is first named. Besides the incident recorded in the following words, also, renders it more probable that he was on the borders of Samaria, than in the midst of the country. It appears that there was but one Samaritan among the lepers that were cleansed, who is called an alien, the rest being Jews.

*This alien* 'ο 'αλλογενης 'ουτος. The Jews have ever since the Captivity, considered the Samaritans as aliens. They call them "Cuthites" to this day.

## References

*Cambridge History of the Bible* III: 368

*Dictionary of National Biography* sv. "Campbell"

Kelly 1979: sv "Campbell"

—— 1982. "George Campbell's Four Gospels". *Studia evangelica* VII, 277-81

Tytler, A.F. 1790. *Essay on Translation*. ed. Jeffrey Huntsman. Amsterdam: Benjamins

## D. THE AGE OF REASON III

### Week 7 Scientific Translation

By the end of the eighteenth century medicine and the natural sciences are recognisably modern: the humanist approach typical of Linacre has been replaced by experimental and observational techniques, the natural sciences have been emancipated from medicine, and the working language is no longer Latin, but "standard languages" like French, English and German. At the beginning of the seventeenth century three scientific paradigms had been fighting for supremacy, and translators were in the thick of the fight. First there was the scientific paradigm of which *Thomas Linacre*, the founder of the Royal College of Physicians, had been typical; the second was the alchemist paradigm; and the third was the new philosophy of science being taught by Francis Bacon and René Descartes.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the classical paradigm was losing steam, partly because it had done what it had set out to do, and partly because it was under attack. The alchemists regarded it as obscurantist, and were pushing the newer chemical medicines from people like Paracelsus. They also regarded it as irreligious, because it had very little time for the strongly mystical union alchemists saw between God and the world, and therefore between religion and science. Consequently for both alchemists and their opponents translation was a professional responsibility.

Alone among medical men alchemists and surgeons often wrote in their own languages, sometimes as a matter of principle. The most famous of these authors, Paracelsus and Glauber for instance, were often translated into Latin for international consumption. *Gerhard Dorn* (fl. 1570-90) supplied the Latin "originals" that were turned into French and English. In England in particular this had its political side. The Civil War (1641-49) was partially religious, partly a class war between the rising artisan class and established privilege of religion, social status and knowledge, as is quite clear from noted Puritan apothecaries like *Nicholas Culpeper* (1616-1654). The English Puritan translators were grouped around printers in the East End of London. Two of these have particular importance, Nathaniel Brooks and Peter Cole, who ran stables of translators. As well as Culpeper these include Peter's brother, *Abdiah Cole* (fl. 1620-60), the botanist and apothecary, *Robert Turner*, and (1620?-65?), *John French* (1616?-57), an early distiller in London. There is also a lot of surgical translation, the difference here being that while medicine and pharmacy was usually from Latin, surgery usually came from French or German. Many of these translators are anonymous. As well as these there were a number of Royalist alchemists, for example *Elias Ashmole* (1617-92), *William Dugard* (1616-62) and *James Howell* (1594-1666). After the Restoration the fight continued until about 1680 in the work of odd characters like the

apothecary, *Richard Russell* (ob. 1685?) and *William Salmon* (1644-1703), a rather shady doctor.

These translators cast their net very wide: not only did they translate from the latest medical sources on the Continent, but also from medievals with a reputation like Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Ramon Lull, all thirteenth-century philosophers with noted interests in alchemy, and from the fifteenth century philosophers, Basil Valentine and Nicholas of Cusa.

From the medieval alchemist came an "illuminist" view of knowledge, i.e. the assumption that all knowledge was one, and that one became wise by leaving oneself open to the Spirit of God. In practical terms this meant that religion and medicine were two facets of the same knowledge of the world, and that one "became wise" by consulting the "two books", the Bible and nature. Much store was placed on "simplicity", that is on avoidance of the corrupt traditions of the Classical books by Galen and Hippocrates. Alchemists attempted to supplement the influence of school and chapel with the pragmatism of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, not realising that even if both were termed "learned ignorance" and both gave rise to much the same translation style, the two intellectual tendencies were at war. While the alchemist's "learned ignorance" looked to the divine for illumination, the Baconian "learned ignorance" was a freedom from preconceptions that allowed one to examine experimental and observational evidence in an unbiassed fashion.

Particularly between 1660 and 1700 there was a staggering amount of translation from Bacon, Descartes and their followers, the scientific God of the century finally becoming Isaac Newton. This was a time when scientists were beginning to write in their native languages, with consequent difficulties for overseas readers. Robert Boyle, stung by unofficial Latin versions of his works published by De Tournes in Geneva, commissioned his own Latin translations, and sat on the translators' shoulders. Descartes was well served by his French translator, *le Duc de Luynes*, and badly by the Dutch mathematician, *Frans van Schooten* (1615-60); and Newton used various pupils of his, including *Samuel Clarke* (1675-1729) of Norwich to avoid being misrepresented. In the rare cases that scientists were incapable of writing Latin, they found anonymous Latin translators, Lieuwenhoek, the inventor of the microscope, is a case in point. Translation towards modern languages gains pace: Bacon, Newton and Locke find Continental translators, including *Gottfried Thiele* (1701?-1760), *Pierre Coste* (1668-1747) and *Voltaire* (1694-1778), and by the end of the seventeenth century there is a constant traffic of translations between the major languages of Europe. On a less lofty plane there is a lot of "gentlemanly" translation, on gardening, building and architecture, much of it from French and Italian sources. This begins in "gentlemanly" translation, like the many manuals on gardening, for example the translations of the Gardener to the French King, de la Quintinye by *John Evelyn* (1620-1706), and continued in translations of important Italian architects like Palladio.

During the eighteenth century the whole intellectual climate of physical science changed. At the beginning of the century chemistry and biology were dominated by medicine; translators had

a hand in making them independent by translating and annotating the latest out.

Scientific language was still largely in the hands of the medical profession, encouraged by systems of publication subsidies. The peak of activity comes in the period from 1700-45, coinciding with the adoption of scientific ideas from Descartes and Newton. The common language was still Latin, and indeed it is doubtful whither Linnaeus, the famous biologist, Albrecht von Haller, the founder of physiology, or Bergman, the noted Swedish chemist, would have had the effect they did if they had not written in Latin and been translated into the vernaculars. For example the readable version of the German chemist, Stahl by *Peter Shaw* (1694-1763) was a major factor in the vogue of Stahl's theories in England: in fact they were not displaced until the Lavoisier translations of the 1790s. His 1741 version of Boerhaave's lectures completed after Boerhaave's death, dominated the teaching of chemistry in both England and Scotland until the end of the century, and set the climate for major reforms in pharmacology.

By the late eighteenth century the centre of scientific translation in England was moving north to the scientific communities of the Midlands and Scotland, important translators being *Thomas Henry* (1734-1816) of Manchester, *Robert Kerr* (1755-1813) of Edinburgh. In France the centre was still Paris, *Louis-Bernard Guyton de Morveau* (1737-1816) being particularly active. Linnaeus's theories on scientific taxonomy had been spread by such translators, who had helped create the climate for further developments. Hence in the last quarter of the century the Paris circle of Antoine Lavoisier, working from the writings of Bergman as well as their own research, developed a chemical terminology that is still largely in use and still productive. It is based on a taxonomy of substances ordered according to Condillac's "philosophical language", a language based on genera and species. From Condillac and his colleagues Lavoisier's circle had taken the idea that the intellectual and linguistic structure of a scientific taxonomy reflected a "natural order" that underlay reality. He was widely translated, Partington listing translations into English, German, Dutch, Spanish and Italian.

The eighteenth century is also marked by much translation of applied science. This begins in "gentlemanly" translation. But from the middle of the eighteenth century there is a lot of industrial translation from French and German. A good part of it deals with agriculture – the concentration of population in the new towns demanded intensive agriculture if they were to be fed, and much on the manufacture and use of weapons. But there is much on applications of the new science, like navigation and the industrialisation of traditional crafts like dyeing. The most radical changes come in pharmacy, which follows the "new chemistry" so closely that its practice is reformed. Some of the emerging vernacular work on medicine is also translated. Again no one country holds the monopoly over original research. Indeed creative physicians like *William Lewis* (1714-81) of Edinburgh, *de Rusieux* of Paris, *J.H. Ziegler* of Germany are both translator and translated.

## Culpeper, Nicholas (1616-54)

Apothecary and Astrologer

Culpeper is the most prominent of the group of Puritan medical men who published through Peter Cole and Nathaniel Brooks, two prominent printers in the East End of London. A large number of his translations from the Latin originals by reputable foreign physicians and apothecaries were edited and published posthumously, and he remained one of the most influential writers on medicine until the end of the seventeenth century.

1634 Admitted to Cambridge, studied Classics

1636 Apprenticed to an apothecary in Bishopsgate, London

1640 Goes into practice as an apothecary and astrologer, also practices medicine illegally

1642 Joins medical corps of Cromwell's army

1643 Wounded at the Battle of Newbury

1644 Returns to London, resumes practice as apothecary, astrologer and physician

1649-54 Original writings on medicine, translation of medicine and related disciplines.

## Translations

1649 *A Physical Directory* (from the *Pharmacopoeia londinensis*, the official pharmacopoeia of the London College of Physicians).

1651 *The London Dispensatory* (3rd revised edition of above, taken from the 1649 revision)

1652 *Galen's Art of Physick*

1653 *The Anatomy of Man* (Johann Vesling)

1654 *A New Method of Physick* (Simeon Partliz).

These are only the most important of about 50 translated titles. All are from Latin, except perhaps the Galen, which could have been published from the original Greek. In the decade after his death about 20 titles were edited by colleagues with and without the permission of his wife, and published through Cole or Brooks.

## Cultural Background

There were two major influences on Culpeper as a translator. From his classical education, whether taken under Brinsley or not, Culpeper would been have imbued with the ideas of Seneca the Younger on the virtues of simplicity and through him, Francis Bacon. This was reinforced by the simplification of Puritan modes of preaching that Culpeper would have seen going on and by the Geneva Bible (1560) with its emphasis on literal translation.

### Why Did Culpeper Translate?

For Culpeper and his Puritan colleagues, translation was both a social and a religious duty. At its simplest, Culpeper acted according to the Reformation belief in the necessity of educating the public: as a medical man he saw teaching the patient to look after himself as an essential part of treatment; and as a deeply religious man he saw such education as a divinely imposed duty. In immediate practical terms Culpeper sought to protect "the poor" against the London College ofPhysicians, whose members were often too expensive for the ordinary people. His other target was "Empyrick", the half-educated barefoot doctor who wandered around England treating patients by a mixture of folklore and half-learnt professional formulas. He believed that the College were almost as incompetent as the Empyrick, because they relied heavily on the traditions of medicine as handed down in the writings of the great Greek physicians, Hippocrates and Galen, and did not follow the medical teachings of the alchemists and of Paracelsus with all the religious rigour of the God-fearing Puritan.

*From His Forward to Galen (1652)*

## To the Reader.

*ter Arguments to maintain his Opinion, and those Arguments are drawn neither from Reason nor Experience, but old rusty Authors, or at best such as lived in different Climates; whereas if the Knowledg of Physick were communicated openly, as it was wont to be of old when Physitians were honest, Physitians themselves would be able to give a reason, proprio motte, of what they do, and verifie it by experience when they have done.*

*4. Hiding the grounds of Physick from the vulgar is the reason they take so much prepostrous Physick as they do, and the cause of the Diseases and Infirmities they bring upon themselves and others that way, for had they the true Rules of Physick they would never practice false ones.*

*5. Hiding the Grounds of Physick murders all such poor wretches as die either through want of an able Physitian neer, or through want of Knowledg of such Medicines as grow neer them, or for want of knowledg of the true Method of Physick, that thereby they may know what their Disease is, the blood of many thousands nay many hundred thousands of which cries for vengeance at the Hands of the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, and that our Colledg as proud as they are shall another day know to their cost.*

*Lastly, It makes us such Slaves as cannot be paralel'd in any Age, for all Ancient Physitians wrote in their own mother Tongue, nay all the Grecian Physitians brought their Cures once a year into the Temple of Æsculapius, & there registred them to publick view, that every one might see what they had done, and how they did it, whereby they knew not only how to cure themselves when their Disease was light, but where to find an able Physitian when the Disease was difficult, and we poor Slaves, are so churlishly handled by a pitiful Colledg that*

*B. that*

*My Reasons are these,*

*1. The Works of God are common for every one to view, and for every one to receive benefit by, and it is a sin in man to impropriate what God hath left common; If God have left the Medicine common, who gave man commission to impropriate or bide the Vertues, let them shew that, and I am satisfied.*

*2. The Elements though disagreeing amongst themselves are maintained, by Unity, Concord, and Harmony, & what Harmony can there be in humane society when the Vertues of Medicines, or Art of Physick is concealed, let any Musitian judg whether concealments or communication further Harmony?*

*3. Want of communication hath bred this distord in Physitians themselves that is, for want of speculation makes them Slaves to Tradition, and Tradition is the Father of Errors; Pride sets every one a searching af-ter*

## To the Reader.

*that we may say as the Philosopher said, all we know Is that we know nothing, or that the Colledg by their good wills would suffer us to know nothing.*

The view of medicine Culpeper put to his public was a curious mixture of alchemy, astrology and the new pragmatic science of Francis Bacon. He joined his colleagues in attempting to preserve the old paradigm of scientific knowledge which regarded Man, the world, and God as Microcosm and Macrocosm, that is as models one of the other. His assault on the London College was therefore partially religious: by its assiduous keeping of tradition the College, as many pointed out, was acting against God and true religion, and was therefore a corrupting influence just as the Established Church was.

## How did He Translate?

The major practical influence on his translation procedures was certainly the technique of "grammaticall translation" taught by the famous Puritan schoolmaster, John Brinsley, in his *Ludus litterarius* (1612). His preface to the *London Dispensatory* (1651 edition) lays claim to a simplicity of language which precludes dishonesty. Culpeper's only word on his actual translation method is a strongly worded attack on the Authorised Version of the Bible (1611) in the preface to his Galen. There he accuses the translators of "adding certain thousands of words", of "not translating many words at all", and of "translsting one and the same word divers ways". A glance at his own work shows that he himself followed steps a to c of Brinsley's drill, but that for him equivalence rested on lexical and discourse patterns, and that he often altered the source grammar to allow for this.

*From his Preface to Galen (1652)*

1. They have added certain thousands of words, both in old and new Testament, thereby corrupting in many places the sense of the Holy Ghost, in all places converting it like a Nose of Wax to their own present Judgements, and if you ask them why they did so, they will tell you it was to make sense of it; Blasphemous wretches, did the Spirit of God when it penned the Scripture pen non-sense? and that their going about to make better sense of it then the Spirit of God, in their apprehensions either would or could; by adding Verbs have in some places made absolute contradictions, in others delivered absolute Errors, I shall give you an example of each, Prov. 16. 1. The Preparations of the Heart [are] in man, but the answer of the tongue is from the Lord, so your vulgar Translation reads it (for I hear say 'tis mended of late and am glad of it) whereas the word [are] is added, the Original being, The Preparations of mans heart, and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord, ascribing all to God, and nothing at all to man, as that self advancing Principle of Free-will doth; If they had well studied the Jerusalemy Talmud, or Buxtorfius his Clavis Masorethicus, they might have given it a version into the English Dialect, without Additions.

But secondly, for Contradictions, Luke, 22. 31. Behold.

To the Reader.

hold the hand of him that betrayeth me [is] with me at the Table, saith Christ after he had given his last Supper to his Disciples; But John, 13. 30. it is said that Judas having received the Sop (which was given before his last Supper) went immediately out, and by this Scripture it appears (and out of question was the truth) that Judas was plotting his Treasons at the very time when Christ was Instituting his last Supper, for in that place in Luke, the word [is] is not in the Original; they might as well have put in was as is, but then what plea had there been in former times for a mixt multitude to partake of that Ordinance? And thus you have one.

2. Many words they have not translated at all, yea very many, I shall give you some, Psalm, 56. To the chief Musitian upon Jonath, Elim, Rechochim, why could they not have translated that the dum Dove in a far Country, together with many other in the beginning of the Psalms, which why they should not translate, I cannot imagine unless it were to hide from people what the scope and drift of the Psalm was: Also our word I am confident when they looked upon their own Coats they durst not translate, Zeph. 1. 4. I will cut off the names of the Chemarims with the Priests; meeting with the word now and then in Hosea, they translated it Priests, but here it being joyned with the word Priests my Blades plaid the beast (I should have said the selfish) men and never translated it; Tremellius and Junius give it a very beast and true version, Nomen atrarorum cum sacerdotibus, the names of the Blackcoats with the Priests, It is a Scripture which I would commend to the Serious consideration of our ridged Presbiterians & when they look upon it, let them do as the Peacock doth when he looks upon his Legs.

3. They

... 3. They tranflate out and the fame word diverfe waies, and when they have done fo they play the Ar- ticks with it moft notably; an example for this would not do amifs, The word Presbiter is ufually in the new Teftament tranflated Elder, nay alwaies, two or three places excepted; and the word Bifhop fomtimes tranf- lated Overfeer; the word Bifhop is but a Title of ho- nor almoft in our Dialect, and the word Presbiter is fcarce Englifh, but is the very fame with an Elder, and fee what a jugling our Clergie makes with the words, we muft have no Bifhops, but Presbiters, and Elders, and Overfeers, (fuch as the vulgar call Heaven-drivers) when the Scripture makes no difference at all between Bifhops, Presbiters, Elders, and Overfeers, Acts, 20. 17. Paul fent to Ephefus and called the ELDERS of the Church; The Presbiters faith the Original, and verfe 28. he bids them take heed to themfelves and to the Flock over which the Lord had made them OVER- SEERS, over which the Lord had made them Bifhops faith the Original; confider this, and pray tell me what Scripture difference you can find between a Bifhop, a Presbiter, an Overfeer, and an Elder; And indeed I wonder the Presbiters fhould make themfelves different from Bifhops, when neither God nor Nature doth; not God by the foregoing Scripture, not Nature, for they are as like them in condition as a Pomewater is like an Apple.

_Colledg._ Take of Sweet Almonds not corrupted, as many as you will, cast the shells away, and blanch them, beat them in a stone Mortar, heat them in a double vessel, and press out the Oyl without heat.

_Culpeper/_ A. It helps roughness and soreness of the throat and stomach, helps Pleuresies, encreaseth seed, easeth coughs, and Hectick feavers; by injection, it helps such whose water scalds them; ulcers in the bladder, reins and matrix. You may either take half an ounce of it by it self, or mix it with half an ounce of Syrup of Violets, and so take a spoonful at a time, still shaking them together when you take them; only take notice of this: if you take it inwardly let it be new drawn, for it will be sowr in three or fowr daies.

A. In their new Moddel, they bid you heat them in a double Ves- sel, and then press out the Oyl without the help of heat; Oh Heavens! did ever the Sun shine upon such rediculous creatures! who would think a whole Colledg should dote so young!

℞ Amygdalas dulces, nondum prae vetustate rancidas, quot

volueris.    Fracto,    &  abjecto  cortice  exteriori  lignoso,  &

exuta  interiori  membrana,  tritae  in  mortuario  lapideo,  calefi-

ant  in  duplici  vase,  &  prelo  exprimatur  oleum,  sine  vi

**References**        caloris.

*Dictionary of National Biography* sv. "Culpeper"

Kelly 1979: sv "Culpeper"

Partington 1971: sv "Culpeper"

Powys, L. 1924. *Thirteen Worthies*. London: Grant Richards

Thomdyke 1958: sv. "Culpeper"

Wall, C., Cameron, H.C. & Underwood, E.A. 1963. *History of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London*. London: Wellcome Historical Medical Museum

## Shaw, Peter (1694-1763)

Royal Physician; Medical publisher and writer

1726 Practising medicine in London, probably without a licence; Publishes both original writings and translations on chemistry and medicine

1740 Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians

1752 Appointed Physician to the King; awarded Cambridge MD by *mandamus* (Royal Command)

1753 Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians

## Translations

1727 *Edinburgh Dispensatory*

—— *New Method of Chemistry* (pirated in collaboration with Ephraim Chambers from the unpublished lectures of Boerhaave)

1730 *Philosophical Principles of Universal Chemistry* (G.F. Stahl)

1733 Abridged translation of Works of Francis Bacon

1741 *Elements of Chemistry* ["2nd Edition"] (Boerhaave)

1746 *New Experiments and Observations upon Mineral Waters* (Hofmann)

## Cultural Background

Shaw is one of the physician-scientists who set out to publicise the "mechanical philosophy" of Bacon and Newton as it was being applied to chemistry and medicine, and who sought to reform medicine along "Newtonian" lines. Newton's method of inference from appearances and his universalist scientific model predicated on invariant scientific laws with predictive adequacy

was applied to the human body as well as to scientific phenomena. The Royal College of Physicians was making medicine completely physical, moving it away from the mixed physical, mental and religious view exemplified by Culpeper. In medical practice this meant regarding human physiology as a set of chemical reactions and illness as a deviation from the correct ones.

Shaw is, in addition, a trained rhetorician, having all the eighteenth-century ideas on style and the "rules" of translation.

### Why did Shaw Translate?

Although little is known about Shaw before the appearance of his 1727 *Edinburgh Dispensatory* he is one of the most important medical and chemical translators in eighteenth-century England. In one sense he is a successor to Culpeper as he regarded translation as a type of popularisation of useful knowledge; and indeed he has as much conscience as Culpeper over infringements of authors' rights, such as they were at the time. Both Shaw and his accomplice, the encyclopedist, Ephraem Chambers, honestly believed they had a duty to the scientific community and the public to spread knowledge by translating the latest and most immediately applicable to medicine and chemistry as we see in the preface he and Chambers wrote for their edition of Boerhaave:

> **S**Ome of the advantages of this work are briefly touch'd upon by the author, in his own preface; to which we shall forbear making any addition, how strongly soever we may be tempted thereto. We apprehend it safer to be sparing on that point, and rather leave the reader to discover them by their own light, than by an officious zeal forestall his curiosity, or prepossess him with beauties, which may be only such to our selves.
>
> We are, perhaps, too nearly concern'd in the cause, to be admitted to speak of it without suspicion: for tho' it be only a sort of secondary credit we pretend to from it; yet there are some circumstances, which, for ought we know, may entitle us to the whole. 'Tis no secret, that the learned author has abandon'd this his latest offspring: tho' it was known he had gone with it many years; and great preparations were made for the delivery; yet it at last came forth before its time. The truth is, he could not prevail on himself to let it go: his excessive scrupulousness was not contented with a nonum prematur in annum twice over; and he had in all probability with-held it half an age longer, had it not arrived at strength and maturity enough to make its escape, it self. It was no sooner in the world, than, with all the disadvantages so irregular a birth had occasioned, is found its admirers: unlick'd, uncompos'd, unswaddled as it. was, rudis indigestaque moles, yet there every where appear'd the sensible traces of an exquisite form, which nothing could overpower or efface.

*This mov'd us to take the unhappy fugitive under our care;
and supply, in some measure, the wanted office of the natural
parent. What we have done for it, let others say; the most
transient view of its former, compared with its present, state,*

A 2                *will*

# Advertisement.

*will easily shew it. In short, we adjusted and composed its dislo-
cated parts; pared off the redundant ones; dress'd it a-new;
nay, and adorn'd and enrich'd it; with a concern and affection
rarely shewn to the productions of other people.*

*If any misconstrue our intentions herein; and charge us with
a crime in attempting to rescue a valuable work, just ready to be
sacrificed to the cruel delicacy of its author; and making an of-
fering of it to the public, which was in danger of being defraud-
ed of its due; we have nothing to reply, but that we ———count
their censure praise.*

*This does but put us on a footing with some of the greatest and
most deserving persons of many ages, who are on record for the
same crime: if their names were rehearsed,* Boerhaave * *him-
self would be found of the number.*

---

*\* —Intellexeram, virum celeberrimum
haud ita facilem in emittenda sua in pub-
licum, ideoque, si rogaretur, forte inter-
cessurum. Ergo ne sic quidem, ut appa-
rent alienâ evulgatæ curâ, displicituras
vobis crediderim! Satius quippe arbitror,
opus utile juvare publica commoda, quam
idem inter manus nimis atque anxie ele-
gantis auctoris in omne ævum premi. Im-
modica sane elaboratissimæ perfectionis
studia optima quæque eripuere publico.
Præfat. ad Sermon. Seb. Vaillant de Struct. Florum.*

---

Hence the translation of revered and important figures like Hermann Boerhaave, Professor of Medicine at Leiden, Friedrich Hofmann, Royal Physician of Prussia, and Georg Friedrich Stahl, whose theory of chemical composition dominated England for the next sixty years. Shaw is also one of the first translators where a major concern is making money by selling knowledge. And to further this end he enthusistically fanned work out, though he was just enough to allow the hack who did the work to get most of the credit for it.

In spite of being thoroughly disapproved of by Boerhaave and actively fought, Shaw's work heavily influenced British chemistry. The 1733 Bacon set out a scientific method that was a model for the physicians of the time. It was especially influential because it was short, and its commentary was clear and precise, though a little idiosyncratic. His readable version of Stahl was a major factor in the vogue of Stahl's theories in England: in fact they were not displaced until the Lavoisier translations oif the 1790s. Apart from the 1727 Edinburgh Dispensatory, which was not superseded until the 1780s, his most important chemical translation is the 1741 Boerhaave, completed after Boerhaave's death, which dominated the teaching of chemistry in both England and Scotland until the end of the century, and set the climate for major reforms in pharmacology.

## How did Shaw Translate?

His versions are all heavily footnoted, as can be seen from the extract from Boerhaave below. In the introduction to his 1733 Bacon he does flirt with the idea that translation is a type of cryptography, and idea that was to inspire machine translation during the mid-twentieth century. But his translation style is certainly of the eighteenth century; he aimed at "a kind of *open Version* which endeavours to express in modern English, the sense of the Author, clear, full and strong". Yet it does tend to smooth off the corners of the very pointed Latin originals and put an eighteenth-century veneer on them. This style he imposed on his Grub Street hacks. His prefaces and those of his protégés have much to say of "the plain style" as necessary to scientific writing. This idea taken from Seneca he has in common with his Puritan predecessors. But he speaks less of "truth", and more of not writing above his readers' heads. Explanatory footnotes are a feature of his versions. The extract is a good illustragtion of the scope of these notes: like his colleagues Shaw uses them to coordinate his authorities and to place his author within current theory. In this particular case, it is impoertant to show how Boerhaave has changed styles of scientific thinking.

220        *Theory of* CHEMISTRY.

# THE

# History of F I R E.

*Fire held a Deity.*

THE nature of fire is fo obfcure, and wonderful, that it was held by moft of the antients, as a Deity. Great pains have been taken by feveral authors, of prime note, to unveil this myfterious Being; but after a careful perufal of what they have done, we find them all ftick by the way, unable to explain many of the principal effects and phænomena thereof.

To get over this, we have been at no fmall pains in making a new fet of experiments, wholly with this view; and on the footing thereof, have laid down a new doctrine of *fire*, in a courfe of public lectures held for that purpofe: The refult whereof, we fhall here deliver in a little compafs *.

*The inftrument of all motion.*

Fire, in effect, appears to be the general inftrument of all the motion in the univerfe: the conftant tenor of a great number of experiments made to this purpofe, leave us no room to doubt, but that, if there were no fire, all

things

* The doctrine of fire here laid down by our author, will appear new and extraordinary; at leaft among us, who have been ufed to confider fire in the light it is fet by my Lord *Bacon*, Mr. *Boyle*, and Sir *I. Newton*. But whatever veneration we may owe to thofe illuftrious authors, we fhould be inexcufable, even in their judgment, fhould we abfolutely acquiefce in what they have done, and fhut the door againft further, or even better, information. *Beerbaave* may be eafily fuppofed to have gone beyond any of them; in that, befide all the experiments and obfervations which they had to build on, he has the advantage of a new fet they were unacquainted withal. However, as his experiments are not yet made public; and as, for want thereof, there appear divers things in this chapter, which may be call'd in queftion: we would not give it alone; but along with his fentiments, and folutions, have chofe to give the correfponding ones of the other philofophers, both

## *Theory of* CHEMISTRY.      221

things would inſtantly become fix'd, and immoveable. Of this we have popular inſtances every winter: for while froſt prevails, the water, which before

            was

both where they agree and corroborate, and where they claſh with each other.

The great, and fundamental difference in reſpect of the nature of fire, is, whether it be originally ſuch, form'd thus by the creator himſelf at the beginning of things; or whether it be mechanically producible from other bodies, by inducing ſome alteration in the particles thereof? Among the modern writers, *Homberr*, *Boerhaave*, the younger *Lemery*, and *s'Gravefande* maintain the former: the latter is chiefly ſupported by the *Engliſh* authors.

*Bacon*, in his treatiſe *de Forma Calidi*, deduces from a great number of particulars, that heat, in bodies, is no other than motion; only, a motion ſo and ſo circumſtantiated: ſo that, to produce heat in a body, nothing is required but to cauſe ſuch motion in the parts thereof.

*Boyle* ſeconds him, in an expreſs treatiſe of the *Mechanical Origin of Heat and Cold*; and maintains the ſame doctrine with new obſervations and experiments: As a ſpecimen, we ſhall here give one or two of them. Many more will come in the courſe of the chapter.

" In the production," ſays he, " of heat, there appears nothing on the part " either of the agent or patient, but mo" tion, and its natural effects. When a " ſmith briskly hammers a ſmall piece " of iron, the metal thereby becomes ex" ceedingly hot; yet there is nothing to " make it ſo, except the forcible motion " of the hammer, impreſſing a vehement, " and variouſly determined agitation, on " the ſmall parts of the iron, which be" ing a cold body before, grows, by that " ſuper-induced commotion of its ſmall " parts, *hot*: Firſt, in a more looſe ac" ceptation of the word; with regard to " ſome other bodies, compared with " which, it was cold before. then, ſen" ſibly hot; becauſe this agitation ſur" paſſes that of the parts of our fingers: " and in this inſtance, oftentimes, the " hammer and anvil continue cold, after

" the operation; which ſhews, that the " heat acquired by the iron, was not " communicated by either of thoſe im" plements, as heat; but produced in it " by a motion, great enough ſtrongly to " agitate the parts of ſo ſmall a body as " the piece of iron, without being able " to have the like effect upon ſo much " greater maſſes of metal, as the hammer " and the anvil. Tho' if the percuſſions " were often, and briskly renewed, and " the hammer were ſmall, this alſo might " be heated. Whence it is not neceſ" ſary, that a body itſelf ſhould be hot, " to give heat.

" If a large nail be driven by a ham" mer into a plank of wood, it will re" ceive ſeveral ſtrokes on its head, e'er it " grow hot; but when it is once driven " to the head, a few ſtrokes ſuffice to " give it a conſiderable heat: for while, " at every blow of the hammer, the nail " enters further into the wood, the mo" tion produced is chiefly progreſſive, " and is of the whole nail, tending one " way; but when the motion ceaſes, the " impulſe given by the ſtroke, being un" able to drive the nail further on, or " break it, muſt be ſpent in making a va" rious, vehement, and inteſtine commo" tion of the parts among themſelves; " wherein the nature of heat conſiſts." *Mech. Produc. of Heat and Cold.*

Agreeable to this, is the opinion of Sir *I. Newton*, who conceives that " groſs bo" dies may be converted into light by the " agitation of their particles; and light, a" gain, into groſs bodies, by being fixed " therein." *Optic.* p. 318, & 349.

On the other hand, M. *Homberg*, in his *Eſſai du Souffre Principe*, holds, " that the " chemical principle or element ſulphur, " which is ſuppoſed one or the ſimple, pri" mary, pre-exiſtent ingredients of all na" tural bodies, is real fire; and conſequent" ly that fire is coeval with body." *Mem. de l'Acad. An.* 1705.

Dr. *s'Gravefande* goes on much the ſame principle: " Fire, according to him, enters
         " the

**222**        *Theory of* CHEMISTRY.

*Absence of fire the cause of freezing.*

was fluid, by a mere privation of heat, becomes folid, *i. e.* hardens into ice, and fo remains till refolved again by fire. That the difference between water which freezes, and other water which does not, confifts in the different quantity of fire contain'd in the one, and the other, appears hence; that if you apply a thermometer alike to a veffel full of cold water, inclining to freeze; and to another veffel full of water, one degree nearer freezing : you will find the former to have a greater degree of heat than the latter : And if a quantity of ice and fal-gem were added to either, the water would be ftill found much colder, and accordingly more difpofed

*Shewn by the thermometer.*

to freeze. And if from this water you remove the thermometer to the other lefs cold, the fpirit will rife; the caufe of which rifing can be no other than the little fire ftill remaining in the water : or, to fpeak more precifely, the caufe of the fpirits being rarefied and elevated higher by the one than the other, is no other than the greater remains of fire in this, than that †. In effect, all natural motion is perform'd either by a feparating of parts from each other, or by a rarefying of them; neither of which is done, but by fire.

*Air, plants, and animals without fire would fix into rigid maffes.*

'Tis therefore a juft obfervation of the chemifts, that *fire is the univerfal caufe of all the changes in nature:* Thus, were a man entirely deftitute of heat, he would immediately freeze into a ftatue. And thus, the air itfelf, which is found in continual motion, being always either expanding or condenfing, would, upon the abfence of fire, contract itfelf, fo as to form a folid, confiftent vault. So, alfo, all animals and vegetables, all oils, falts, &c. would upon the like occafion immediately congeal.

That fire is the real caufe of all the changes in nature, will appear from the following confiderations.

" the compofition of all bodies, is contain'd "in all bodies; and may be feparated, or " procured from all bodies, by rubbing " them againft each other, and thusputting " their fire in motion. But fire, he adds, " is by no means generated by fuch mo- "tion." *Elem. Phyf. t. 1. c. 1.*

M. *Lemery* the younger agrees with thefe two authors in afferting this abfolute, and ingenerable nature of fire : But he extends it further. Not contented to confine it as an element to bodies, he endeavours to fhew that it is " equably dif- "fufed thro' all fpace, is prefent in all " places, in the void fpaces between bodies, " as well as in the infenfible interftices be- "tween their parts. *Mem. de l'Acad.An.* 1713. This laft fentiment falls in with that of *Boerhaave,* which will be more largely fet forth in what follows.

\* *Paracelfus* even affirms rock-cryftal to be nothing elfe but water ftrongly congeal'd by a very intenfe cold. But this does not appear very probable, in regard cryftal is fo much heavier than water; whereas ice is lighter. See the chapters of *Stones* and *Water.*

† Accordingly, the younger *Lemery* obferves, that ice is only a re-eftablifhment of the parts of water in their natural ftate ; that the mere abfence of fire is fufficient to account for this re-eftablifh- ment : and, laftly, that the fluidity of water is a real fufion, like that of metals expofed to the fire; only differing in this, that a greater quantity of fire is neceffary to the one than the other. *Mem. de l'Acad. Royal. An.* 1709.

**References**

*Dictionary of National Biography* sv. "Shaw"

*Dictionary of Scientific Biography* sv. "Shaw"

Gibbs, F.W. 1951. "Peter Shaw and the Revival of Chemistry", *Annals of Science* 7, 211-237

Kelly 1979 sv "Shaw"

Partington 1961: sv "Shaw"

Thorndike 1923-58: sv "Shaw"

## *Kerr, Robert (1755-1813)*

Physician and industrial chemist

Studies medicine at Edinburgh, on qualifying became surgeon at Edinburgh Foundling Hospital

1790 Manager of papermill at Ayton, Berwickshire

1800 Went bankrupt; translated full-time

1805 Admitted to the Royal Society of Edinburgh

1810 Takes up appointment as Professor of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh.


## Translations

1790 *Essay on the New Method of Bleaching by Means of Oxygenated Muriatic Acid* (Berthollet)

1791 *Elements of Chemistry in a New Systematic Order* (Lavoisier)

1792 *The Animal Kingdom or Zoological System of Linnaeus*

1802 *The Natural History of Oviparous Quadrupeds and Serpents* (Lacépède)

1813 *Essay on the Theory of the Earth* (Cuvier)


## Cultural Background

By the time Kerr started translating Edinburgh was probably the most important translation centre in Britain. Both scientists and humanists belonged to learned societies in which both language, literature and science were discussed. In these circles the new ideas on science from Linnaeus, Lavoisier, Bergman, Dalton and others would have been grafted on to the Newtonian base usual in Britain. It was here that the Natural Sciences were first emancipated from medicine, the University of Edinburgh being the first to teach these subjects separately from medical subjects. Kerr would probably have known Alexander Tytler, the author of the famous *Essay on Translation* (1790), and George Campbell. Many of Kerr's colleagues also belonged to these circles, including physician-translators like *John Thomson* (1756-1846) also of the University of Edinburgh. Through other colleagues Kerr also had considerable contact with scientific circles in the Midlands, who were as enthusiastic about the new French science as he was.

Kerr had a large hand in the scientific revolution of the eighteenth century and did his work rather enthusiastically. He was translating at a time when it had become accepted that chemistry was a speculative, not a practical science, and alchemists' terminology had been replaced by one partially derived from the work of Stahl. This in turn was being replaced by work rising from Lavoisier's circle. Kerr sees his role as one of teaching attitudes as well as matter. He takes it for granted that a terminology is an essential part of theory, and insists that his readers take the point.

## Why did he translate?

The immediate reason is that he needed to eat. But beyond that he was an enthusiast who wished to spread the message of the new chemistry. His Lavoisier, for example, was directed to that most important market, student set texts. At that particular time British chemists were coming to terms with the new thinking coming out of France, and there was considerable friction between the old, as represented by Shaw, for example, and the new. Thus though Kerr claims in his Berthollet to be translating mainly to inform British manufacturers of the latest French practice in dyeing, he loses no time in launching into a skilled attack on the old chemistry resulting mainly from the translation work of Peter Shaw. He is obviously aiming to change the shape of British science to reflect the experimental lines of thought going back to Bacon, Descartes and Newton.

THE very high character of Mr Lavoisier as a chemical philosopher, and the great revolution which, in the opinion of many excellent chemists, he has effected in the theory of chemistry, has long made it much desired to have a connected account of his discoveries, and of the new theory he has founded upon the modern experiments written by himself. This is now accomplished by the publication of his Elements of Chemistry; therefore no excuse can be at all necessary for giving the following work to the public in an English dress; and the only hesitation of the Translator is with regard to his own abilities for the task. He is most ready to confess, that his knowledge of the composition of language fit for publication is far inferior to his attachment to the subject, and to his desire of appearing decently before the judgment of the world.

He has earnestly endeavoured to give the meaning of the Author with the most scrupulous fidelity, having paid infinitely greater attention to accuracy of translation than to elegance of stile. This last indeed, had he even, by proper labour, been capable of attaining, he has been obliged, for very obvious reasons, to

neglect, far more than accorded with his wishes. The French copy did not reach his hands before the middle of September; and it was judged necessary by the Publisher that the Translation should be ready by the commencement of the University Session at the end of October.

He at first intended to have changed all the weights and measures used by Mr Lavoisier into their correspondent English denominations, but,

upon trial, the task was found infinitely too great for the time allowed ; and to have executed this part of the work inaccurately, must have been both useless and misleading to the reader. All that has been attempted in this way is adding, between brackets ( ), the degrees of Fahrenheit's scale corresponding with those of Reaumeur's thermometer, which is used by the Author. Rules are added, however, in the Appendix, for converting the French weights and measures into English, by which means the reader may at any time calculate such quantities as occur, when desirous of comparing Mr Lavoisier's experiments with those of British authors.

By an oversight, the first part of the translation went to press without any distinction being preserved between charcoal and its simple elementary part, which enters into chemical combinations, especially with oxygen or the acidifying principle, forming carbonic acid. This pure element, which exists in great plenty in well made charcoal, is named by Mr Lavoisier *carbone*, and ought to have been so in the translation ; but the attentive reader can very easily rectify the mistake. There is an error in Plate XI. which the engraver copied strictly from the original, and which was not discovered until the plate was worked off at press, when that part of the Elements which treats of the apparatus there represented came to be translated. The two tubes 21. and 24. by which the gas is conveyed into the bottles of alkaline solution 22. 25. should have been made to dip into the liquor, while the other tubes 23. and 26. which carry off the gas, ought to have been cut off some way above the surface of the liquor in the bottles.

A few explanatory notes are added ; and indeed, from the perspicuity of the Author, very few were found necessary. In a very small number of places, the liberty has been taken of throwing to the bottom of the page, in notes,

some parenthetical expressions, only relative to the subject, which, in their original place, tended to confuse the sense. These, and the original notes of the Author, are distinguished by the letter A, and to the few which the Translator has ventured to add, the letter E is subjoined.

Mr Lavoisier has added, in an Appendix, several very useful Tables for facilitating the calculations now necessary in the advanced state of modern chemistry, wherein the most scrupulous accuracy is required. It is proper to give some account of these, and of the reasons for omitting several of them.

No. I. of the French Appendix is a Table for converting ounces, gros, and grains, into the decimal fractions of the French pound; and No.II. for reducing these decimal fractions again into the vulgar subdivisions. No. III. contains the number of French cubical inches and decimals which correspond to a determinate weight of water.

The Translator would most readily have converted these Tables into English weights and measures ; but the necessary calculations must have occupied a great deal more time than could have been spared in the period limited for publication. They are therefore omitted, as altogether useless, in their present state, to the British chemist.

No. IV. is a Table for converting lines or twelfth parts of the inch, and twelfth parts of lines, into decimal fractions, chiefly for the purpose of making the necessary corrections upon the quantities of gasses according to their barometrical pressure. This can hardly be at all useful or necessary, as the barometers used in Britain are graduated in decimal fractions of the inch, but, being referred to by the Author in

the text, it has been retained, and is No. I. of the Appendix to this Tranflation.

No. V. Is a Table for converting the obferved heights of water within the jars ufed in pneumato-chemical experiments into correfpondent heights of mercury for correcting the volume of gaffes. This, in Mr Lavoifier's Work, is expreffed for the water in lines, and for the mercury in decimals of the inch, and confequently, for the reafons given refpecting the Fourth Table, muft have been of no ufe. The Tranflator has therefore calculated a Table for this correction, in which the water is expreffed in decimals, as well as the mercury. This Table is No. II. of the Englifh Appendix.

No. VI. contains the number of French cubical inches and decimals contained in the correfponding ounce-meafures ufed in the experiments of our celebrated countryman Dr Prieftley. This Table, which forms No. III. of the Englifh Appendix, is retained, with the addition of a column, in which the correfponding Englifh cubical inches and decimals are expreffed.

No. VII. Is a Table of the weights of a cubical foot and inch, French meafure, of the different gaffes expreffed in French ounces, gros, grains, and decimals. This, which forms No. VI. of the Englifh Appendix, has been, with confiderable labour, calculated into Englifh weight and meafure.

No. VIII. Gives the fpecific gravities of a great number of bodies, with columns, containing the weights of a cubical foot and inch, French meafure, of all the fubftances. The fpecific gravities of this Table, which is No. VII. of the Englifh Appendix, are retained, but the additional columns, as ufelefs to the Britifh philofopher, are omitted; and to have converted thefe into Englifh denominations muft have required very long and painful calculations.

Rules are fubjoined, in the Appendix to this tranflation, for converting all the weights and meafures ufed by Mr Lavoifier into correfponding Englifh denominations; and the Tranflator is proud to acknowledge his obligation to the learned Profeffor of Natural Philofophy in the Univerfity of Edinburgh, who kindly fupplied him with the neceffary information for this purpofe. A Table is likewife added, No. IV. of the Englifh Appendix, for converting the degrees of Reaumeur's fcale ufed by Mr Lavoifier into the correfponding degrees of Fahrenheit, which is univerfally employed in Britain *.

This Tranflation is fent into the world with the utmoft diffidence, tempered, however, with this confolation, that, though it muft fall greatly fhort of the elegance, or even propriety of language, which every writer ought to endeavour to attain, it cannot fail of advancing the interefts of true chemical fcience, by diffeminating the accurate mode of analyfis adopted by its juftly celebrated Author. Should the public call for a fecond edition, every care fhall be taken to correct the forced imperfections of the prefent tranflation, and to improve the work by valuable additional matter from other authors of reputation in the feveral fubjects treated of.

EDINBURGH, }
Oct. 23. 1789. }

* The Tranflator has fince been enabled, by the kind affiftance of the gentleman above alluded to, to give Tables, of the fame nature with thofe of Mr Lavoifier, for facilitating the calculations of the refults of chemical experiments.

**How did he translate?**

As far as his ideas on translation are concerned, those odd hints he gives in his prefaces do not differ very much from those current in contemporary English and French writings on translation. His work however is very literal, and he does hide behind the deadlines imposed on him to explain himself. He is particularly careful to translate Lavoisier's discussions of terminology without saying much more than he wishes to be scrupulously accurate.

However in his preface to Berthollet, a key document, he insists that it would not be right "to make his author speak a language which upon most mature deliberation, he has chosen to abandon". But though he claims rather disingenuously that he does not wish to enter into the "controversy respecting the comparative merits of ancient and modern chemical theories and nomenclatures", his copious footnotes to Lavoisier had already driven home the point that a terminology reflects a theory, and a theory reality, and that natural science had changed for ever.

## Lavoisier (1791)

### C H A P. I.

#### *Of the Combinations of Caloric, and the Formation of Elastic Aëriform Fluids.*

T H A T every body, whether solid or fluid, is augmented in all its dimensions by any increase of its sensible heat, was long ago fully established as a physical axiom, or universal proposition, by the celebrated Boerhaave. Such facts as have been adduced for controverting the

D        generality

generality of this principle offer only fallacious results, or at least, such as are so complicated with foreign circumstances as to mislead the judgement: But, when we separately consider the effects, so as to deduce each from the cause to which they separately belong, it is easy to perceive that the separation of particles by heat is a constant and general law of nature.

When we have heated a solid body to a certain degree, and have thereby caused its particles to separate from each other, if we allow the body to cool, its particles again approach each other, in the same proportion in which they were separated by the increased temperature; the body returns by the same degrees of expansion

## CHAPITRE PREMIER.

### *Des combinaisons du Calorique et de la formation des Fluides élastiques aériformes.*

C'EST un phénomène constant dans la nature et dont la généralité a été bien établie par Boerhaave, que lorsqu'on échauffe un corps

*Tome I.*        A

quelconque, solide ou fluide, il augmente de dimension dans tous les sens. Les faits sur lesquels on s'est fondé pour restreindre la généralité de ce principe, ne présentent que des résultats illusoires, ou du moins dans lesquels se compliquent des circonstances étrangères qui en imposent : mais lorsqu'on est parvenu à séparer les effets, et à les rapporter chacun à la cause à laquelle ils appartiennent on s'aperçoit que l'écartement des molécules par la chaleur, est une loi générale et constante de la Nature.

Si après avoir échauffé jusqu'à un certain point un corps solide, et en avoir ainsi écarté de plus en plus toutes les molécules, on le laisse refroidir, ces mêmes molécules se rapprochent les unes des autres dans la même proportion, suivant laquelle elles avoient été écartées ; le corps repasse par les mêmes degrés d'extension qu'il avoit parcourus ; et si on

through which it before extended; and, if brought back to the fame temperature which it poffeffed at the commencement of the experiment, it recovers exactly the fame dimenfions which it formerly occupied. We are ftill very far from being able to produce the degree of abfolute cold, or total deprivation of heat, being unacquainted with any degree of coldnefs which we cannot fuppofe capable of ftill farther augmentation; hence it follows, that we are incapable of caufing the ultimate particles of bodies to approach each other as near as poffible, and that thefe particles of bodies do not touch each other in any ftate hitherto known. Though this be a very fingular conclnfion, it is impoffible to be denied.

le ramène à la même température qu'il avoit en commençant l'expérience, il reprend sensiblement le volume qu'il avoit d'abord. Mais comme nous sommes bien éloignés de pouvoir obtenir un degré de froid absolu, comme nous ne connoissons aucun degré de refroidissement que nous ne puissions supposer susceptible d'être augmenté, il en résulte que nous n'avons pas encore pu parvenir à rapprocher le plus qu'il est possible, les molécules d'aucun corps, et que par conséquent les molécules d'aucun corps ne se touchent dans la Nature; conclusion très-singulière et à laquelle cependant il est impossible de se refuser.

## References

Kelly 1979 sv "Kerr"

Partington 1961 sv "Kerr"

Thorndike 1923-58 sv "Kerr"

# E. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

## Week 8 Romanticism

It is not until the rise of Romanticism that "translation" became popularly identified with literary translation, and other genres were regarded as somewhat beneath one's dignity. As it had been during the sixteenth century the focus of attention became Man the Artist, with all the reliance on feeling and emotion that that entails. Romanticism then is a revolt against the intellectualised classical discipline of the eighteenth century – it sought to overturn the authority of classical models in art, government and morality. Therefore the artistic changes the Romantic movement ushered in were accompanied by a series of political changes culminating in the revolutions of 1848. This was coupled with a new sense of individuality and nationalism, two rather contradictory forces that came into special conflict in translation.

The movement began in Germany with the writings of *Johann Gottfried von Herder* (1744-1803). For him the basic issue was the nature of language. He bequeathed to the Romantic movement a thorough-going Platonism that saw Man as a creature of the language he spoke. Though one tends to identify this strong form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis with *Wilhelm von Humboldt* (1767-1835), it was actually common property. The Romantics viewed language as an organism that was born, matured and died, and was also a creative force. Romantic thought took this idea in two directions: outwards towards the principle that the language was an embodiment of the People that spoke it, and inwards towards a putative universal, the "Pure Speech" that was supposed to underlie all languages.

Thus the Romantics believed that the history of a language runs parallel to that of the people who speak it. The linguistic unity of the Germans gave this theory peculiar force when contrasted with their political disunity during the whole of the Romantic era. The Romantics took an individual language to be the root of cognition, and therefore of one's identity. Therefore for national groups it is the maker and repository of tradition: the creative Word from which come poetry, art and the whole of rational existence. Running parallel with this public face of language and sustaining it was postulated "Pure Speech", described by *Friedrich Hölderlin* (1770-1843). This is the creative energy behind the world's individual languages and, if one is to take the Bible account of Creation literally, the language with which God created the world.

It is little wonder then that both Romantic literary criticism and translation theory were strongly influenced by theological ways of thinking – as language partook of the divine, this was the most logical way of approach. Translators took on two interlinked tasks: the first was penetration to "Pure Speech" because it underlay the text, and the second was to present author and text unadorned to the reading public in the second language. Hence the famous typology by

*Johann Wolfgang von Goethe* (1748-1832). He distinguishes three types of translation, literal, "parody", and *Interlinearversion*. The first was word-for word, and to be used if no other was possible; "parody" translation was exemplified by *les belles infidèles*, in which the translator imposed himself and his society on the original, and the *Interlinearversion* the penetration to the very essence of the original. On this point *Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher* (1768-1834) has a two-fold terminology corresponding to this: *Paraphrase* is for the language learner, and *Nachbildung*, (Goethe's *Interlinearversion*) is for the seasoned reader.

*Interlinearversion* is not to be confused with "interlinear translation", though in the best examples of this sort of work, as in Goethe himself and Schleiermacher, original and translation can be disposed interlinearly. As with the "grammaticall translation" of the Puritan alchemists and Batteux's rhetorical theories of translation the translation follows the discourse order of the original remaking the grammatical structures of the original to do so. The Romantics assumed that the Word is the unit of language that mattered, and that its form is an essential operative part of the meaning. Hence the value they placed on close, even literal translation and on preserving poetic form where possible.

Romantic critics, however, do not discuss this side of things: they are much more interested in detailing the translator's mission. Bearing in mind the importance of translation to most European literatures when they were young, Herder terms the translator the "Morning Star" of a literature. The two interlinked tasks of the translator depended on finding and expressing what was there in the text. Thus translation was primarily criticism, in the sense that criticism is concerned with finding virtues as well as vices. As a result of this *Philologische Arbeit* the translator "casts light" on the original —the German word is *Erklärung*, which can also mean "explanation", he also set up a personal relationship between himself and his author. This meant that translation became an act of parallel literary creation, but one bounded strictly by the nature of the original work. All this in no way impugned the article of faith that translation was impossible.

The wider responsibility assumed by the Romantic translator was transforming his society while transforming its literature. In essence a translator was a teacher, and took his responsibilities very seriously. Perhaps the most important Romantic translator was Goethe – it was through his works in both original and translation that the movement spread. In France his ideas were taken up by Madame de Stael whose *Esprit des traductions* (1816) is one of the seminal statements of Romantic ideology. *Gérard de Nerval* (1808-55) produced a French *Faust* (1827) admired by Goethe himself, and Victor Hugo's work on Shakespeare has one of the finest statements of Romantic thought on translation. In England the Lake poets, *Shelley* (1792-1824), *Keats* (1795-1821), *Thomas Carlyle* (1795-1881), in America, *Bayard Taylor* (1825-78) and in Italy, *Michele Leone di Parma* (1776-1858), all produced important Romantic translations with in most cases, considerable comment.

## Section Bibliography

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. 1820. "Noten und Abhandlungen zum Divan". Excerpted *Babel* 11 (1965) 7; see also Lefevere 1977

Hugo, Victor. 1864. "Préface pour la nouvelle traduction de Shakespeare". *Oeuvres complètes de Victor Hugo*, ed. F. Bouvet. (*Oeuvres critiques complètes*, 1441-44)

Kelly 1979: sv. "Goethe", "models of translation", "Schleiermacher"

Selver, Paul. 1966. *The Art of Translating Poetry*. London:Baker

de Stael, Germaine Necker. 1816. *De l'esprit des traductions. Oeuvres de Madame de Stael.* Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1821, 387-97

Steiner 1974: svv. "Goethe", "Hölderlin", "Humboldt", "Schleiermacher"

## *Herder, Johann Gottfried von (1744-1803)*

Court chaplain, writer, literary critic

     1762 Enrolled at Königsberg in medicine; changed to theology; met Kant

     1764 Assistant master at Royal School in Riga

     1767 Publication of *Fragmente*

     1769 Meets Goethe; goes to France

     1771 Court Preacher to the Principality of Schaumberg-Lippe

     1776 Court Preacher at Weimar

## Translations

     1778 *Volksstimme*

     Occasional Translations in his other writings

## Theoretical Works

     1767 *Fragmente*

     1773 *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*

## Cultural Background

Herder was almost the well-spring of German Romanticism. He had that peculiar blend of philosophical training, knowledge of theology and woolly mysticism that characterised the German and English Romantic thinkers. Apart from his university courses on philosophy and theology, Herder's attitudes to art and literature were formed by *Ossian*, James Macpherson's skilled forgery of a Scottish epic, and by the narcissistic *sensibilité* of Rousseau and other eighteenth-century French writers. Herder was also writing at a time when classicism had gone to

seed, and had very little to say to a young writer just starting out. Hence his insistence on relying on inspiration for the spontaneity of creation had immediate appeal to the young Turks of German literary circles. There had been something of this same religious and social impulse in Culpeper and his circle; yet Herder did not have the same attitude to the "return to nature" we find in Rousseau, or to the "God within" Culpeper preached.

## Why did Herder translate?

As a good Evangelical theologian Herder believed that Language was of divine origin, and he ascribed to the Romantic theory of the "primitive language" from which all human languages developed, but which is still in some mysterious way within us. This did not prevent him from holding strong nationalist views about language: indeed from them come modern movements as disparate as the language psychology at the base of *stylistique comparée* and the Nazi ideas on the *Herrenvolk*. But Man is a creature of his language, and if his language has been matured by translation, he will be the richer and the more creative for it.

As did the ancient Romans, Herder translated to make German into a world-class language, because translation brings a share in the experience that shapes literatures. Indeed he compares a language into which one has never translated to a virgin who has remained "pure" and therefore unfruitful. He is much more insistent than his predecessors on the primacy of literature among language activities: it is through literature that it is *Schöpferung*; and therefore it is foreign literature that must be translated into the mother-tongue.

## How did he translate?

Translation is based on "insight" into the original. In stark contrast to *les belles infidèles* the translator has to search for what is there in the original and present it to his reader. Though in contrast to, say, Campbell, Herder has very little to say about the linguistics of translation, it is Goethe's *Interlinearversion* that he prefigures in the *Volkstimme*. He insists that one should be able to feel the original under the version, even to the point of sensing in the version some strangeness due to the foreign-language way of thinking and shaping the text.

## References

Berman, Antoine. 1984. *Epreuve de l'étranger*. Paris: Gallimard

Kelly 1979: sv. "Herder"

Lefevere 1977: sv "Herder"

Steiner 1974: sv "Herder"

## *Chateaubriand, François-René de (1768-1848)*

Writer, Diplomat

   1791 Goes to America to discover the Northwest Passage

   1792 Returns to France; fights on the Royalist side; exiled; spends most of the time in England

   1800 Returns to France

   1803 Appointed Secretary to the French Embassy in Rome; breaks with Napoleon soon after

   1806-7 Foreign travel

   1823 Ministre de affaires étrangères for the Bourbon monarchy

   1830 Opposes July monarchy; leaves public life


## Translations

   1836 *Le Paradis perdu de Milton*

   Fragments of large number of significant British authors.

## Theoretical Writings

   1836 *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*

   Forward to *Le Paradis perdu*


## Cultural Background

Chateaubriand has been credited with being the founder of French Romanticism. He was Romantic by temperament rather than by education, and indeed resembles Goethe's character, Werther, in his extreme emotional vulnerability. He had the Romantic love of Nature, his pleasure in it and reverence for it rivalling those of Beethoven and Wordsworth. To account for this most French critics emphasise his Breton upbringing in the chateau de Combourg under the wing of his mother. His imagination was fed by his travels in North America, and as a French exile in London between 1793 and 1800 he was in contact with English literary circles. It was there he wrote his *Essai sur les révolutions* (1797).

The importance of his passionate return to Catholicism in 1798 can not be underrated. We have emphasised that much of the ideology of German Romanticism was shaped by people of deep religious beliefs according to religious methods of scholarship. But Chateaubriand's convictions were based far less on intellectual conviction than those of the German circle, being far closer to the attitude of the English poets.


## Why did Chateaubriand Translate?

Of all the French Romantic translators Chateaubriand comes closest to his German mentors in attitudes and practice. It is typical that his *Avertissement* mentions the Poet and the Child in the

same breath. In Romantic thought, particularly in England, the Child was taken to be a being of primordial innocence whose sharp perception of reality beyond appearances was preserved in adult life only by the Poet. Thus only the Poet and the Child had any true sense of the Word and its creative power.

He translates *pour faire connaître son auteur*. In his *Paradis perdu* the personal relationship he sets up with Milton goes further than was usual, even in German circles. He draws parallels between his own distaste for tyranny (including Napoleon) and Milton's republicanism, and he characterises Milton as *un homme tourmenté* like himself. In translating he reacted warmly to Milton's mystical and militant religious sensibility. He also seeks to give the reader a taste of what the original really was like. His aim is typical of the Romantics: to bring across into the target language all the layers of meaning in the original so that the target language would be transformed and strengthened.

## How did Chateaubriand Translate?

Unlike his German mentors or philosophers of the Romantic movement like Coleridge, Chateaubriand has very little to say on language itself, just concentrating on the importance of literal translation to his artistic aims:

> —il faut suivre l'écrivain, non seulement à travers ses beautés, mais encore à travers ses défauts, ses négligences et ses lassitudes.

It would seem that where Goethe distinguished between literal and "interlinear", Chateaubriand conflates the two as Schleiermacher does.

Following a long-established French precedent Chateaubriand abandons verse for prose – eighteenth-century translators had long felt that the severe discipline of French verse made it an unsuitable vehicle for translation. Chateaubriand writes a prose which attempts to emulate the slow-moving Latinate style of Milton's English verse (cf. Steiner 1974: 316-18). He readily accepts vagueness of meaning as a characteristic of his original:

> —il ne me paraît même pas clair que Milton ait toujours bien lui-même rendu sa pensée; ce haut génie s'est contenté quelquefois de l'à peu près, et il a dit à la foule: "devine si tu peux".

But in dealing with such things he distinguishes sharply between *faux sens* and *sens douteux ou susceptible d'inteprétations diverses*.

Where Chateaubriand shows himself to be typically French is in his worries about grammar. Milton does take fair liberties with English for which there is precedent in the Authorised Version of the Bible, and Chateaubriand's principles do bring about a French of a very untypical style for which he feels he must apologise. In so doing, however, he demonstrates another Romantic characteristic somewhat at variance with Platonic contemplation. In the line of *Schleiermacher* in

particular he indulges in *Philologische Arbeit*. His close examination of Milton's sources and their linguistic repercussions prompts him to characterise his language as *une langue savante* based on the Authorised Version and the Roman poet, Vergil; and therefore he feels justified in attempting to change French to fit Milton's tone.

l'original était placé auprès de la copie, le spectateurs le verraient chacun à sa manière, et différeraient de jugement sur la ressemblance. Traduire, c'est donc se vouer au métier le plus ingrat et le moins estimé qui fut oncques ; c'est se battre avec des mots pour leur faire rendre dans un idiome étranger un sentiment, une pensée, autrement exprimés, un son qu'ils n'ont pas dans la langue de l'auteur. Pourquoi donc ai-je traduit Milton ? Par une raison que l'on trouvera à la fin de cet *Essai*.

Qu'on ne se figure pas d'après ceci que je n'ai mis aucun soin à mon travail; je pourrais dire que ce travail est l'ouvrage entier de ma vie, car il y a trente ans que je lis, relis et traduis Milton. Je sais respecter le public ; il veut bien vous traiter sans façon, mais il ne permet pas que vous preniez avec lui la même liberté : si vous ne vous souciez guère de lui, il se souciera encore moins de vous. J'en appelle au sur-

· J'ai peu de chose à dire de ma traduction. Des éditions, des commentaires, des *illustrations*, des recherches, des biographies de Milton, il y en a par milliers. Il existe en prose et en vers une douzaine de traductions françaises et une quarantaine d'imitations du Poëte, toutes très bonnes ; après moi viendront d'autres traducteurs, tous excellens. A la tête des traducteurs en prose est Racine, le fils ; à la tête des traducteurs en vers, l'abbé Delille.

Une traduction n'est pas la *personne*, elle n'est qu'un *portrait* : un grand maître peut faire un admirable portrait; soit : mais si

plus aux hommes qui croient encore qu'*écrire* est un *art* : eux seuls pourront savoir ce que la traduction du *Paradis perdu* m'a coûté d'études et d'efforts.

Quant au système de cette traduction, je m'en suis tenu à celui que j'avais adopté autrefois pour les fragmens de Milton, cités dans le *Génie du christianisme*. La traduction littérale me paraît toujours la meilleure : une traduction interlinéaire serait la perfection du genre, si on lui pouvait ôter ce qu'elle a de sauvage.

Dans la traduction littérale, la difficulté est de ne pas reproduire un mot noble par le mot correspondant qui peut être bas, de ne pas rendre pesante une phrase légère, légère une phrase pesante, en vertu d'expressions qui se ressemblent, mais qui n'ont pas la même prosodie dans les deux idiomes.

Milton, outre les luttes qu'il faut soutenir contre son génie, offre des obscurités

grammaticales sans nombre ; il traite sa langue en tyran, viole et méprise les règles : en français si vous supprimiez ce qu'il supprime par l'ellipse ; si vous perdiez sans cesse comme lui votre *nominatif*, votre *régime ;* si vos *relatifs* perplexes rendaient indécis vos *antécédens*, vous deviendriez inintelligible. L'Invocation du *Paradis perdu* présente toutes ces difficultés réunies : l'inversion suspensive qui jette à la césure du septième vers le *Sing, heavenly Muse*, est admirable ; je l'ai conservée afin de ne pas tomber dans la froide et régulière invocation grecque et française, *Muse céleste, chante*, et pour que l'on sente tout d'abord qu'on entre dans des régions inconnues : Louis Racine l'a conservée également, mais il a cru devoir la régulariser à l'aide d'un gallicisme qui fait disparaître toute poésie : *c'est ce que je t'invite à chanter, Muse céleste.*

Not peace: and after him thus Mammon spake:—          paisible bassesse, non la paix. Après lui, Mammon parla.

Either to disinthrone the King of heaven
We war, if war be best; or to regain
Our own right lost.    Him to unthrone we then
May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield
To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife:
The former, vain to hope, argues as vain
The latter: for what place can be for us
Within heaven's bound, unless heaven's Lord supreme
We overpower?    Suppose he should relent
And publish grace to all, on promise made
Of new subjection; with what eyes could we
Stand in his presence humble, and receive
Strict laws imposed, to celebrate his throne
With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing
Forced halleluiahs; while he lordly sits
Our envied Sovran, and his altar breathes
Ambrosial odours and ambrosial flowers,
Our servile offerings?    This must be our task
In heaven, this our delight: how wearisome
Eternity so spent in worship paid          *
To whom we hate!

              Let us not then pursue,
By force impossible, by leave obtain'd

« Nous faisons la guerre ( si la guerre est le
« meilleur parti), ou pour détrôner le roi du Ciel,
« ou pour regagner nos droits perdus. Détrôner le
« roi du Ciel, nous pouvons espérer cela, quand
« le Destin d'éternelle durée, cédera à l'incon-
« stant Hasard, et quand le CHAOS jugera le diffé-
« rend. Le premier but, vain à espérer, prouve
« que le second est aussi vain; car est-il pour nous
« une place dans l'étendue du Ciel, à moins que
« nous ne subjuguions le Monarque suprême du
« Ciel? Supposons qu'il s'adoucisse, qu'il fasse
« grâce à tous, sur la promesse d'une nouvelle sou-
« mission, de quel œil pourrions-nous humiliés
« demeurer en sa présence, recevoir l'ordre stric-
« tement imposé, de glorifier son trône en mur-
« murant des hymnes, de chanter à sa divinité des
« *alleluia* forcés, tandis que lui siégera impérieu-
« sement notre Souverain envié, tandis que son
« autel exhalera des parfums d'ambroisie et des
« fleurs d'ambroisie, nos serviles offrandes? Telle
« sera notre tâche dans le Ciel, telles seront nos
« délices. Oh! combien ennuyeuse une éternité
« ainsi consumée en adorations offertes à celui
« qu'on hait!

« N'essayons donc pas de ravir de force ce qui

## References

Chavy, Paul. 1974. "Chateaubriand et l'art de traduire". *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature.* 1, 34-48

Kelly 1979: sv "Chateaubriand"

Poirier, A. 1930. *Les idées artistiques de Chateaubriand.* Paris:PUF

Steiner 1974: sv "Chateaubriand"

## *Taylor, Bayard (1825-78)*

Newspaperman, Poet, Writer, Diplomat

Not a first-class writer, but very popular with the American public in his own day.

> 1842 Apprenticed to a Printer at West Chester, Pennsylvania
>
> 1844-6 Travels to Europe
>
> 1847 Goes to New York
>
> 1848 Begins association with *New York Tribune*
>
> 1851-4 Travels in Far East
>
> 1854 Lectures on his travels
>
> 1862 Chargé d'affaires at American Legation in St Petersburg, Russia
>
> 1869 Non-resident Professor of German Literature at Cornell
>
> 1878 Minister to Germany

## Translations

> 1870-1 *Faust* (Goethe)
>
> Fragments of large number of significant poets.

## Cultural Background

Though he became active as a translator after the Romantic period in Europe, he is best classed as Romantic – he was very strongly influenced by Goethe himself and by Shelley. Unlike his European counterparts, there is no trace of Classical influence in his work. It is important to realise that Taylor's formal education stopped with his unfinished apprenticeship at West Chester: he learnt the art of writing through extensive travel and newspaper work. The New York he went to in 1847 was dominated by a number of talents that were not quite first-rate, for example William Cullen Bryant, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and Nathaniel Willis, which probably explains why his reputation did not survive his death. But he did forge relationships with Nathaniel Hawthorne. His mentor was Rufus Griswold, the critic who so disliked Edgar Allan Poe.

## Why did Taylor Translate?

Taylor lies outside the normal nineteenth-century pattern in that he does not seem to use translation as a literary apprenticeship, his Faust being a very late and mature production. This translation was designed to introduce Goethe to the American public, and also to make points about the art of translation.

## How did Taylor Translate?

In his introduction and notes to Faust Taylor makes three extremely Romantic points: first, the translator must efface himself before his poet, second, poetry should be translated in the original metres as much as possible. Third, only a poet can translate a poet:

> —surrendering himself to the full possession of the Spirit which shall speak through his,
> he receives, also, a portion of the same creative power.

His appeal to the *logos* of language seems to be deeply influenced by Hölderlin, and his technique, though deeply criticised since, is a close approximation to that of Goethe.

> I am satisfied that the difference between a translation of 'Faust' in prose or metre is chiefly one of labour,— and of that labour which is successful in proportion as it is joyously performed. My own task has been cheered by the discovery, that the more closely I reproduced the language of the original, the more of its rhythmical character was transferred at the same time. If, now and then, there was an inevitable alternative of meaning or music, I gave the preference to the former. By the term "original metres" I do not mean a rigid, unyielding adherence to every foot, line, and rhyme of the German original, although this has very nearly been accomplished. Since the greater part of the work is written in an irregular measure, the lines varying from three to six feet, and the rhymes arranged according to the author's will, I do not consider that an occasional change in the number of feet, or order of rhyme, is any violation of the metrical plan. The single slight liberty I have taken with the lyrical passages is in Margaret's song,—'The King of Thule,'—in which, by omitting the alternate feminine rhymes, yet retaining the metre, I was
>
> VOL. I.                                                  *b*

xviii    *PREFACE.*

enabled to make the translation strictly literal. If, in two or three instances, I have left a line unrhymed, I have balanced the omission by giving rhymes to other lines which stand unrhymed in the original text. For the same reason, I make no apology for the imperfect rhymes, which are frequently a translation as well as a necessity. With all its supreme qualities, 'Faust' is far from being a technically perfect work.*

The feminine and dactylic rhymes, which have been for the most part omitted by all metrical translators except Mr. Brooks, are indispensable. The characteristic tone of many passages would be nearly lost without them. They give spirit and grace to the dialogue, point to the aphoristic portions (especially in the Second Part), and an ever-changing music to the lyrical passages. The English language, though not so rich as the German in such rhymes, is less deficient than is generally supposed. The difficulty to be overcome is one of construction rather than of the vocabulary. The present participle

---

* "At present, everything runs in technical grooves, and the critical gentlemen begin to wrangle whether in a rhyme an *s* should correspond with an *s* and not with *sz*. If I were young and reckless enough, I would purposely offend all such technical caprices : I would use alliteration, assonance, false rhyme, just according to my own will or convenience—but, at the same time, I would attend to the main thing, and endeavour to say so many good things that every one would be attracted to read and remember them."—*Goethe*, in 1831.

---

*PREFACE.*    xix

can only be used to a limited extent, on account of its weak termination ; and the want of an accusative form to the noun also restricts the arrangement of words in English verse. I cannot hope to have been always successful; but I have at least laboured long and patiently, bearing constantly in mind not only the meaning of the original and the mechanical structure of the lines, but also that subtile and haunting music which seems to govern rhythm instead of being go-verned by it.

# PROLOGUE IN HEAVEN.[8]

THE LORD. THE HEAVENLY HOSTS. *Afterwards* MEPHIS-
TOPHELES.

(*The* THREE ARCHANGELS *come forward.*)

### RAPHAEL.

THE sun-orb sings, in emulation,
  'Mid brother-spheres, his ancient round :
His path predestined through Creation
He ends with step of thunder-sound.
The angels from his visage splendid
Draw power, whose measure none can say ;
The lofty works, uncomprehended,
Are bright as on the earliest day.

### GABRIEL.

And swift, and swift beyond conceiving,
The splendor of the world goes round,
Day's Eden-brightness still relieving
The awful Night's intense profound :
The ocean-tides in foam are breaking,
Against the rocks' deep bases hurled,
And both, the spheric race partaking,
Eternal, swift, are onward whirled !

### MICHAEL.

And rival storms abroad are surging
From sea to land, from land to sea,
A chain of deepest action forging
Round all, in wrathful energy.
There flames a desolation, blazing
Before the Thunder's crashing way :
Yet, Lord, Thy messengers are praising
The gentle movement of Thy Day.

### THE THREE.

Though still by them uncomprehended,
From these the angels draw their power,
And all Thy works, sublime and splendid,
Are bright as in Creation's hour.[9]

274                                      *FAUST.*

### 8. PROLOGUE IN HEAVEN.

Some of Goethe's commentators suppose that this Prologue was added by him, from the circumstance that the design of Faust was not understood, in the 'Fragment' first published. It appears to have been written in June, 1797, before the 'Prelude on the Stage,' and chiefly for the purpose of setting forth the moral and intellectual problem which underlies the drama. Although possibly suggested by the Prologue in Hell of two of the puppet-plays, its character is evidently drawn from the interviews of Satan with the Lord, in the first and second chapters of Job. Upon this point, Goethe (in 1825) said to Eckermann: "My Mephistopheles sings a song of Shakespeare; and why should he not? Why should I give myself the trouble to compose a new song, when Shakespeare's was just the right one, saying exactly what was necessary? If, therefore, the scheme of my 'Faust' has some resemblance to that of Job, that is also quite right, and I should be

VOL. 1.

praised rather than censured on account of it."

The earnest reader will require no explanation of the problem propounded in the Prologue. Goethe states it without obscurity, and solves it in no uncertain terms at the close of the Second Part. The mocking irreverence of Mephistopheles, in the presence of the Lord, although it belongs to the character which he plays throughout, seems to have given some difficulty to the early English translators. Lord Leveson Gower terminates the Prologue with the Chant of the Archangels; Mr. Blackie omits it entirely, but adds it in an emasculated form, as an Appendix; while Dr. Anster satisfies his spirit of reverence by printing DER HERR where the English text requires "The Lord." Coleridge's charge of "blasphemy" evidently refers to this Prologue; but at the time when he made the charge, Coleridge was hardly capable of appreciating the spirit in which 'Faust' was written.

It is very clear, from hints which Goethe let fall, that he at one time contemplated the introduction into 'Faust' of the doctrine ascribed to Origen,—that it was possible for Satan to repent and be restored to his former place as an angel of light. Falk reports Goethe as saying: "Yet even the clever Madame de Staël was greatly scandalized that I kept the Devil in such good-humour. In the presence of God the Father, she insisted upon it, he ought to be

T

more grim and spiteful. What will she say if she sees him promoted a step higher,—nay, perhaps, meets him in heaven?" On another occasion, he exclaimed (if we may trust Falk): "At bottom, the most of us do not know how either to love or to hate. They 'don't like' me! An insipid phrase!—I don't like them either. Especially when, after my death, my Walpurgis-Sack comes to be opened, and all the tormenting Stygian spirits, imprisoned until then, shall be let loose to plague all even as they plagued me; or if, in the continuation of 'Faust,' they should happen to come upon a passage where the Devil himself receives Grace and Mercy from God, —that, I should say, they would not soon forgive!"

### 9. CHANT OF THE ARCHANGELS.

The three Archangels advance in the order of their dignity, as it is given in the 'Celestial Hierarchy' of Dionysius Areopagita; who was also Dante's authority on this point ('Paradiso,' Canto XXVIII). Raphael, the inferior, commences, and Michael, the chief, closes the chant.

Shelley speaks of this "astonishing chorus," and very truly says: "It is impossible to represent in another language the melody of the versification: even the volatile strength and delicacy of the ideas escape in the crucible of translation, and the reader is surprised to find a *caput mortuum.*"

I shall not, however, imitate Shelley in adding a literal translation. Here, more than in almost any other poem, the words acquire a new and indescribable power from their rhythmical collocation. The vast, wonderful atmosphere of space which envelops the lines could not be retained in prose, however admirably literal. The movement of the original is as important as its meaning. Shelley's translation of the stanzas, however, is preferable to Hayward's, which contains five inaccuracies.

The magnificent word *Donnergang* — " thunder-march " (first stanza, fourth line)—had already occurred in a fine line of one of Schiller's earliest poems,—'Elysium':—

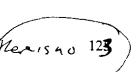"Berge bebten unterdessen Donnergang."

## References

Frenz, Horst. 1942. "Bayard Taylor and the Reception of Goethe in America". *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 41, 121-39

Kelly 1979: sv "Taylor"

*Literary History of the United States.* 1974. 4 ed. New York: Macmillan
    *History* 821-832; *Bibliography* 738-40

Prahl, A.J. 1949. "Bayard Taylor and Goethe". *Modern Language Quarterly* VII, 205-217

Wermuth, Paul C. 1973. *Bayard Taylor.* New York: Twayne

122

## Week 9 Late Romanticism and Post-Romanticism

Naturally technical translation did not benefit at all from the Romantic Revolution, and in manner it remains the same as it had been since the early seventeenth century. There is a lot done – the work of people like Michael Faraday, the Swedish chemist, Berzelius, and other scientific pioneers being widely translated. On the humanities side there is much translation of contemporary philosophers: *James Marsh* (1794-1842) President of the University of Vermont, translated Herder's *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* into English in 1833, and A.G. Henderson, lecturer in philosophy at the University of London translated *Victor Cousin's* lectures on Kant. Cousin himself (1792-1867) was a well known philosopher and translator of Plato and Aristotle.

The social upheavals of the end of the eighteenth century had some strange results. Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* was translated into Spanish for the financial guidance of the government. In France there were at least four translations at the beginning of the nineteenth century, each coinciding with a change of régime. Other authors like Malthus on population were also translated. As usual a good deal of this translation is anonymous, and done to meet specific scientific needs.

In literature the legacy of the Romantics was developed in ways only partially true to mainstream Romanticism. The crux of the matter was given public airing in the famous quarrel between *Matthew Arnold* (1822-88) and *F.W. Newman* (1805-97) over translating Homer. The principle at issue was the nature of authenticity. Newman believed that the archaic and antique in Homer should be presented to the English reader by conscious archaism, while Arnold insisted on presenting Homer as poetry that would conform to the contemporary experience of poetry. Both men had a wide following: on Newman's side perhaps the greatest were *John Conington* (1825-69), Professor of Latin at Oxford, and *Sir Richard Jebb* (1841-1905) of Cambridge. The acme of the antique style was *William Morris* (1834-96) (better known as a proponent of the Arts and Crafts movement), who turned out a very uneven version of the *Aeneid* in a very archaising English. Arnold's stream of belief culminated in *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1828-82) who is most famous for his work on Dante and his circle. His cardinal principle was that "a good poem should not be turned into a bad". The majority of late nineteenth-century English versions fell somewhere in between. Translation was definitely the recreation of the educated: translators range from academics or near academics like *C.S. Calverley* (1831-84) to gentlemen like *W.E. Gladstone* (1809-98), the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Particularly in America there was a fair amount of translation from other literatures. The poet *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (1807-82), Professor of Modern Languages at Harvard, worked

mainly from Romance languages. In Canada there was interest in the literature of the other language: *Sir Charles G.D. Roberts* (1860-1943) and *Rosanna Leprohon* (1829-79) translated French Canadian works and *Louis Fréchette* (1839-1908) worked in both directions. Already there was developing the problem of interpreting two cultural groups to each other, and the French group, as the minority was trying to work out whether to absorb material from the dominant culture or stand aloof. Literary work however was not isolated from international movements: the Parnassian movement had its effect on the circle round Fréchette and *Léon-Pamphile Lemay* (1837-1918).

In other areas, particularly France, translation showed much influence of contemporary literary movements. In France *Charles Baudelaire* (1821-67 ) changed Poe from a very good second-rate American writer into a first-class French one, and *Leconte de Lisle* (1818-94) went back to the Classics. In Germany the development of literary translation followed much the same lines as in England, with the conflict between the antiquarian and the authentic in the Romantic sensibility developing two complementary streams of translation. Much important translartion was also done by historians like *Hippolyte Taine* (1828-93).

There is also some translation of musical texts, particularly of relatively "light" music. Thus the Gilbert and Sullivan Operas were presented in German in Germany, and French and Viennese operetta (e.g. Strauss and Offenbach) were often presented in London in English. There also is some translation of French and Italian Opera into other European languages, though nowhere near the twentieth-century scale. German *lieder* and the French art song were also translated, often very badly, for the drawing-room soprano and tenor.

The issue of updating the Bible did not go away. Because of the reverence accorded the King James Version (Authorised Version) the question was far more acute in English than in other languages, which did not mean that the issue was not hard-fought – hallowed inertia is very difficult to overcome. The first moves came from the Catholics: in 1836 a historian, *Dr John Lingard* (1771-1851) published a Bible with the New Testament translated from the Greek, even though the Vulgate was the official ancient text. On the Protestant side the lexicographer, Noah Webster, printed a modernised King James Bible in 1833. In England the pressure began to mount from the 1850s for a revision of the King James Bible, if not a completely new translation. The reason was only partially the archaic English in the text: since Erasmus had established the *textus receptus* from which the old Bible had been taken, Biblical scholarship had advanced considerably, new manuscripts had been found and analysed, and much more was known about the theology of the text. Besides on the Protestant side of the religious divide there was considerable awareness of the need to have a doctrinally "neutral" Bible.

In 1870 the Convocation of the Anglican Province of Canterbury set out to revise the Authorised Version, using the same sort of committee organisation that had done the English

Bible in 1604-1611. Other Protestant churches joined in. Part of the task was ensuring that the Greek text of the New Testament reflected the latest in Biblical scholarship. In 1881 the English New Testament was published, and in 1885 the whole Bible (the "Revised Version"). The revised Greek text on which this version was based was first published about the turn of the century. In the meantime the American Bible Union had got under way in 1864, and had sent observers to keep an eye on what the English were doing. The American Standard Version was published in 1901.

Overseas the situation was more fluid than in England or Germany, which had to come to terms with replacing hallowed Biblical texts, or in Spain, which was still a little nervous of Bible translation. In any case the British and Foreign Bible Society was happily supplying Protestant versions of the Bible in European languages – for example, a revision of *Valera's* 1625 Spanish version, reprinted many times between 1806 and 1817, and a Catalan New Testament by J. M. Prat (1832). In France the *Abbé Antoine Eugène de Genoude* (1792-1849), a friend of Hugo's, adapted the Lemaistre de Saci Bible to both the nineteenth century and Catholic orthodoxy. At the end of the century *l'Abbé Augustin Crampon* (1826-94) produced what was to become the standard French Catholic Bible of the early twentieth century (1894-1904). For French Protestants the most important Bible became that of *Louis Ségond* (1810-85) whose Old Testament came out in 1874 and the New in 1880.

The Jews were once again facing the problem their ancestors had met in Alexandria by translating the Septuagint: a religiously vital social group which could read but not understand the sacred books. In America this was met by *Rabbi Isaac Leeser* (1806-68), whose English version of the Old Testament in the Massoretic Text came out in 1853. To put the situation on a more official basic the Jewish Publication Society was founded in 1892, and produced an official Jewish version in English in 1901.

During the nineteenth century the Catholic Church was finally coming to terms with bilingual Latin-vernacular missals for the laity after a couple of centuries of ambivalence. But where the most important action was in the Oxford Movement, that movement in the Anglican Church to prove its essential Catholicism by returning as much as possible to early Christian practices. One need was to reinstitute congregational singing, a practice the non-conformist Churches had used with considerable success. Peculiarly enough the spirit behind this religious work owed much to the *Philologische Arbeit* of the Romantic Movement and its search for authenticity. The search for ancient Christian hymns began with the Roman Breviary, but it had certain Renaissance accretions, including Humanist rewriting of certain hymns at the order of Pope Urban VIII. Attention then passed to the Paris Breviary. But it had a very large number of post-Reformation hymns which had nothing to do with the early Church anyway: this was soon abandoned for pre-Reformation rites like the Sarum (from Salisbury) and the York. The "Wardour Street style"

that was rising among the Classicists provided a style that gave the illusion of remoteness in time. There are good examples of it in the *Agamemnon* by *Robert Bowning* and William Morris's work. The leading translator here was *John Mason Neale* (1818-66), whose hymn versions took into account the melodies traditional in the medieval service books. One important result of this work was *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861), edited by *Rev. Sir H.W. Baker* (1821-77). This looked to other churches as well, particularly the Lutheran. Indeed one of the most important contributors to this famous hymnbook apart from Neale was *Catherine Winkworth* (1827-78), an early feminist whose speciality was translation from German. Oddly enough, there was very little action on this front from the Catholics, and after Vatican II many of the versions of ancient hymns in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* were adopted in official hymnbooks.

## *Pichot, Amedée (1795-1877)*

Editor and Writer

1817 MD (Montpelier); goes into medical practice in Toulon

1818 Moves to Paris

1819 Begins writing; collaborates in a French translation of Byron

1822 Trip to England and Scotland

1824 Finally settles in Paris

1824-77 Associated with literary periodicals, especially those with an interest in England; often acted as Editor in Chief.

## Translations

*Lalla Roukh ou la Princesse Mogole, Histoire orientale par Thomas Moore* traduite de l'anglais par le traducteur des œuvres de Lord Byron, Ponthieu, 1820, 2 vol.

*Œuvres complètes de Shakespeare,* traduites de l'anglais par Letourneur— Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée par F. Guizot et A.P. traducteur de Lord Byron, Ladvocat, 1821, 13 vol.

*Pierre Schlémihl,* Ladvocat, 1821.

*Chefs-d'œuvres des Théâtres étrangers: chefs-d'œuvre du Théâtre anglais,* Ladvocat, 1822–23, 5 vol.

*Histoire de l'Angleterre* par J. Lingard, traduite de l'anglais par M. de Roujoux (pour les 12 premiers vol.) et M. A. Pichot (pour les 2 derniers) Mlle Carié de la Charie et Fantin, 1825–1831.

*Tom Jones ou l'enfant trouvé,* Dauthereau, 1828, 7 vol.

*Les derniers jours de Pompéi,* 1834.

*Les Beautés de Lord Byron, Galerie de 15 tableaux tirés de ses œuvres* accompagnée d'un texte traduit par Amédée Pichot, Aubert; Giraldon, 1839.

*Les Contes de Noël* par Charles Dickens, traduits par Amédée Pichot, Amyot, 1847–1853, 3 vol.; Lévy, 1858, 1862, 1866, 1 vol.

*L'Homme au spectre ou le Pacte* par Charles Dickens, traduit de l'anglais par Amédée Pichot, Amyot, 1849.

*Le Neveu de ma Tante, histoire personnelle de David Copperfield,* par Charles Dickens précédée d'une notice biographique et littéraire par Amédée Pichot, Revue Britannique, 1851, 1853; Lévy, 1859, 1861, 1871.

*La Famille Caxton par Sir Ed. Bulwer Lytton,* traduit par Amédée Pichot, Perrotin, 1853.

*Les Mormons* par M. Amédée Pichot, Hachette, 1854.

*Le Diamant de Famille* par Thackeray, Hachette, 1855.

*Scènes du bord et de la terre* par le Cap. Basil Hall, traduites par Amédée Pichot, Hachette, 1858.

*Œuvres diverses de Lord Macaulay,* 1re série traduites par Amédée Pichot, Hachette, 1860.

*Histoire du règne de Guillaume III,* par Lord Macaulay, traduite de l'anglais par Amédée Pichot, Perrotin, 1861, 4 vol.

*La Femme du Condamné—scènes de la vie australienne,* traduites par Amédée Pichot, Lévy, 1862.

*Un drame en Hongrie* par Pulski, traduit par Amédée Pichot, Lévy, 1862.

*Histoire de la conquête du Mexique,* par William H. Prescott, traduite par Amédée Pichot, Firmin Didot, 1863.

*Morgiana* par Thackeray, Hachette, 1864.

*Le Nid de l'aigle* par l'auteur de *l'Héritier de Redcliffe,* traduit par Amédée Pichot, Grassart, 1867.

*Historiettes et Récits du Foyer* par Charles Dickens, traduction d'Amédée Pichot, Lévy, 1868.

*Caleb Williams* par W. Godwin, traduit par **Amédée Pichot**, Lévy, 1868, 3 vol.

*John Halifax, Gentleman,* traduit de l'anglais par Amédée Pichot, Grassart, 1870, 2 vol.

*Maîtresse et Servante* par l'auteur de John Halifax, traduit de l'anglais par Amédée Pichot, Grassart, 1872.

*Scènes de la vie californienne* par Bret Harte, traduites par Amédée Pichot, Reinwald, 1873.

*Contes pour le jour des rois* par Charles Dickens, traduits par M. Amédée Pichot, Lévy, 1874.

*Napoléon à l'île d'Elbe, d'après le journal du Col. Sir Neil Campbell,* traduit par Amédée Pichot, Dentu, 1875.

*Qu'en fera-t-il?* par Bulwer Lytton, traduit par Amédée Pichot, Hachette, 1875.

*Scènes de la vie maritime* par le cap. Basil Hall, traduites de l'anglais par Amédée Pichot, Hachette, 1877.

## Cultural Background

In the development of French Romanticism English influence was just as important as German – Byron and Sir Walter Scott were key figures, and as in Germany MacPherson's *Ossian* set the pattern for Romantic antiquarianism. In the face of it Pichot was an odd character to play ambassador for England in the France of his time: a Southerner who had had very little contact with foreign parts as a youngster, and a member of a hard-headed business family. However Bisson 1943 makes the point that Pichot had a clear eye for Nature, and enjoyed country walks. The image painted is rather Wordsworthian; and there are some reminiscences of the much darker upbringing of Chateaubriand. The family also fostered a strong sense of history and the past, an essential part of Romantic sensibility and a key element in later nineteenth-century developments.

Pichot travelled widely in Britain and had met or written to most of the poets and novelists he translated. As a literary editor in Paris he was in contact with most of the French writers and critics who were worth anything like the great Charles Nodier, but he does not seem to have belonged to any of the various literary *cénacles* that were such a feature of the French Romantic scene.

## Why did Pichot Translate?

After the first introduction of English literature into France in the eighteenth century, English cultural influence increased quite markedly, and by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, English literature was read quite widely in France, and with more understanding than in the eighteenth century. Pichot became an enthusiast early in his adult life.

The best introduction to his work is the *Voyage en Angleterre et en Ecosse* (1835) in which he discusses everything from the beauties of English literature to the dress of the English ladies, with several acute comments relevant to his translations. He is Romantic in that he saw a literature as a guide to the characteristics of the people to which the writers belonged: his ideas on this point could be taken straight out of Herder. Translation, therefore, was a way of helping the reader who was helpless before a foreign language.

## How did Pichot Translate?

Like most French translators he tries to come to grips with the differences in literary taste between English and French. The shape of English poetry he puts down to *le mélange d'une pompe orientale (naturelle chez un peuple qui lit constamment la Bible littéralement traduite) avec une familiarité bourgeoise*, which is a fairly telling comment; and he is equally clear-sighted on the characteristics of French taste. Like a true Romantic Pichot saw translation as criticism, that is as presenting what was hidden under the surface: the footnote to the extract below from his version of Byron's *English Bards and Scottish Reviewers* is a fairly normal example of such a

role.

Pichot is often criticised for an almost mindless literality, which he defended by pointing to the requirement of neutrality in a good translator. Besides, Romantic critics from Goethe to Chateaubriand furnished arguments for this sort of approach to translation. Beyond this he has very little to say about his translation technique. His use of prose for poetry reflects the eighteenth-century quarrel about authenticity:

> Traduire en prose n'est le plus souvent qu'un travail mécanique, une mutation de mots plus ou moins facile, selon l'idée qu'un peuple attache à une expression qui n'a pas toujours son synonyme dans un autre idiome.

Byron for one had strong objections to the way in which Pichot handled him; and even his repeated statements that he sought Byron's *énergie* were not enough to make Byron happy. But there is no doubt that Pichot's work had an important effect on French Romanticism: indeed much of what Pichot says about England is picked up in later critical work, in particular Hugo's writings on Shakespeare.

Apart from Byron Pichot's public relations with his authors were excellent. For example the British Library copy of his version of *David Copperfield* comes from Dicken's own library, and was doubtless a presentation copy. His note at the end of his 1857 Macaulay shows the beginnings of copyright conventions as the affect authors and translators:

> J'ai exprimé plusieurs fois ailleurs toute mon admiration pour M. Macaulay. Ses éditeurs et ses traducteurs doivent au moins le remercier ici du désintéressement avec lequel il a refusé de se prévaloir des nouveaux traités internationaux qui lui donnaient le droit, non seulement de choisir ses interprètes, mais encore d'en exiger une rétribution. Cette rétribution a été offerte et délicatement refusée.

## LES POETES ANGLAIS ET LES CRITIQUES ECOSSAIS

Resterai-je toujours auditeur bénévole?[1]... Fitz-Gérald[2] braillera d'une voix enrouée ses aigre distiques dans une taverne, et je n'oserai rimer, de peur que les Revues de l'Ecosse ne me traitent d'écrivassier et ne dénoncent ma muse! Non, non, préparons-nous à écrire; bon ou mauvais auteur, je veux faire gémir la presse; les sots sont ceux que je célèbre: c'est la muse de la satire que j'invoque aujourd'hui.

Noble présent de la nature, ô ma plume fidèle! esclave de mes pensées, obéissant toujours à mes inspirations, arrachée à l'aile d'un oiseau pour être une arme puissante, même dans les mains d'un homme faible: plume secourable, destinée à aider un écrivain impatient de mettre au jour vers ou prose, c'est vain que les belles nous trahissent, que les critiques nous mordent, tu es la consolation des amants et l'orgueil des auteurs! Que de beaux esprits, que de poètes te doivent leur réputation! Combien tu es utile, et qu'il est rare qu'on se montre reconnaissant envers toi, condamné le plus souvent à être oubliée avec les pages que

tu as écrites! Mais toi du moins, plume qui vas me servir, laissée naguère et reprise aujourd'hui, je te promets que, notre tâche une fois terminée, tu jouiras du repos que tu mérites comme la plume du Cid Hamet.[3]D'autres te mépriseront, il est vrai, mais tu me seras toujours chère. Prenons notre essor: ce n'est point un sujet commun, une vision orientale, un rêve décousu qui m'inspire. C'est une route simple et unie que je veux suivre, quoiqu'elle soit hérissé de ronces. Que mes vers soient faciles et coulants.

---

1. Semper ego auditor tantum? numquam reponam

   Vexatus toties rauci, Theseide, Codri? Juvénal, Satire 1

2. M. Fitzgérald a été malicieusement surnommé *le poète de la petite bière*. Il fournit son tribut annuel à *La Société littéraire*; et non content d'écrire, il déclama ses ouvrages lui-même après que l'assemblée s'est au préalable arrosé l'estomac d'une suffisante quantité de mauvais *porter*, pour avoir le courage de l'écouter.

3. Cid Hamet promet le repos à sa plume dans le dernier chapitre de *Don Quichotte*: qu'il sera temps que messieurs nos faiseurs de livres imitassent Cid Hamet Benengeli!

---

Still must I hear? – shall hoarse Fitzgerald bawl
His creaking couplets in a tavern hall,
And I not sing, lest, haply, Scotch Reviews
Should dub me scribbler, and denounce my Muse?
Prepare for rhyme – I'll publish, right or wrong:
Fools are my theme, let Satire be my song.

Oh! Nature's noblest gift – my grey goose-quill!
Slave of my thoughts, obedient to my will,
That mighty instrument of little men!
The pen! foredoom'd to aid the mental throes
Of brains that labour, big with Verse or Prose,
Though Nymphs foresake, and Critics may deride
The Lover's solace, and the Author's Pride.
What Wits! what Poets, dost thou daily raise!

How Frequent is thy use, how small thy praise!

Condemned at length to be forgotten quite,

With all the pages which 'twas thine to write.

But thou, at least, mine own especial pen!

Once laid aside, but now assumed again,

Our task complete, like Hamet's shall be free;

Tho' spurned by others, yet beloved by me:


Then lest us soar today, no common theme,

No Eastern Vision, no distempered dream

Inspires – our path, though full of thorns, is plain;

Smooth be the verse, and easy the strain.


## References

Bisson, L.A. 1943. *Amédée Pichot, A Romantic Prometheus*. Oxford: Blackwell

Estève, E. 1907. *Byron et le romantisme français*. Paris: Hachette

Leigh,R.A. 1939. "Amédée Pichot et son voyage." *Revue de littérature comparée* 19, 213-34

Partridge. E. 1924. *The French Romantic's Knowledge of English Literature*. Paris: Champion

Smith, M.A. 1920. *L'influence des lakistes sur les romantiques français*. Paris: Jouve

## *Calverley, Charles Stuart (1831-84)*

Lawyer, Man of Letters

    1848 Admitted to Balliol College, Oxford

    1851 Chancellor's Prize for Latin; sent down from Oxford without a degree

    1852 Admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge

    1858 Elected Fellow of Christ's, Cambridge

    1865 Called to the Bar

    1867 Retired following an accident


## Translations

    Passages from Homer, Vergil, and the Greek dramatists

    Complete poems by Horace, Catullus, Heine and Theocritus

    A large number of English lyrics into Latin and Greek

## Translation Theory

"On Metrical Translation"

"The *Aeneid* of Virgil"

"Horae Tennysonianae"

> All published during the 1860s in *The London Student*, republished as appendices to Calverley's complete works.

## Cultural Background

Though Calverley shows the influence of Romanticism, it would be a mistake to term him a "Romantic" in the sense that Keats and Shelley were. There were many like him from the early nineteenth-century English Public School: expert in Latin and Greek, interested in contemporary English and foreign literature. an eager sportsman, a person with a donnish sense of humour, and financially comfortable. He became typical of the English university classicist of the nineteenth century – a person with a very acute sense of language in both English and the Classical languages, a wit, a minor literary talent, and somebody with highly developed literary tastes.

## How did Calverley Translate?

Calverley's biographer notes with a raised eyebrow that Calverley was an excellent parodist, and implies that this talent did not go well with the respected scholarship of a classicist. And certainly his parodies of respected Victorian poets, including *Robert Browning*, are very much to the point. But it is this gift of parody that makes him a good translator: he has an ear for language worthy of Dickens, W.S. Gilbert or Kipling.

His thinking on translation begins from a dichotomy between the translator's "duty towards his original, and his duty towards his readers". He cites Dryden and Pope as extreme examples of translators ruled by their duties to their readers, and John Milton, as exemplified by his version of Horace Odes I.v as an extreme example of duty towards text. He takes his own period as balanced between those extremes, but with a leaning towards ones duty to the original. Whether deliberately or not, Calverley reformulates Goethe's *Interlinearversion*. He assigns to the translator's task three aspects: "sense-rendering", "word-rendering" and if possible, "form-rendering".

This can have rather startling results in which formal and dynamic equivalence attain a pictorial, even colloquial quality, as in this reading of the opening line of Vergil's Eclogue 9:

> Moeris, on foot? and on the road to town?

> Quo te, Moeri, pedes? an, quo via ducit? In urbem?

This is clearly an *Interlinearversion* in Goethe's sense, and also an example of Schleiermacher's *Nachbildung*. It is the first because the lexemes of the English fall very close to the Latin order

and sacrifice the source-language grammar; it is the second because it gives a very close reading of the poem's sense of crisis with a question shape one would naturally use. The literal translation is, "Where, Moeris, are your feet, or rather the road, taking you? Into the city?". He uses similar tactics when going into Latin: take this line from *Glumalditch's Lament* (Pope):

> Mens levis est juvenum. Quid te commisimus illi?

> Why did I trust you with that giddy youth?

In Latin Pope's line is reshaped into a proverb (The disposition of young men is frivolous), and then into a question (Why did I entrust you to him?). Not an interlinear version, but one which does do full justic to the original.

Calverley was writing at a time when there was considerable controversy over the acclimatisation of Classical metres in English. The first step in his argument against such acclimatisation is to distinguish between "metre" and "rhythm": rhythm is inherent in any use of language, while metre "is a sort of framework whose office is to support the verse". He claims that importation of Classical metres into English is impossible because of the difference in nature between Classical and English metrics: English metres depends on accent, while Latin and Greek classical metres were organised according to syllable-length. Moreover classical languages set up a counterpoint between syllable-length and accent patterns that makes for the punch of the verse. Further, Classical languages, particularly Greek, are strongly vocalic languages, while English has far more consonants and consonant clusters. Quite apart from the metre, the rhythms can not be reproduced. He takes a special tilt at Tennyson, who prided himself on his imitations of Classical metres. This is what he makes of the passage in Homer, *Iliad* II we have already quoted from Chapman:

> So all else – gods, and charioted chiefs–
> Slept the night through. But sweet sleep bound not Zeus;
> Pondering what way Achilles to exalt,
> And by the Achaian ships make may fall.

> This to his soul the fairest counsel seemed;
> To send to Atreus' son an evil Dream:
> And to the Dream he spake with wingèd words.

> 'Go evil Dream, to yon Greek war-ships; seek
> The tent of Agamemnon, Atreus's son;
> And tell him, truly, all I tell to thee.
> Say, 'Arm right speedily thy unshorn Greeks;
> This hour is Ilion and her broad streets thine.

For lo! no longer are the immortals – they

Whose home is heaven – divided. Here's prayer

Hath bent them all; and woes are nigh to Troy.' "

## References

Huxley, H.H. 1949. "C.S. Calverley's 'Carmen Saeculare' and F.W. Farrar's 'Eric' ". *Notes & Queries* 19, 265-66

Ince, R.B. 1929 *Calverley and some Cambridge Wits of the Nineteenth Century*. London: Cayme Press

Kelly 1979: sv "Calverley"

Kunitz, S.J. (ed.) *British Authors of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Wilson. sv. "Calverley"

*Oxford Book of Verse in English Translation*: 400-402

Preston, A.W. 1947. "Calverley of Cambridge". *Queen's Quarterly* 54: 47-60

Sendall, W.I. (ed.) 1901. *The Complete Works of C.S. Calverley*. London: Bell

## Lemay, Léon-Pamphile (1837-1918)

Translator, Writer, Parliamentary Librarian at Québec, Founding Member of the Royal Society of Canada

     1860 Leader of "the Quebec Movement"

     1865 Called to the Bar; Published first book of poems (*Essais poétiques*)

     1873 Published *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de la législature de Québec*

## Translations

     1865 (rev. 1870, 1912) *Evangéline* (Longfellow)

     1884 *Le chien d'or* (William Kirby)

## How did Lemay Translate?

As far as literary work was concerned Lemay believed in free translation to the point of adaptation: it was essentially a creative process. His version of *The Golden Dog* took generous account of the peculiarities of his readership, adapting in to the social realities and taste of French Canada.

## References

*Canadian Biography* sv. "Lemay"

*Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires de Québec* 1978

Hayne, David M. 1983. "Literary Trasnslation in Nineteenth-century Canada". *Translating Canadian Literature* ed. Camille La Bossière. Ottawa: Universty of Ottawa Press. 35-46

Newman, M. & Stratford, P. 1975. *Bibliography of Canadian Books in Translation.* Ottawa:HRCC

Toye, W. (ed.) 1983. *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature.* Toronto: OUP, sv. "Lemay"

*Simon Schang*

EUROPEAN EXPANSION

Week 10 Missionaries, Colonisers and Other Causes of Bilingualism

During the eighteenth century European expansion into the New World revived ancient problemsentailled in translating between sophisticated and unsophisticated languages. We know little of how the Greeks had come to terms with translating into an unsophisticated language like Old Latin during the third century BC, and likewise there is absolutely nothing said about how the Romans dealt with the Celtic languages within the Empire and others outside it. Later, Christian missionaries like St Boniface (ob. 755), who translated part of the Bible into the Old German of his day, Sts Cyril and Methodius who evangelised the Slavic peoples, faced the problems of creating literacy before even being able to translate the Bible into the formal registers of languages until then unwritten. It does seem that translation came first even if, as in the case of Latin, rhetorical and grammatical analysis came later. There are reports of translations of the Bible into Eastern languages in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mainly from Catholics like St Francis Xavier (1506-52). There are extensive records of Protestant liturgical translation into the languages of the mission-fields: the Tamil translation of the Lutheran liturgy published in Ceylon in 1781 is far from unusual. Indeed Anglican translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* into the languages of the Indian sub-continent helped lay the foundations for the development of Eastern forms of Christianity. They left no records of how they analysed the languages concerned, or if they did at all.

One peculiar story is the translation of the Koran into European languages. There is a "curiosity-oriented" translation into Latin dating from the twelfth century ascribed to *Robertus Ketenensis* and *Hermannus Dalmata*. This was republished in 1543 by *Theodore Bibliander* (1504-64). There are also a few sixteenth-century Latin versions of it for the information of Christian missionaries. Because the Muslims have the same attitude to the Word of God as the Jews, translation of the Koran for religious purposes has not been possible. It was a popular book among European translators during the nineteenth century, versions being made into all the important European languages. There are a number of modern translations into European languages which have been tolerated by the authorities, but not specifically authorised such as, Arberry, A.J. *The Koran Interpreted* (1955); Bell, R. *The Qur'ân* (1938-9); Blachère, R. *Le Coran* (1947-51). The most interesting of them, Marmaduke Pickthell's *The Explanation of the Glorious Qur'ân* (1938), defends its extreme literality by reference to "the needs of English Muslims", while denying that his version is meant to replace the Arabic in any way at all.

Until now, it was trade not colonisation, that usually followed the missionary. A new pattern developed in the Americas, where in the English, French, Spanish and Portuguese dominions

missionary and coloniser often came together, and at times cooperated with each other. The Age of Reason also brought a new approach to translation: "reason" indicated that one should analyse the grammar of a language before translating into it. The technique of the New England and Jesuit missionaries with Amerindian languages was typical: translation of the Bible and Christian worship, for example by *Thomas Mayhew* (ob. 1657) and *John Eliot* (ob. 1690) was preceded and prepared by the production of grammars and lexicons. The creation of literacy was one of the aims as well. There is very little record at this time of translation from the vernaculars to European languages. What did go on was mainly oral.

Missionary translation was first given direction by the formation of the *Congregatio pro Propaganda Fide* in Rome in 1662. On the Protestant side the Moravian Brotherhood (founded 1722), the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (1698) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701) took a vital part in Bible translation into non-Indo-European languages. Perhaps the most important development was the foundation of the interdenominational British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804, which had as its sole aim the production and distribution of vernacular scriptures all over the world, including ironically England and Wales. Indeed it was the lack of a Bible in modern Welsh that had sparked the idea. Parallel Bible societies were founded in Scotland and the United States. The Catholic Church remained aloof from these movements, producing their own bibles so that in many parts of the world Catholic and Protestant Bibles were in competition.

During the nineteenth century most of the vernacular scriptures published by these bodies were translated in the field, often with the help of native-speakers. In England there was an extremely important link between the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society of the Anglican Church. Thus the Maori Bible by *Bishop Henry Williams* (1792-67) was produced in 1827 (and actually printed in New Zealand), while his Dictionary came out in 1844, and his Maori grammar in 1845. A Catholic version of the Bible and the Missal followed a little later. All over the world teaching the skills of literacy ran parallel with evangelisation, which produced some strange results, like the development of Catholic and Protestant writing systems for Haitian creole during the early twentieth century. In United States in particular, linguists began to take a large hand in Bible translation in the mid-twentieth century. After the Second World War American Bible Societies merged into the United Bible Societies with its own periodical, *The Bible Translator*. On the evangelical side of things this work is grouped around the Summer Institute of Linguistics, also known as the "Wycliffe Bible Translators", one of its leaders being Eugene Nida, whose work on the theory of translation has been directed specifically at the Bible, and at the problems of making versions acceptable to peoples of wide cultural differences. It must be said that the linguistics of the period, with its strong anthropological bias, suited this work.

Of its nature translation involving these languages was largely one-way, that is into the vernaculars. Permanent occupation of the territories created the need for translation the other way. the training of the locals as interpreters was the first step: Jacques Cartier's use of his two Iroquois, Dom Agaya and Taignoagny, in 1534 is a relatively extreme example of what was to happen in European colonies. Normally such interpreters learnt the European language in question and did not travel: later some colonists learnt the native languages. Colonial governments soon benefited from a loosely organised translation profession, some of the European invaders even living with the people whose language they interpreted for the authorities. In most places a system of professional certification slowly developed. Details of the Canadian situation during the seventeenth century are given in Delisle 1987. What is notable is the role the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company took in developing the interpretation profession.

However, given its long written tradition, the situation in India was different, and had considerable impact elsewhere. *Sir William Jones* (1746-94), though most famous for demonstrating that Sanskrit was an Indo-European language, was an assiduous translator from Eastern languages, specialising in law, as befits a High-Court judge. Other translators in British India included *John Herbert Harington* (1764-1828). Eastern languages were taken up in France by *Emile-Louis Burnouf* (1821-1907), and in Germany by the Romantics, in particular *Wilhelm von Humboldt*. Translation from Eastern literature intensified in the mid-century, the most famous of these productions being *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (1859) from the Persian by *Edward Fitzgerald* (1809-83).

The Romantic ideology which saw language as the embodiment of the people who spoke it affected the most enlightened of the colonisers and traders. There was considerable translation and commentary on the Hindu Scriptures, for instance. For some colonisers faced with colonial wars such translation was an essential tool in getting to know the cultural factors behind the problems. Thus in New Zealand during the 1840s the Governor, Sir George Grey, set about collecting Maori legends and having them translated them into English as essential to communicating with the Maoris and getting an understanding of the cultural points at issue. The British Colonial Office had a number of informal language training programs based on fieldwork. The logical result of this sort of policy was the founding of the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1916 within the University of London. One of its tasks was to analyse the languages and traditions of the peoples of British Empire.

Where wars and other changes of ownership foisted new colonisers on the original colonisers, the situation became complicated. North America is a case in point. Tensions between French and English, and English and Spanish antedate English expansion in North America. The fall of Port-Royal in 1710 occasioned a fair amount of translation. It would seem that at the capitulation itself bilingual officers worked as volunteer translators – there is ample evidence that a large number of

British officers in the North-American theatre of operations spoke French well enough to interpret. The military government (1710-20) and the civil administration following (1720-55) gave an official role to translation in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the dominant figure being *Paul Mascarène* (1685-1760). Translation from and to Indian languages seems to remain a French prerogative.

Apart from this there is very little record of anything beyond ad-hoc translation before the British takeover of Canada in 1759, the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, and American expansion into the Spanish territories that now make up parts of Florida, Texas and California. But once there were new populations to be administered a translation profession was gradually formalised. The English authorities in Canada reacted to their new responsibilities under the Treaty of Paris (1763) by exploiting an unofficial translation network which included newspapers (like *The Gazette*) and bilingual officials. The need for an officially organised translation profession was made clear in 1774 when the French *Droit civil* was reestablished in Québec. Delisle 1987 gives a complete chronology of the frequent legislation setting up translation between French and English in nineteenth-century Canada, and of the gradual evolution of professional translation organisations. Though there is relatively frequent legislation on translation of official documents (1793, 1841, 1873, 1867, 1884) recruitment of translators remained pretty haphazard. There was definitely a cadre of translators attached to the legistative bodies in Canada and later in the Province of Québec, although on a number of occasions translation was contracted out (for example in 1875). In 1884 the House of Commons set up a translation service under the direction of *Achille Fréchette* (DATES).

The Press played a very important role. In was to them that the various Canadian governments (and also the governement of Louisiana) turned when they needed translators. Not all the newspapers or publishers concerned were north of the Border. There was considerable market for English translations of Canadian-French material in the *New York Citizen*, the *New York World* and by D. Appleton and Company. There are some parallels to this situation in other British territories like India, with newspapers in Bombay and Calcutta in particular playing a rather important part.

The Mediterranean basin has been a hotbed of translation since the earliest times; and under the Ottoman Empire the Levantine multilingual with a good eye to money became a legend. Little of this translation skill was formally taught as multilingualism was a normal condition of life. Translation was an administrative necessity in the multilingual empires of the nineteenth century. Both the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Russian depended on translation for their cohesion, and the ability to translate was take for granted in large sector of society. In Austria-Hungary the dominant language was German, and at least part of the social unrest that led up to the First World War came from language minorities. In Russia the standard language was Russian, and

again there is evidence of wide-spread translation. In the aftermath of twentieth-century decolonialisation countries began setting up translation programmes to deal with the adminstrative problems posed by bilingual populations. The pattern varies immensely. The Federal Bureau of Translations dates from 1938, and is administered by the Secretary of State. The story of official translation in Quebec is complicated by the sense that the minority had to defend itself against the majority. Partially as a result of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963-69), the provinces set up translation Bureaus during the 1970 and 1980s. In India there is a special Department of Official Languages under the Ministry of Home Affairs, a set-up not unlike the Canadian; in New Zealand organised translation was at first under the Department of Maori Affairs, then became an independent organisation as trade forced interest to spread to European and Far Eastern languages; in South Africa the State Languages Service is a division of the Department of National Education, and deals almost exclusively with English, Afrikaans and other European langages. Other nations had followed the Canadian pattern of forming independent translation bureaus within the Civil Service.

### Section Bibliography

*Cambridge History of the Bible* III. 383-407

Cannon, Garland. 1987. "Sir William Jones and Applied Linguistics" *Papers in the History of Linguistics*. ed. H. Aarsleff, L.G. Kelly, H.J. Niederehe. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 379-89

Delisle, Jean. 1975. *Les interprètes sous le régime français (1534-1760)*. Thèse. Université de Montréal.

——. 1987. *La traduction au Canada 1534-1984*. Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa

Gouin, Jacques. 1977. "La traduction au Canada de 1791-1867". *Meta* 22, 26-32

Guice, Stephen A. 1987. "Early New England Missionary Linguistics". *Papers in the History of Linguistics*. ed. H. Aarsleff, L.G. Kelly, H.J. Niederehe. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 223-232

N.B. *Meta* 22.1 is entirely devoted to the history of translation in Canada. For information on other countries, entries in the Yearbooks under "Languages" gives some information.

## G. TWENTIETH CENTURY

The demands placed on translation during the twentieth century brought diversification: not only did the traditional activities of translation change, but there were new kinds of work. After the development of talking films, the development of dubbing was only a matter of time. Commercial translations, from product specifications to advertising became important, and the various wars this century has suffered, both Cold and Hot, have increased demands on intelligence work. One obvious result is the creation of specialities like terminologist and documentalist and of specialist types of interpretation – simultaneous interpretation, for instance, is only possible with audio equipment linking the interpreter's booth to speaker and hearer.

Until the first World War practically every translator became so by accident, or because his profession, as writer, administrator, scientist, churchman, required it of him. Though *le traducteur malgré lui* is still not unusual, the twentieth century has seen the rise of the translating profession. One of the reasons for this is the sheer volume of translation work modern life occasions. The final demise of Latin as an international scientific langage, the rise of multilingual states and empires, improved international communication and trade, wars, social unrest among linguistic minorities, all have created the need for organised translation. The trigger seems to have been the founding of the League of Nations in 1918 which relied on translators for its efficiency. Demand for translators clearly outran supply. There does not seem to be much record of translators organising themselves into commercial firms or professional organisations before the twentieth century. There is a fairly complete list of twentieth-century organisations in Picken 1983. International organisations (e.g. FIT) do not seem to antedate the Second World War. Their concerns, and those of the national associations, hve been to draw up standards of professional conduct, conditions of work, and also to set about educating the client as to what translators can do and should be asked to do. One important role has risen from the assumption that the professional institutes have a duty to certificate their members and their qualifications to do so be recognised in law.

Specialised translator training is also a twentieth-century phenomenon. Until the 1940s the language-teaching method in vogue in the schools (the "Grammar-translation Method" meant that one picked up translation techniques along the way. Translation training comes first in in-house operations: indeed one of the finest translation schools in the world is still run by the electronics firm, Philips, in Holland. Professional training courses were founded spasmodically during the first half of the century. In Canada, for instance, the first professional courses were instituted at the University of Ottawa in 1936; and in 1944 the *Institut de Traduction* was founded at the Université de Montréal (for the whole sequence of this development in Canada see Delisle 1987). At the same time a large number of translation schools were founded in Europe and the United

States. A list of these is given in Picken 1983. The North American pattern was to give qualifications of degree status – the European situation varies - some give degrees, some give professional diplomas.

Teaching demands theory. It is convenient if slightly misleading to class approaches to the task as "literary" or "linguistic": few theories are one or the other. To my mind the most comprehensive theory of translation before the twentieth century was George Campbell's, which covered both literary and linguistic aspects. The nineteenth century, though overflowing with artistic theories of translation, was notably light on ideas that could shed light on how to teach it. And few modern theories come up to the breadth and wisdom of Campbell's. Among direct applications of individual linguistic theories to translation are J.C. Catford's *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (1965) and Eugene Nida's *Toward a Science of Translating* (1964). Whether intentionally or not, Charles Bally and his followers look back to Batteux with a discourse-based theory of translation operations. Admittedly it does pick up some of the contrastive work of Georg von der Gabelentz (late nineteenth century), but in the form developed in Montréal by Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (*Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais*, 1958) it bears very clearly the marks of the French classical tradition. It has been applied to other languages: the pioneering work of Albert Malblanc (1944/1968) has been followed by applications to German and English translation by R. W. Jumpelt (*Die Uebersetzung Naturwissenschaftlicher und Technischer Literatur*, 1961). Their work has been developed further by a group of researchers around l'École supérieure des interprètes et traducteurs in Paris including Jacqueline Guillemin-Flescher and *Danielle Seleskovitch*. Developing another aspect of *stylistique comparée* Maurice Pergnier put forward theories of translation based on responses peculiar to societies.

With the formation of the School of Prague in the late 1920s, translation theory had come under the influence of semiotics, the science of signs. In the form developed by Roman Jakobson it takes over certain aspects of hermeneutics. In this form, and the theories of Ljudskanov and Russian theorists, it creates a bridge with goal-oriented literary translation. There has also been some input from psycho-analysis. Such approaches regard the translation as a text in the same light as the original, and strictly linguistic theories of translation become specifications of operations.

Work from Prague also crossed with the increasingly important field of discourse analysis. And from early work by Nils Enkvist there came important developments in discourse-based approaches to contrastive linguistics, e.g. the work of R.K. Hartmann. For the moment there was little communication with the general run of literary theorists, who will be mentioned next chapter.

The other important twentieth-century development was lexicography. Dictionary production became a twentieth-century industry and from the lessons learnt by the *New English Dictionary*

and the Robert group in France bilingual lexicography became somewhat surer, though no less of a trap for the unwary translator.

**Section Bibliography**

Boyer, Mildred V. 1982. "On Translation and Its Uses" *Teaching Translation through Literature* 2, 3-11

Brower, R. 1959. *On Translation.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

Cary, E. 1956. *La Traduction dans le monde moderne.* Genève: Georg

Fry, Paul. 1983. *The Reach of Criticism.* New Haven: Yale

Holmes, James S. et al. (eds.) 1978. *Literature and Translation.* Leuven: ACCO

Ladmiral, Jean-René. 1979. *Traduire. Théorèmes pour la traduction.* Paris: Payot

Lefevere, André. 1980. " The State of the Art". in Zuber 1980: 153-61

Meschonnic, Henri. 1973. *Pour la poétique II.* Paris: Gallimard

Mounin, G. 1976. *Linguistique et traduction.* Bruxelles: Desort & Mardaga Picken, Catriona. 1983. *The Translator's Handbook.* London: Aslib.

Smith, P. 1982. "The Will to Post-Modernism". *Dalhousie Review* 62, 102-22

van Slyne et al. 1983. *Better Translation for Better Communication.* Oxford: Pergamon

Zuber, O. (ed.) 1980. *The Languages of Theatre.* Oxford: Pergamon

**Week 11 Religious and Technical Translation**

Twentieth-century Bible translation has been shaped by a number of needs not unlike those experienced by the translators of the sixteenth century. The dominant motivation has been the increasingly urgent need to replace the great European-language translations of the past by up-to-date versions. This has been only partially due to the acknowledged archaism of the old versions: the eighteenth and nineteenth century advances in Biblical textual scholarship and criticism have caused close examination of the originals and impugned the basis of many passages in the vernacular texts. This has coincided with two contradictory movements – the centripetal force of ecumenism which has increased pressures towards a Bible common to all religions based on the Bible, and the centrifugal forces created by new types of Christian and Jewish fundamentalism. The growing importance of mass media has also meant that the written word has lost some of its relevance as a repository of cultural values. The result is that the styles of Scriptural translation have changed, the remote "formal" Biblical style being abandoned in favour of a more colloquial style in both Biblical and liturgical work.

In English the idea of "Scripture for the Common Man" begins with *The Bible in Modern English* (1903) by *Ferrar Fenton*, a London businessman. Then came *The Twentieth-Century New*

*Testament* (1904) and *The New Testament: A New Translation* by *J.B. Phillips* in 1913, with the Old Testament following in 1924. In the United States *The New Testament: An American Translation* by *Edgar J. Goodspeed* appeared in 1923. In 1931 a version of the Old Testament by *Powis Smith* and others was printed with Goodspeed the whole being known as *The Bible: An American Translation*. The most famous of these English versions was that by *J.B. Phillips* in 1958. The Penguin Classics under Betty Radice even published a version of the Gospels by *E.V. Rieu*, which includes an interesting preface on translation.

These were all private ventures, which is not to impugn their scholarship. Among "official versions" in English the most notable Protestant versions are the American *Revised Standard Version* (1952) from the International Council for Religious Education, and the British *New English Bible* (1961) initiated by the Anglican Church but eventually a joint effort from most of the main-stream Protestant denominations with later on a printing authorised by the Catholic Church. On the Catholic side the *Westminster Bible* began publication in 1913, *Monsignor Ronald Knox's* version was published in its entirety in 1949, and was superseded by the *Jerusalem Bible* in 1966. Among the Jewish Bibles in English were *The Holy Scriptures* by the Jewish Publication Society in 1917. All of these, except the Knox Bible were taken from the original languages. The Knox is the last important version from the Vulgate, and it was done with a close eye on the Greek and the Hebrew texts.

Probably the best of the modern versions is the French *Bible de Jérusalem* (1948-54) from the Dominican Ecole biblique de Jérusalem. This is remarkable both for its scholarship and for its care for French style. For example, the psalms were given to the poet, Raymond Schwab. Using a technique familiar from people like Edward Fitzgerald and Ezra Pound, he worked from a word-for-word crib, putting it into decent French in consultation with the rest of the team. The English *Jerusalem Bible* (1966) comes from the same team, and there is also a Spanish translation from them (1975). Other important modern Bibles are the Spanish versions of *Nácar-Colunga* (1944) and *Bover-Cantera* (1957). Like the English and French Bibles mentioned above these had international distribution, being used widely in other Spanish-speaking countries. The accidents that could affect Bible translation are illustrated by the Catalan version from the Benedictine Monastery at Montserrat. This began publication in 1926, but the work was suspended between 1936 and 1950 by the anti-Catalan policies of the Franco government. The oddest venture of the lot was a new Latin version of the Psalms authorised for use in the Divine Office by Pope Pius XII in 1945. Circumstances made its life short.

The most notable Jewish bible translators, mainly because of their very telling and coherent description, of their attitude to translation were the philosopher-theologian, *Martin Buber* (1878-1965) and *Franz Rosenzweig* (1886-1929), important for their *Ueber einer Neuerer Verdeutschung der heilige Schrift* [*On a New Translation of Holy Scripture*], the preface to their German Bible

published 1926-1938. Their principles were taken up by *Henri Meschonnic* (1932-) in France, and applied to secular translation as well.

On the liturgical side the Roman Catholic and various Orthodox churches produced bilingual service books, and some unilingual. Liturgical reforms following the work of Pope Pius X had encouraged the production of such books, and a very large number of missals of various states of completeness were printed. In English undoubtedly one of the most important was Joseph F. Stedman's *My Sunday Missal* (1938) produced cheaply and kept in continuous publication with all the publicity American publishing houses are capable of. A landmark in this type of publication was *The Missal in Latin and English* (1949) edited by *J. O'Connell* and *H.P.R. Finberg* with the scriptural passages from Knox's Bible. French Missals tended to reflect local liturgical practice by including Vespers.

There were also a few translations of the Divine Office for the laity and certain religious communities reflecting the ancient Primers and other prayer books of the early sixteenth century. These were usually unilingual. One of the most interesting of these is *Byzantine Daily Worship* (1969) translated from the Greek *Horologion* (Breviary) and the ancient liturgy of St John Chrysostom for the Greek Uniate community worldwide. In this ecumenical age it bears an appreciative note from the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Anglican Church continued translating the *Book of Common Prayer*, the languages even including Irish (1938). Jewish bilingual versions of the synagogue liturgies and private prayers go back a considerable time, at least to the sixteenth century. However as Reform Jews began to worship in the local vernaculars, unilingual service books are published about the midle of the twentieth century.

This work had been notably private, being controlled only after the fact by issuing ecclesiastical permission to publish. In the liturgical reform following Vatican II National Commissions were set up to see to translation of the liturgy into the vernaculars. Unlike previous work this involved not only liturgies in which lay people took part, but also "professional liturgies" like the Divine Office. In the case of international languages, like English, French and German there were international commissions that came to some agreement on language standards and other matters. A typical document is the Roman Catholic *Instruction on the Translation of Sacred Texts* (1969). This work became ecumenical when the Anglican Communion produced the *Alternative Service Book*, to be used alongside the traditional *Book of Common Prayer* in 1980. The various Churches cooperated in versions of common texts like the Creeds, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, etc.

Except for the solo efforts, Biblical and liturgical work reverted to the pattern set by the Authorised Version of 1611. Translation teams covering all necessary talents, from textual criticism, to writing skills were formed, together with the type of revising panel that is familiar to any professional translator. Considering that laymen were involved heavily for the first time,

much importance was laid on exegetical advice to the translators. The Roman Catholic vernacular liturgies were used for the first time on the First Sunday in Advent, 1969.

There is so much technical translation that it becomes anonymous. International markets for both knowledge and products demanded availability of translators. There is no record of when the first firm of translators began taking in work. I doubt whether it antedates the twentieth century. The old style of letting translation work out to free-lance writers, which had begun on a large scale during the eighteenth century continues. Private firms began to follow the lead of government departments and create their own translation sections to translate everything from technical reports to publicity and directions on how to use the firm's products.

This work has necessitated the production and updating of technical dictionaries, including the various electronic term banks all over the world. There is also a growing body of theory of technical translation, with some attempt to relate it to the mainstream literary and religious work, cf the work of *Jean Maillot, Isidore Pinchuck*, etc.


LUKE xvii.11-19 XEROX from Jerusalem Bibles

[cf. Lemaistre de Saci, George Campbell, above]


17 11       L'ÉVANGILE SELON SAINT LUC

### Les dix lépreux.

9 51 +     ¹¹Or, comme il faisait route vers Jérusalem, il passa aux confins de la Samarie et de la Galilée⁰. ¹²A son entrée dans un village, dix lépreux vinrent à sa rencontre. Se tenant à distance, ¹³ils élevèrent la voix: "Jésus, Maître, dirent-ils, aie pitié de nous." ¹⁴A cette vue, il leur dit: "Allez vous montrer aux prêtres." Pendant qu'ils y allaient, ils furent guéris. ¹⁵L'un d'entre eux, voyant qu'il avait été guéri, revint sur ses pas en glorifiant Dieu à haute voix ¹⁶et se jeta aux pieds de Jésus, le visage contre terre, en le remerciant. Or, c'était un Samaritain. ¹⁷Prenant la parole, Jésus lui dit: "Est-ce que tous les dix n'ont pas été guéris? Les neuf autres, où sont-ils? ¹⁸Il ne s'est donc trouvé pour revenir rendre gloire à Dieu que cet étranger!" ¹⁹Puis il lui dit: "Relève-toi, pars; ta foi t'a sauvé."

Marginal references: Lv 13 45-46; Mt 8 4; Mc 1 44; Lc 5 14; Lv 14 1-32; 2 20 +; 9 53 +; 10 33 +; Mt 8 10 +

### The ten lepers

Now on the way to Jerusalem he travelled along the border between Samaria 11 and Galilee.ᵈ •As he entered one of the villages, ten lepers came to meet him. 12
13 They stood some way off •and called to him, 'Jesus! Master! Take pity on us.'
14 When he saw them he said, 'Go and show yourselves to the priests'. Now as they
15 were going away they were cleansed. •Finding himself cured, one of them
16 turned back praising God at the top of his voice •and threw himself at the feet
17 of Jesus and thanked him. The man was a Samaritan. •This made Jesus say,
18 'Were not all ten made clean? The other nine, where are they? •It seems that no
19 one has come back to give praise to God, except this foreigner.' •And he said to the man, 'Stand up and go on your way. Your faith has saved you.'


*NO p. 1 F 8*

# TWENTIETH CENTURY II

## Week 12 Literary Translation

To some extent literary translation remains what it had traditionally been in Europe, a searching apprenticeship for the creative writer. But under the pressure of changes in education it diversified: translation from Classical literatures continued, but beside translations for the reader's recreation grew up translations to help students; in English-speaking countries the Loeb editions from Harvard University Press, and in French the Editions Budé. Translation began to acquire its own impressarios: one of the most important was *Betty Radice* (1912-85), a classical scholar, and excellent translator in her own right who was editor of the Penguin Classics. Publishers began to commision translations from modern languages and to go for the mass market. Thus beside serious authors recognised as great literature that had to be translated for the good of the receptor public (e.g. *Stuart Gilbert* on Camus, *Sheila Fischman* on Marie-Claire Blais and other Canadian-French authors, or *Jean Simard* on Hugh MacLennan), there grew up a translation trade in popular fiction: for example Agatha Christie, Georges Simenon, have been heavily translated into other languages. The importance of such translation is recognised by provisions in national and international copyright conventions.

It took a while for bilingual countries to recognise the importance of literary translation: oddly enough this was even more difficult when the minority language had some international prestige. Following certain recommendations by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Canadian Secretary of State set up a number of programs to encourage translation between French and English, offering both translator fees and publication subsidies. The books concerned were either literary works, or books on the social sciences and history.

In general literary translators took as much notice of linguistic theorists as the linguists took of the literary people: not really bad manners or obscurantism but a vivid illustration of how multi-facetted translation is. German translation theory, whether still in the Romantic tradition or reacting against it, still lay under the Romantic shadow. It must be emphasised that these translators took for granted that the proper state of language was its communicative use. Classical scholars like *Wolfgang Schadewalt* (1900-74) had developed the hermeneutic aspects of translation theory, drawing on the theme that the translator underwent an experience parallel to that of the original author while translating. Thus the version, while necessarily different, continued the life of the original. Vital to this mode of thought was a reversal in status between language and translation. Hence they regarded translation as the centre of language behaviour, because in face-to-face reaction one "translates" the meaning of one's interlocutor into "one's own meaning" and "one's own meaning" is translated in turn. Thus once again translation became

a branch of rhetoric, and grammatical analysis was seen as irrelevant. One further bone of contention between linguist and literary person was the status of the linguistic sign. Where most linguists were convinced by Saussure's reworking of the traditional Aristotelian model of *signifiant* and *signifié*, an important group of German scholars headed by Karl Vossler denied that this division was entirely just to the reality of language. They regarded the form of language as an aspect of its meaning, and as completely inseparable from it. Hence the emphasis, particularly in the German tradition, on keeping the poetic form of a verse original.

One vitally important development of this theory was the work of *Walter Benjamin* (1892-1940), which emphasises the form of language over its content. This extremely symbolist and formalist view of language was admired but had very few takers. Yet it is essential in the development of *Ezra Pound* (1888-1972) and *Yves Bonnefoy* (1923-) as translators, though it is doubtful that they knew of the work of Benjamin. Bonnefoy is also interesting in that he is one bridge between linguist and literary writer on translation. Another important bridge was the Russian linguist, Roman Jakobson, whose reputation as a linguist did not prevent him from doing extremely perceptive work on poetics and translation. In a sense this concentration on text was one way of integrating linguistic and literary approaches without falling into the Romantic trap of ignoring operations.

The emphasis on the activity of the translator as both reader and producer, as the "middle man" between the author and the new public was of particular interest to Eastern European theorists, especially those influenced by the School of Prague. One of the most important books in this stream was *Die literarische Übersetzung* by *Jiri Levy* (1969). Theorists of this school treated translation as an application of semiotics, the general work of Ljudskanov bearing a close kinship to the more literary-oriented writings of *Efim Etkind*.

In general, though, literary translators preferred to get on with the job and strike a balance between reader and author. This was recognised by *Even-Zohar's* concept of the "polysystem", what André Lefevere was to call " the canonised system". The "polysystem" is the systematic network of taste and literary models into which translation must be fitted. Literature itself is only part of this system which fits creative writing into the whole gamut of ways in which a given society will use its languages. Being based on taste, the polysystem is fluid, which explains why a translation is never definitive, quite apart from what happens to its reputation as the language evolves.

Translation of literature being a literary craft there are a large number of critical metaphors used to characterise it. The Romantic figures of light, criticism, and the rest still remain. Equally important in the writings of *Cecil Day Lewis* (1904-72), for example, is the figure of "friendship", a traditional metaphor that goes back to the Renaissance at least. Other translators take up the traditional idea of being "the other self" of the author. There are very few dissenters

from this opinion: *Vladimir Nabokov* (1899-1977) is one, who regards the translator as the servant of the author. In modern theory "correctness", norms, and "truth" have become problems which separate this type of translation from technical work, and the conflict between grammar and discourse-based approaches has become rather acute, in the way it was to the seventeenth-century translator.

## *Pound, Ezra (1888-1972)*

Poet, Literary Critic and Writer

    1906-7 Assistant Professor of Romance Languages at a small Pennsylvania College

    1907 Goes to Europe

    For the new thirty or so years in addition to his own writing career acts as agent, publicist and father confessor to younger poets

    1912 Active in the Imagist movement

    1940-43 Broadcasts for the Italian Government

    1946-58 Confined to St Elizabeth's Hospital for the Criminally Insane

    1959 Returns to Italy

### Translations

    1912 Seafarer (from the Anglo-Saxon)

    1915 Cathay (from the Chinese of Li Po

    1917-70 Cantos (from the Italian of Cavalcanti)

    An immense number of translations from lyric poets from Old French and other medieval languages, and from Latin.

### Theory

Though he has no theoretical writing on translation as such apart from his discussions of other translators, it is a constant subject in Pound's letters, particularly those to *W.H.D. Rouse*, and in his critical essays as collected by Hugh Kenner and *T.S. Eliot.*

### Cultural Background

    Of all the twentieth-century English writers involved in translation, Pound is by far the most original and the most important. Though his views of translation have their roots partially in Romanticism, they are also parallel with modern communication theory which analyses how the receptor of an act of communication plays an active part in determining what its content is: reading is an active process of creation, not merely a passive reception of communication. As he

was in the thick of the Symbolist movement he held that the meaning of a linguistic sign is not merely Saussure's *signifié*, but also the shape of the word itself. It is also not unlikely that many of his ideas on interpretation came from his medieval studies: at time he reads very like the medieval scripture scholars who saw the absolute necessity of proceeding beyond the literal meaning of Scripture if it has to have any spiritual power.

## Why did Pound Translate?

In Pound's view the translator is an intermediary between author and reader. He is very aware of the translator's role as receptor of the original author's work, and transmitter into the target language. He claims that translators must see to it that a piece of translated literature is "news" in that translation was the act of teaching what the original was, not merely adapting it to the target culture. It is significant that he does not count his *Homage to Propertius* as a translation. Like Cowley and the ancient poets, Pound makes a strong distinction between translation and the sort of reworking at the heart of imitative composition: translation continues the life of the original, while imitation creates another work altogether.

The translator must "cast light" on his original. I would think that this echo of German Romanticism and its *Erklärung* is quite deliberate. In achieving this goal the translator's first responsibility is "to keep the narrative flow", in other words preserve the cohesion of the original, its pace, and the peculiarites of connection between its parts. The second element he builds on this, particularly important in a poem from another period or from outside the European cultural area, is leading the reader round the poem and its ramifications.

In his discussions of this aspect of the task Pound comes very close to the theories of "implied reader" that have surfaced in the last decade. To a written document a reader will bring his "mental baggage"; and in the case of a translation the mental baggage will differ quite radically from that of the reader of the translation. Cultural background, attitudes, what is taken for granted will all differ. To meet this problem the translator finds himself doing a "translation of accompaniment" as a way of easing his readers into the original. Without using the word, Pound views translation as a process of "hermeneutics" by which the translator seeks out hidden meanings by a mixture of intuition and knowledge, one acting as a check on the other.

## How did Pound Translate?

To prevent translation degenerating into the licence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Pound, a good Symbolist, regards the shape of the text as part of its meaning. He revives the ancient theory that every idea or concept has its own appropriate sound. He has the rhetorician's not the grammarian's approach to text: adaptation to another readership is controlled by an intuition of what the implications of sound and meaning are in both source and target

languages. His focus then is on "wot a man means" rather than "wot a man sez".

He remarks that a literal translation is usually impossible, but that there are many ways of coming to the meaning of an original, and that there is no such thing as one "correct version". In essence a good translation is functionally equivalent to the original, and only formally equivalent if it can be. Pound returns to an old problem mooted by Cicero: that a perceptive author will fill up awkwardnesses in his sentences with "blank words", which are there for rhythmic purposes only. If translated as such they will only clutter up the translation, but to compensate for their removal, other "blank words" appropriate to the new language, must be put in. The question is only partially linguistic: a translator must search below the surface of his text to pull out its various layers of meaning to assess what can be kept or sacrificed.

There are a few fragmentary comments on language, most of them from the user's point of view rather than the grammarian's. He criticises Browning, for instance, for not realising that in a non-inflected language like English, perturbations in sentence order are not really equivalents of similar composition techniques in Latin and Greek. He is very firm that grammar is something to be sacrificed if the rhetoric and meaning of the target text demands it. Rather than taking "form" to be a literary concept (form of stanza, verse, etc.), he looks on "form" as the combination of sense and sound peculiar to a language, and it is this the translator must aim for if he is to bring the meaning across.

From the Introduction to the Cavalcanti Poems (1910) [Kenner 1970: 23-4]

> As for the verse itself: I believe in an ultimate and absolute rhythm as I believe in an absolute symbol or metaphor. The perception of the intellect is given in the word, that of the emotions in the cadence. It is only, then, in perfect rhythm joined to the perfect word that the two-fold vision can be recorded. I would liken Guido's cadence to nothing less powerful than line in Blake's drawing.
>
> In painting, the colour is always finite. It may match the colour of the infinite spheres, but it is in a way confined within the frame and its appearance is modified by the colours about it. The line is unbounded, it marks the passage of a force, it continues beyond the frame.
>
> Rodin's belief that energy is beauty holds thus far, namely, that all our ideas of beauty of line are in some way connected with our ideas of swiftness or easy power of motion, and we consider ugly those lines which connote unwieldy slowness in moving.
>
> Rhythm is perhaps the most primal of all things known to us. It is basic in poetry and music mutually, their melodies depending on a variation of tone quality and of pitch respectively, as is commonly said, but if we look more closely we will see that music is, by further analysis, pure rhythm; rhythm and nothing

else, for the variation of pitch is the variation in rhythms of the individual notes, and harmony the blending of these varied rhythms. When we know more of overtones we will see that the tempo of every masterpiece is absolute, and is exactly set by some further law of rhythmic accord. Whence it should be possible to show that any given rhythm implies about it a complete musical form—fugue, sonata, I cannot say what form, but a form, perfect, complete. Ergo, the rhythm set in a line of poetry connotes its symphony, which, had we a little more skill, we could score for orchestra. *Sequitur*, or rather *inest*: the rhythm of any poetic line corresponds to emotion.

It is the poet's business that this correspondence be exact, i.e., that it be the emotion which surrounds the thought expressed. For which cause I have set here Guido's own words, that those few of you who care, may read in them the signs of his genius. By the same token, I consider Carducci and Arnone blasphemous in accepting the reading

*E fa di claritate tremar l' are*

instead of following those *mss.* which read

*E fa di clarità l'aer tremare.*

I have in my translations tried to bring over the qualities of Guido's rhythm, not line for line, but to embody in the whole of my English some trace of that power which implies the man. The science of the music of words and the knowledge of their magical powers has fallen away since men invoked Mithra by a sequence of pure vowel sounds. That there might be less interposed between the reader and Guido, it was my first intention to print only his poems and an unrhymed gloze. This has not been practicable. I can not trust the reader to read the Italian for the music after he has read the English for the sense.

## EZRA POUND on CHARLES D'ORLEANS

Dıɛu, qu'il la fait bon regarder   [*p. 240*]
  La gracieuse, bonne et belle!
Pour les grans biens qui sont en elle,
Chascun est prest de la louer.         4

  Qui se pourroit d'elle lasser?
Tousjours sa beauté renouvelle.
Dieu, qu'i[l] la fait bon regarder,]
La gra[cieuse, bonne et belle!]       8

  Par deça ne dela la mer,
Ne sçay dame, ne damoiselle
Qui soit en tous biens parfais telle;
C'est un songe que d'y penser.
Dieu, qu'i[l la fait bon regarder!]     13

### DIEU! QU'IL LA FAIT

*From Charles D'Orleans*

God! that mad'st her well regard her,
How she is so fair and bonny;
For the great charms that are upon her
Ready are all folks to reward her.
Who could part him from her borders
When spells are alway renewed on her?
God! that mad'st her well regard her,
How she is so fair and bonny.

From here to there to the sea's border,
Dame nor damsel there's not any
Hath of perfect charms so many.
Thoughts of her are of dream's order:
God! that mad'st her well regard her.

### References

The bibliography on Pound is rather large, and much of it does not distinguish between his original work and his translation, a fact significant in itself. His own statements on translation, especially the letters to W.H.D. Rouse, are essential reading.

Eliot, T.S. 1954. *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound.* London: Faber

Kelly 1979: sv. "Pound"

Kenner, Hugh. 1970. *The Translations of Ezra Pound.* London: Faber

Mason, H.A. 1963. "*The Women of Trachis* and Creative Translation", in J.P. Sullivan (ed.) *Ezra Pound.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970

Steiner 1974: sv "Pound"

### *Benjamin, Walter (1892-1940)*

Essayist, Writer, Literary Critic

    1913 First visit to Paris

    ca1925 Flirts with Marxism and Zionism

    1933 Establishes himself in Paris; joins Frankfurt Institute of Social Research

    1940 Commits suicide while trying to escape from Vichy France

## Translations

1923 *Tableaux parisiens* (Baudelaire)

## Theoretical Writings

1923 *The Task of the Translator* (Preface to above)

Various other critical writings

## Cultural Background

In assessing Benjamin it is important to remember that he was a German Jew strongly influenced by Marxism: folk attitudes to language peculiar to both German and Jew permeated his thought. The "German" aspect of his thinking came almost directly from Romanticism: he was an enthusiast for Goethe, and a very knowledgeable one at that. The "Jewish" side of his thinking is traceable ultimately to Jewish Biblical tradition, but it was filtered through the Kabbala, a rather heretical strain of linguistic mysticism from the Middle Ages not unlike the linguistic mysticism we find among the seventeenth-century alchemists. For both German and Jew language was the one force that unified a people that was in one case under the rule of many diverse political systems, and in the other in perpetual exile. To these elements he added an intimate knowledge of French Parnassian literature, a kinship with the *sensibilité* of the late eighteenth century, and influences from the artistic world of the early twentieth century.

His view of language has some of the extreme characteristics of the Symbolist's view of Art for Art's sake in that Benjamin comes very close to denying the social relevance of language. Benjamin accepts that Language exists independent of Man – after all, once an utterance is written, it exists in a form independent of its creator. Furthermore, because language and literature are coterminous acts of creation in the sense already detailed by Herder and his followers, Man owes his existence as Man to language. On this point a careful reading of Hannah Arendt's introduction to *Illuminations* with its description of the ideology of the *flâneur*, and also of his own essay, "Unpacking my Library", is very definitely indicated.

For ideologies like Benjamin's one has to look at avant-garde movements in music and painting rather than at language disciplines as we know them. Equally important is the anomalous status of being at the centre of the linguistic act accorded translation by the anti-Saussurean idealist linguists.

## How did Benjamin Translate?

Though Steiner 1975 is right in tracing Benjamin's Platonist theory of the Word to the Romantic poet-translator, *Hölderlin*, it fits in closely with the traditional Judaeo-Christian reading of Genesis I which endows God's word with creative energy. In further assuming that under

certain circumstances all human language has this power, Benjamin, though not a practising Jew, is very much on the same wavelength as *Martin Buber* and *Franz Rosenzweig*, whose German version of the Hebrew Bible came out at about the same time as Benjamin's essay.

Hence the solipsism of the opening section of *The Task of the Translator*. Benjamin takles for granted that the only type of translation worth looking at is the creative literaty type, and indeed that no other type exists. This is an inhuman view of translation – the translator's duty is to language, not to his author or to his reader. The task of translation is primarily to reach down under the surface of human languages to "Pure Language", that dream of Ho5lderlin's and of the Kabbala before him. Secondly the translator seeks out the "intended effect" of the work, not on the reader but again on language. Benjamin shared the symbolist skepticism towards Saussure's dualist model of the linguistic sign, looking to the formal properties in the sign itself to be an essential aspect of its "meaning". The only way in which one can attain this "effect on language" is literality. This is an extreme example of the twentieth-century artist's fascination with form rather than content.

PUT IN EXTRACT FROM BENJAMIN

## Why did Benjamin Translate?

One important theme directly relevant to Benjamin's theory of translation is his view on the ahistorical nature of the twentieth century. To the Romantics history had been an essential part of their thought: language was the record of history and of the changes a people had undergone. And translation is one way of influencing that history by shaping developments. Benjamin's ideas are partially Marxist, in that he denies that nature has an influence on human affairs proportionate to that exercised by historical change. His view of history is peculiar in that he looks both forwards and backwards: history traces the shaping of traditions which themselves shape history.

And yet translations owe their life to their original, because they continue its life while changing it. Symbolist thinkers were very skeptical of objectivity in art, and Benjamin was no exception. He takes it for granted that objectivity in cognition is impossible. However, that a translator produce a "true" translation requires objectivity on his part. The problem is one of hermeneutics, laid out in its full rigour by *Meschonnic* and Steiner. Benjamin takes the only objective reality to be language, and translation can only be "objective" when in penetrates to that part of language which is beyond human meddling, the set of "ultimate symbols" also sought by Pound and Bonnefoy.

Though Benjamin himself had little influence during his lifetime, elements of his thought turn up in other translators, like *Paul Celan* and *Antoine Berman.* Perhaps the easiest way to approach him is through *Meschonnic* 1973 or Steiner 1975.

## References

Arendt, Hannah (ed.) 1970. *Walter Benjamin Illuminations*. London: Jonathan Cape

Dobak, Annelies Maria. 1982-3. *The Literary Critic as Alchemist. Dissertation Abstracts* 43,163A

Jennings, Michael L. 1983. "Benjamin as a Reader of Hölderlin". *German Quarterly* 56, 544-63

Kelly 1979: sv "Benjamin"

MacDonald, Bruce K. 1984. *Translation as Transcendance: Walter Benjamin and the German Tradition. Dissertation Abstracts* 45, 1744A

Norris, C. 1982. "Image and Parable: Readings of Walter Benjamin." *Philosophy and Literature* 7, 15-31

Steiner 1979: sv "Benjamin"

## *Bonnefoy, Yves (1923- )*

Poet and literary critic; at present professor at Collège de France; has been visiting professor at many universities

    1941 Bacc. Trained as a mathematician

    1943 Collaborated in magazine, *Révolution de la nuit*; Joined Surrealists

    1947 Broke with Surrealism; published first novel; travels to Italy

    1959 Prix de la Nouvelle Vague

    1960 Travels to the United States

    1967 Founder of *L'Ephémère*

### Translations

    1957-62 *Jules-César, Hamlet, Conte d'Hiver, Vénus et Adonis, Viol de Lucrèce* (Shakespeare), all for the Club français du livre

    1965 *Roi Lear*

    1968 Roméo et Juliette

    1951 *Une chemise de nuit de flanelle* (Leonora Carrington)

    1973 Poems by William Butler Yeats *Argile* i (1973) 64-93

### Theoretical Writings

    1962 "Idée de la traduction" (Postface to *Hamlet*)

    1979 "On the Translation of Form in Poetry". *World Literature Today* 53, 374-79

## Cultural Background

The imagist and symbolist reflection on language dominating early twentieth-century literary thought in France is crucial to Bonnefoy's thinking on translation. He exemplifies the Symbolist tendency to take literary creation as the primary function of language, and even as its sole use. His early fascination with Surrealism is certainly responsible for his basing lingustic analysis on mind-set and on his sense of colour and form in language. One also wonders how much Roland Barthes and the French Post-Structuralists have to do with his theories and practice. His emphasis on translation as mediation between two different types of experience may owe something to the work of Buber and Rosenzweig, but it is solidly rooted in both Vienna School thought on language, and in Victor Hugo's agonising over Shakespeare.

## How does Bonnefoy Translate?

In the two essays following his *Hamlet* Bonnefoy develops three thrusts: an analysis of Shakespeare as a linguistic and literary artist, a discussion of the separate ethos of English and French, and a critique of translation. These essays were written in full knowledge of two centuries of French struggles with Shakespeare. There is nothing new in his admission that French literature has nothing like Shakespeare; but he reworks with much more insight than any other French critics (including Hugo) have shown, the frustrations Shakespeare offers a classical sensibility.

IV

D'une part un miroir et d'autre part une sphère. Comment traduire l'une dans l'autre ces formes contradictoires de poésie?

On comprend peut-être mieux, maintenant, la raison de la médiocrité de beaucoup des traductions de Shakespeare; elles ne sont, entre les deux structures verbales, qu'un compromis. Irrésistiblement les mots de la poésie française atténuent, effacent la réalité singulière, ce mixte scandaleux de nécessité et de hasard. Que pourraient-ils donc retenir, par exemple, de Falstaff, lui qui est le singulier en soi, en deçà de toute forme ou de toute loi, y compris la loi morale [1]? On comprend mieux aussi l'origine historique de la plupart de ces traductions. Car le romantisme a cru pouvoir échapper à cette fatalité du français que j'ai essayé de décrire. Mais ce romantisme, qui a voulu mettre « un bonnet rouge au vieux

[1]. De toutes les figures du théâtre shakespearien, Falstaff est la plus mal comprise en France et d'ailleurs la moins appréciée. Dans un pays qui pose volontiers de façon conceptuelle, dialectique, le problème du bien et du mal, on comprend mieux *Zarathoustra*, *au-delà* de l'un et de l'autre (ce qui signifie au moins qu'il les a pensés) que ce Falstaff qui reste *en deçà*.

*240*

dictionnaire », qui a voulu multiplier les références au
réel tout en demeurant poésie, n'a jamais réussi qu'une
saisie superficielle, aveugle tout autant aux profonds
mouvements passionnels de l'existence qu'à cette dia-
lectique de l'essence et de l'acte d'être que Racine et
Baudelaire ont tous les deux méditée.

Comment traduire Shakespeare? Je pourrais aisé-
ment, pour conclure avec pessimisme, énumérer toutes
les formes que peut prendre cette fondamentale diver-
gence, toutes les fidélités qu'il faudrait dans la traduc-
tion, autrement dit, et que la structure du français rend
difficiles, voire impossibles. Ainsi l'alternance de la prose
et du vers dans la tragédie de Shakespeare est une fidé-
lité au réel, elle témoigne des forces contraires —
héroïsme ou trivialité — qui sont à l'œuvre dans celui-
ci, et dans *Jules César*, à la fin de la scène du savetier, le
brusque retour au vers est une affirmation dramatique,
celle d'une volonté de noblesse dans un monde de rus-
trerie. Mais la poésie française n'admet pas cette plura-
lité des perspectives. Chez Corneille ou Racine, mais aussi
chez Hugo ou chez Claudel, les comparses s'expriment
en vers, ils sont, comme le chœur dans la tragédie
grecque, d'autant plus astreints aux formes explicites
de la poésie qu'ils participent moins de la sacralité de
l'action. Une autre difficulté gît dans la traduction
nécessaire des jeux de mots. Le calembour qui est chez
Shakespeare ambiguïté, suggestion de la complexité du
réel est malaisément autre chose en français qu'un atten-
tat nihiliste (ou parfois révolutionnaire) contre l'esprit...
Le moindre mot d'une œuvre contient à l'état latent
toutes les structures de la langue. Il ne suffit pas de
le « traduire » pour transgresser celles-ci. Imagine-t-on
ce qu'il resterait en anglais, ou dans beaucoup d'autres
langues, du *Sortez!* crié par Roxane dans *Bajazet?* Cette

/6/

parole redoutée, par laquelle elle achève de se séparer du monde sensible, cette parole métaphysique serait en grand risque de devenir un vulgaire « coup de théâtre ».

Mais à quoi bon énumérer ces difficultés si nombreuses? Mieux vaut faire état d'une possibilité qui demeure, et qui permettra peut-être un jour de résoudre, ou en tout cas de porter sur un nouveau plan, le problème de Shakespeare.

S'il est vrai, comme j'ai essayé de le montrer, que les langues ont des structures, et que le français de la poésie est « platonicien », l'anglais de Shakespeare une sorte d'aristotélisme passionnel, toute vraie traduction se doit d'être, au-delà de la fidélité au détail, une réflexion métaphysique, méditation d'une pensée sur une pensée différente, essai d'exprimer le vrai de cette pensée dans sa perspective propre, finalement interrogation sur soi. Traduire se transporte dès lors, au-delà du discours explicite et des *significations saisissables*, dans les formes implicites de l'expression, emploi de la prosodie par exemple, ou traitement des images. Traduire devient la lutte d'une langue avec elle-même, au plus secret de sa substance, au plus vif de son devenir. Or, je crois la poésie française bien plus capable aujourd'hui que naguère encore, d'engager cette lutte contre soi. D'une façon générale, dans l'histoire de l'Occident, il se peut bien que le moment soit venu où les grandes langues aient à dépasser leur naïveté, à rompre avec leurs croyances instinctives pour s'établir dans une vérité plus contradictoire, plus difficile. Et la poésie française récente, sans chercher à nier sa structure toujours actuelle, entreprend une révolution qui, en inquiétant cette tendance métaphysique, en la réfrénant, pourrait permettre une fois ou l'autre de mieux exprimer l'objet shakespearien.

De quoi en vérité s'agit-il? J'ai avancé que le mot français, dans son emploi classique, ne posait son objet que pour exclure le monde et la diversité des existences réelles. J'ai avancé que Baudelaire avait affirmé cette existence réelle, mais avait pris pour objet de sa réflexion poétique, moins ces choses qui sont que le fait qu'elles soient et notre rapport à lui, faisant une fois de plus du langage un monde clos, celui d'une âme soucieuse de ce mystère de la présence, et n'ayant d'autre destin que de dire allusivement cette réalité qui demeure absente de sa vie. Une telle poésie est encore portrait de l'âme, *psychologie*, mais une poésie plus récente se veut *salut*. Elle considère que l'objet réel, séparé de nous, infiniment autre, peut être *dans l'instant* notre accès à l'être, notre salut — pour peu bien sûr que nous allions jusqu'à lui en déchirant le voile des définitions essentielles, des concepts. Peu importe ici de savoir si cette ambition est fondée. L'essentiel est d'en retenir qu'elle attend du langage qu'il s'ouvre à l'objet le plus lointain, le plus extérieur, le moins dicible, qui est la pure présence, dans son scandale, dans son silence et sa nuit. Excluant, comme toujours, la variété naturelle, elle veut s'oublier, se dépasser dans l'unicité ontologique, se jeter extatiquement dans ce qui est. Or, en cherchant ce lointain, cet extérieur absolu, est-on si loin de Shakespeare? N'est-ce pas méditer, dans sa généralité, dans sa profondeur, ce que Shakespeare retrouve, comme leur secret, comme leur arrière-plan, dans les existences singulières, quand il découvre dans la destinée de Macbeth la présence irréductible des sorcières, dans l'esprit d'Hamlet l'expérience ineffaçable du fantôme, dans le *Conte d'Hiver* l'espoir, déraisonnable mais triomphant, d'une véritable résurrection? Après tout, un miroir vrai de la vie ne peut que refléter une expérience de l'être. Toujours,

chez le poète du *Roi Lear*, un univers rationnel se révèle
un mensonge et s'efface devant un gouffre. Toujours
l'action humaine se jette dans une région obscure et
indicible — et il n'y a pas grande différence entre ce
Hamlet comprenant que le règne de la loi est achevé,
qu'il n'y a plus de légitimité que dans une décision
subjective que rien ne fonde ou n'assure, et cette poésie
française d'aujourd'hui qui s'est privée de son royaume
séculaire, quitte à risquer, comme le prince danois,
l'angoisse, l'impossibilité d'agir, le silence. C'est par
leur intuition la plus profonde, la plus élémentaire,
autrement dit, que le réalisme de Shakespeare et l'idéa-
lisme renversé de la poésie française récente peuvent
désormais communiquer. L'un décrit ce que l'autre
demande à vivre. Et ce qui est *dit* directement par
Shakespeare, pourra peut-être être suggéré, indirec-
tement, dans un langage ajoutant à la fidélité au
contenu explicite de chaque œuvre, une épreuve cons-
tante de tous ses moyens poétiques par le sentiment de
*l'objet profond*. Ainsi le dépassement des formes clas-
siques, des formes closes de prosodie, qui est si nécessaire
au français à condition qu'il n'efface pas le souci des
lois réelles du vers, s'identifie-t-il au besoin, dans la
traduction de Shakespeare, de conserver le mètre et sa
haute vertu tragique, sans pour autant laisser croire
que le poète anglais ait conçu un monde hiératique
et irréel. En vérité, Shakespeare et beaucoup d'élizabé-
thains ont une grande valeur d'enseignement pour cette
poésie qui se cherche. Nous devrions nous y attacher. Et
si nous échouons à les traduire, nous aurons certes
moins d'excuses que les traducteurs plus anciens.

La traduction est dans l'affrontement de deux langues
une expérience métaphysique, morale, l'épreuve d'une
pensée par une autre forme de pensée. Il y a des moments

où elle est impossible et d'ailleurs vaine. Il y a des
moments où ses conséquences dépassent l'œuvre même
qui est traduite, conduisant une langue, par le détour
poétique, à un nouvel état de l'esprit.

*1959.*

Language and literary differences derive from the ways in which a language community creates its symbols and symbol systems. The problems between English and French Bonnefoy puts down to two *métaphysiques contraires qui régissent et parfois tyrannisent* the two languages. Actual differences in taste, his emphasis on the Leibnitzian qualities of the French "word", the immediacy of English contrasted with the distance assumed by French, all recall earlier French discussions of difficulties in coming to terms with English literature: Prévost on Richardson is a case in point. In a manner bearing a surface resemblance to *stylistique comparée* Bonnefoy relates all of these contradictory characteristics to habits of conceptualisation, rather than passing them off as surface differences between language systems. He has little to say about grammar beyond the principle that what is already actualised on the plane of lexicon will also be found in grammar.

His actual technique is one familiar from the Romantics. Here is a passage from his *Hamlet.*

> Être ou n'être pas. C'est la question.
> Est-il plus noble pour une âme de souffrir
> Les flèches et les coups d'une atroce fortune,
> Ou de prendre les armes contre une mer de troubles
> Et de leur faire front, et d'y mettre fin? Mourir, dormir,
> Rien de plus; oh, penser qu'un sommeil peut finir
> La souffrance du cœur et les mille blessures
> Qui sont le lot de la chair; oui, c'est un dénouement
> Ardemment désirable! mourir, dormir [49]
> — Dormir, rêver peut-être. Ah, c'est l'obstacle!
> Car l'anxiété des rêves qui viendront
> Dans ce sommeil des morts, quand nous aurons
> Repoussé loin de nous le tumulte de vivre,
> Est là pour retenir, c'est la pensée
> Qui fait que le malheur a si longue vie.
> Qui en effet supporterait le fouet du siècle,
> L'injure du tyran, les mépris de l'orgueil,
> L'angoisse dans l'amour bafoué, la lente loi
> Et la morgue des gens en place, rebuffades
> Que le mérite doit souffrir des êtres vils,
> Alors qu'il peut se délivrer lui-même
> D'un simple coup de poignard? Qui voudrait ces far-
> deaux,
> Et gémir et suer sous l'épuisante vie,
> Si la terreur de quelque chose après la mort,
> Ce pays inconnu dont nul voyageur [50]
> N'a repassé la frontière, ne troublait
> Notre dessein, nous faisant préférer
> Les maux que nous avons à d'autres obscurs.
> Ainsi la réflexion fait de nous des lâches,
> Les natives couleurs de la décision
> S'affaiblissent dans l'ombre de la pensée,
> Et des projets d'une haute volée
>
> Sur cette idée se brisent et viennent perdre
> Leur nom même d'action... Mais taisons-nous,
> Voici la belle Ophélie... Nymphe, dans tes prières,
> Souviens-toi de tous mes péchés.

*Ham.* To be, or not to be,—that is the question :—
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them?—To die,—to sleep,—
No more; and by a sleep to say we end
The heart-ache, and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wisht.  To die,—to sleep;—
To sleep! perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause: there's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life;
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin? who would fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something after death,—
The undiscover'd country, from whose bourn
No traveller returns,—puzzles the will,

And makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of?

Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;
And enterprises of great pith and moment,
With this regard, their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action.—Soft you now!
The fair Ophelia!—Nymph, in thy orisons
Be all my sins remember'd.

**Why does Bonnefoy Translate?**

In Bonnefoy's view translation is more than linguistic transfer: it is primarily a meditation on one system of conceptualisation through another. In his own eyes Bonnefoy has failed in his versions of Shakespeare. Not that this leads him to take translation as impossible: for translation is primarily the Romantic criticism, but of the target language, not merely of the source text. Secondly translation must take the reader out of his normal frame of reference. Here Bonnefoy is thinking primarily of the target-text reader, but it is also important that the source-language reader who comes across the target text will have his horizons stretched.

**References**

Bonnefoy, C., Cartaw, T., Oster, D. 1977. *Dictionnaire de la littérature française contemporaine.* Paris: de Large, sv "Bonnefoy", pp. 58-60

Diéguez, Manuel de. 1960. "Yves Bonnefoy et la critique du style". *Esprit* 290, 2120-28

Esteban, C. 1971. "L'écho d'une demeure", *NRF* 225, 19-34

Kelly 1979: sv "Bonnefoy"

*World Literature Today* 1979. 53.2 (whole number).

## Scott, Frank (1899-1985)

Lawyer, Poet

> 1928 Appointed to McGill
>
> 1947 Member of the Royal Society of Canada
>
> 1961-64 Dean of the Law School at McGill
>
> 1963-71 Member of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

### Translations

> 1962 St-Denys Garneau and Anne Hébert
>
> 1977 *Poems of French Canada*

### Theory

> 1970 *Dialogue sur la traduction* (with Anne Hébert)

### References

Djwa, S. & R. StJohn MacDonald. 1983. *F.R. Scott. Canadian.* Vancouver: Simon Fraser

Toye, W. (ed.) 1983. *Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature.* Toronto: OUP. sv. "Scott, Frank"