Translation and Transposition in the Early Modern Period

This volume makes an important contribution to the understanding of translation theory and practice in the Early Modern period, focusing on the translation of knowledge, literature and travel writing, and examining discussions about the role of women and office of interpreter.

Over the course of the Early Modern period, there was a dramatic shift in the way that translation was conceptualised, a change that would have repercussions far beyond the world of letters. At the beginning of the period, translation was largely indistinguishable from other textual operations such as exegesis, glossing, paraphrase, commentary, or compilation, and theorists did not yet think in terms of the binaries that would come to characterise modern translation theory. Just how and when this shift occurred in actual translation practice is one of the topics explored in this volume through a series of case studies offering snapshots of translational activity in different times and places. Overall, the picture that emerges is of a translational practice that is still very flexible, as source texts are creatively appropriated for new purposes, whether pragmatic, pedagogical, or diversional, across a range of genres, from science and philosophy to literature, travel writing and language teaching.

This book will be of value to those interested in Early Modern history, linguistics, and translation studies.

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Multilingualism, Lingua Franca and Translation in the Early Modern Period

Series Editor: Karen Bennett
(Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Portugal)

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the linguistic situation in Europe was one of remarkable fluidity. Latin, the great scholarly lingua franca of the medieval period, was beginning to crack as the tectonic plates shifted beneath it, but the vernaculars had not yet crystallized into the national languages that they would become a century later, and bi- or multilingualism was still rife. Through the influence of print capitalism, the dialects that occupied the informal space were starting to organise into broad fields of communication and exchange (Anderson 2006: 37–46), though the boundaries between them were not yet clearly defined nor the links to territory fully established. Meanwhile, elsewhere in the world, languages were coming into contact with an intensity that they had never had before (Burke 2004: 111–140), influencing each other and throwing up all manner of hybrids and pidgins as peoples tried to communicate using the semiotic resources they had available. New lingua francas emerged to serve particular purposes in different geographic regions or were imposed through conquest and settlement (Ostler 2005: 323–516). And translation proliferated at the seams of such cultural encounters, undertaken for different reasons by a diverse demographic that included missionaries, scientists, traders, aristocrats, emigrés, refugees and renegades (Burke 2007: 11–16).

This series brings together scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds (cultural history, historical linguistics, palaeography, translation studies, literary studies etc) to offer a broad survey of linguistic practices in the Early Modern period (1400 to 1800).

Translation and Transposition in the Early Modern Period
Knowledge, Literature, Travel
Edited by Karen Bennett and Rogério Miguel Puga

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Karen Bennett and Rogério Miguel Puga

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This series, which has its origins in the *Host of Tongues* conference held in Lisbon in December 2018, brings together scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds (cultural history, historical linguistics, palaeography, translation studies and literary studies) to offer a broad survey of linguistic practices in the Early Modern period (1400–1800).

Each volume focuses on a different aspect of the theme: general language dynamics (Latin and the vernaculars, multilingualism, and other lingua francas); translation; and linguistics and language teaching.

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Introduction

The Slow Transition: Reconfiguring Translation in the Early Modern Period

Karen Bennett

The Early Modern period (which, for the purpose of this series, is understood to encompass the centuries between 1400 and 1800) is a fascinating time for so many areas of knowledge. It fascinates because it was a period of upheaval and change, a time when the Medieval worldview, which seems so remote from our own, gave way to a whole new mindset, the mindset of modernity. There were many components to this: a shift from a geocentric to a heliocentric vision of the universe, and from flat-earth to globe; the development of a sense of perspective in space and time; and a new interest in 'things not words',[1] prompting seekers of knowledge to observe the world around them rather than seek immutable truths in ancient texts. To the naive, it might seem as if the 'real' world was finally starting to impinge on the symbolic universe erected by the Church, that Europeans were beginning to see things 'as they are', after centuries of obfuscation. However, the shift could perhaps better be understood as the replacement of one paradigm of understanding by another, the development of a new lens through which the world could be viewed. There were multiple reasons for this, of course, all amply discussed elsewhere, amongst which we can count the European recovery of Hellenistic science after the Muslim withdrawal from Andalusia; the broadening of horizons ushered in by Columbus' arrival in America; the invention of the printing press; and of course, most pertinently, the breakdown of the great lingua franca Latin and appearance of national tongues.[2]

One of the things that changed over the course of this period was the way that translation was conceptualised, a change that would have repercussions far beyond the world of letters. At the beginning of the period, translation was largely indistinguishable from other textual operations such as exegesis, glossing, paraphrase, commentary or compilation (Copeland, 1991). Theorists did not yet think in terms of the binaries that would come to characterise modern translation theory: the dichotomy between the 'original' text and its translation had no place in a world where almost all the texts that were circulating were to some extent or another reworkings

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of another text that preceded them (Watson, 2008);[3] and the author/translator dyad was irrelevant when author status was only accorded to the great figures of antiquity and where contemporary wordsmiths had to be content to be called *scriptores*, *compilatores*, *commentatores* (Minnis, 1988: 94). As for the dichotomy between source and target language, this too made little sense in a world where much translation activity was indirect (Ellis, 2008: 2) and where the boundaries between languages were not yet as clearcut as they would later come to be.

It was during the Early Modern period that we saw the rise of the semantic invariant, the notion that the meaning of a word or phrase could be separated from the precise formulation in which it was couched and transferred to another linguistic setting without essential loss or alteration. On the theoretical level, the shift was marked by the publication, in 1660 and 1662, respectively, of the Port-Royal Grammar and Logic, which affirmed the existence of a universal grammar underpinned by the equally universal human faculty of reason; and with thought now understood to be prior to and independent of language, metaphors began to proliferate that conceptualised translation as a switch of clothing or container (Hermans, 2023, forthcoming). This was a significant shift in relation to Medieval conceptualisations since it implied a meaning that was transcendental, rather than embedded, and which could be extracted and transferred and still remain essentially the same.

Just how and when this shift occurred in actual translation practice is one of the topics explored in this volume through a series of case studies that offer snapshots of translational activity occurring in different times and places. The first chapter, by **Peter Burke**, sets the tone, by focusing on what he calls 'semi-translations', texts that are so reliant on a prior work that they can scarcely be considered 'originals' in their own right, yet which do not display the degree of fidelity that we have come to expect from translation proper. They were called 'imitations' in their day, of course – a term he suggests had two competing meanings, neither of which carried the negative charge that the word would acquire after fashions changed in the nineteenth century. He offers multiple examples of this phenomenon, including some very canonical literary works that are not usually approached as translations, before homing in on two apparently unrelated genres that he shows to have much in common: comedy and conduct books. His account of how, in the first case, motifs from Plautus or Terence, themselves based on Greek precedents, would be borrowed and transformed by successive Renaissance playwrights, and in the second, of how Castiglione's *Cortegiano* was transposed to a series of different settings, triggering changes to the cast of characters and content of the dialogue, sheds light not only on how translation was understood at this time but also on its absolute centrality to literary creation. In fact, by calling his

chapter "Translation as transposition", he draws attention to the fuzziness of the boundary separating 'original' writing from translation and other forms of imitation, suggesting that transformation was understood to be an inevitable part of textual relocation.

The second of the more general reflections, by **Marie-Alice Belle** and **Marie-France Guénette**, offers a (macro)-sociological study of the role of women in Early Modern print culture, looking not only at their presence as translators but also as authors, patrons, readers and stationers. Drawing on the *Cultural Crosscurrents Catalogue of Translations in Stuart and Commonwealth Britain* (1641–1660), Belle and Guénette built a corpus of some 160 texts in which women's presence was visibly recorded in different ways and set out to examine the various forms of female agency revealed by them. Though the number of named female translators in the corpus was actually quite small, Belle and Guénette note how these women take advantage of the paratexts to advertise both their agency as translators, and their connections to influential patrons, male and female; and in at least in one case – that of the anonymous lady translator of Manzini's *Academical Discourses* – they show how conventional protestations of modesty may actually have masked a more complex agenda, enabling the writer to advertise her own rhetorical skill in a socially acceptable way.

The next four chapters all deal with the translation of knowledge, which is shown to be a pragmatic process by and large, involving adaptation to new conditions with little concern for the sanctity of the source text. **Karl Gerhard Hempel** is interested in the way Italian Renaissance culture, particularly political discourse, was transferred to Germany as part of a sustained programme of *translatio studii*. His case study, concerning the translation into German of Xenophon's *Hiero* by humanist Adam Werner von Themar (1502), via Leonardo Bruni's Latin version executed almost a century before, offers a further illustration of the transposition phenomenon described by Burke. Hempel describes how the relocation from Greece to Rome and then from Rome to Germany, brings repercussions on the text's content, as all kinds of details, ranging from architectural features to social mores and prejudices, are changed to suit the new setting. The way that key political vocabulary has been translated at different points of the text shows too that this is being carefully adapted to the knowledge and needs of the new addressee – almost certainly his patron, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Philip the Upright, at whose court von Themar was based. Indeed, Hempel concludes that Themar was effectively using this translation to present himself as an advisor to his patron, legitimising his counsel through recourse to ancient sources.

Chiara Benati's chapter, which also focuses on the German-speaking world, deals with the transfer of medical knowledge. Her case study looks at the (selective) translation into Low German of a High German field

surgery manual that was very influential in its day – Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* of 1517, which, though based on the author's personal experiences, also incorporated material from other authoritative sources (mostly Latin). The Low German translation seems to have been undertaken for pragmatic purposes by someone that was himself a practitioner, since the various alterations made in relation to the source text (omissions, additions, modulations of perspective, etc) seem designed to focus on what was practically useful, as well as clarifying ambiguities. The work is particularly interesting because of the contribution it made to the development of a medical and surgical register in the Northern German language area: at a time when the vernacular languages were still in the process of emancipating themselves from Latin, both the High German translation from Latin and the Low German translation from that will have contributed to the formation of a technical discourse (*Fachsprache*) in those varieties.

Tiago Cardoso's chapter, which follows, describes what may prove to be a similar case of pragmatic translation, though it leaps forward a couple of centuries to near the end of our period. Like Belle and Guénette, Cardoso is concerned with the role of women and how they succeeded in making their mark on a male-dominated field – in this case botany, just a generation after Linnaeus. The scene is Bulstrode House in Buckinghamshire, England, the country home of Margaret Bentinck, the Duchess of Portland, whose estate contained a remarkable collection of exotic plants bequeathed by botanists returning from expeditions, and where many of the greatest minds of the age would meet to study, discuss and categorise the specimens. Here we encounter Mary Delany, a friend of the Duchess, who lived on the estate for many years, and acquired a certain renown for her detailed botanical paper mosaics (the *Flora Delanica*, completed in 1772). However, Cardoso is concerned not with Delany's artwork but with a translation that she did a few years earlier of William Hudson's *Flora Anglica* (1762), the first Linnaean work on British flora to be published in England. Comparing her *British Flora* (1769) with its Latin source text, Cardoso shows how Mary Delany was not satisfied with merely reproducing Hudson's work faithfully in English, but systematically intervened in the text, omitting sections, reformulating others and adding notes, pictures and even a whole separate study of plant taxonomy. However, the fact that the work was never published raises questions as to its target readership and ultimate purpose. Was the translation done merely for Delany's own personal interest, perhaps as a preliminary stage in the preparation of the *Flora Delanica*? Or might she have had a broader pedagogical motive – perhaps to bring the Linnaean classification system to the attention of other women, thereby encouraging their interest and inclusion in fields (like mycology) still considered inappropriate to their sex?

Semih Sarigül's chapter, which comes next, is again concerned with the transfer of medical knowledge but this time in the context of the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire, when modern scientific knowledge of European origin was systematically translated and integrated into the Turkish-Islamic tradition. As well as charting the history of the *Tıbb-ı Cedid* ('New Medicine') movement, as it was called, and the various translators and patrons that protagonised it, the chapter explores how traditional Ottoman medicine and translated European medicine were positioned in the Ottoman medical polysystem. A particularly interesting feature is the discussion of Turkish translation theory, which seems to have some overlaps with the 'transposition' process described by Burke. The *telif* and *terceme* traditions are often considered (through analogy with European terminology) to correspond to 'original writing' and 'translation', respectively, but, Sarigül concludes, they were actually both processes of creative appropriation and mediation that occupied different places in the Ottoman discourse on the transmission of knowledge.

Ferial Ghazoul's chapter, which opens the next section of the volume, is also concerned with Middle Eastern conceptions of translation, though this time with reference to the literary classics, *The Thousand and One Nights* and *Layla and Majnun*. Reviewing the various transits taken by these works over a broad timespan, she argues that the modern western way of assessing and defining translation with reference to fidelity to a source text is not necessarily appropriate for translational practices in this distinct spatiotemporal context. The very terminology of literal versus free, or source versus target, becomes irrelevant when the text itself is viewed as something fluid, even protean. In fact, the Arabic words used to refer to translational processes – *tarjama*, *naqala*, *mu'aradah*, *jevab* – show that translation is conceptualised as something other than a transfer or 'carrying across' of information, suggesting that texts are not understood as finite bounded entities, the property of some hallowed author, whose genius will inevitably be betrayed by attempts to render the work in another tongue. Instead, they are construed as open-ended communal documents, destined to change shape as they voyage from place to place.

The next chapter, by **Rui Carvalho Homem**, continues the literary theme, though now the translation is intra-lingual, more specifically, a low-register rendering of Christopher Marlowe's narrative poem *Hero and Leander* (1598) in the form of a puppet-play, as featured in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). Interestingly, the burlesque reveals precisely the same kind of transformations as Burke and others have described as 'transpositions' in the sense that the narrative is transported from the Classical world to contemporary London, with the Thames standing in for the Hellespont: Leander thus becomes 'a dyer's son about Puddle Wharf' and Hero 'a wench o' the Bankside', while Cupid is a publican, who 'strikes

Hero in love with a pint of sherry'. However, instead of revelling in this creative rewriting like the 'translators' described by Burke and Ghazoul, Ben Jonson reveals a mistrust of it, presenting it as a form of debasement, disfigurement or bastardisation. Carvalho Homem suggests that this is due to Jonson's reverence towards the Classical legacy and support for the 'proudly derivative' tradition of *imitatio* through which men of letters, in Medieval and Early Modern times, learned their craft. The true butt of Jonson's satire, he argues, is the puppetmaster Littlewit, who has the audacity to present himself as an original author, congratulating himself on his 'pretty conceit'. This play, then, marks a moment of social change when the modern concept of original authorship is about to take over from *imitatio*, bringing important consequences for translation theory.

Joseph Hankinson's chapter, which comes next, looks at a text that has many similarities with Ben Jonson's satire, in that it revels in the riotous and grotesque. John Eliot's *Ortho-Epia Gallica* (1593) consists of a set of bilingual dialogues between (mostly) low-life characters set in (sometimes bizarre) contexts such as a shipwreck, a robbery and a drunken banquet and includes 'railing language, abuses and profanities', as well as Rabelaisian images of 'mouths and tongues, drinking and eating, abuse and sickness'. It is therefore a surprise to learn that the text is actually designed for the teaching of French, and as such, may be categorised as a pedagogical work, one of the many that were produced around this time for the self-teaching of modern languages. Yet, as Hankinson points out, there seems to be little concern with the kind of rigor that we have come to expect from didactic translations.[4] Rather than aiming at semantic equivalence, the translations amplify and (prismatically) scatter the meaning potential inherent in the source texts, emphasising the materiality of language through its celebration of onomatopoeias and other forms of iconicity, and attention to the physicality of pronunciation. Indeed, the languages are permitted to seep into each other and even change places in what today would be considered an instance of 'translanguaging' (García and Li, 2014). One wonders, though, if, in attempting to teach French while simultaneously challenging conceptualisations of languages as separate entities, Eliot was not actually endangering the efficacy of his pedagogical methods – even if, as Massimiliano Morini (2006: 24) has pointed out, the borders between different literary discourses were not yet clearly defined.

The first chapter in the final section of the book focuses on the phenomenon of indirect translation, another very common practice in this period.[5] **Donatella Montini**'s case study concerns Florio's English version, first published in 1580, of a piece of travel writing by the French captain Jacques Cartier (1491–1557), which describes two French voyages to Canada in 1534 and 1535–1536. However, Florio did not use Cartier's text as his source (indeed the French account of the first voyage was lost until 1867,

when a handwritten copy of Cartier's original was found at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris). Instead, he translated indirectly from Giovan Battista Ramusio's Italian version (1565), remaining (Montini tells us) remarkably faithful to that intermediate version stylistically, while eliminating or altering certain features of the content that would have little relevance in the target culture – providing yet another example of translation as transposition. Florio's *Two Navigations* found its final destination in Richard Hakluyt's monumental *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589, and 1598–1600), where curiously his identity was eliminated, despite the translation being incorporated virtually intact into the third volume of the 1600 expanded edition, with some explanatory glosses by Hakluyt in the margins. Finally, Montini adapts Belle and Hosington's (2017) communications-circuit model to provide a visual representation of the textual transits that resulted in Florio's *Two Navigations* and the various agents that contributed to them.

Richard Hakluyt makes a brief reappearance in **Rogério Miguel Puga**'s chapter on travel writing, providing another instance of both indirect translation and transposition. The main protagonist is Hakluyt's disciple Samuel Purchas, whose four-volume anthology of travel writing, known as *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1624), was explicitly presented as a sequel to Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589). Puga focuses on Purchas's (indirect) translation of the Portuguese travelogue *Peregrinação* by Fernando Mendes Pinto, a somewhat fantastical account of that author's arrival and stay in the Orient written in 1570–1578 and published posthumously in 1614. He shows how Purchas adapts the text to suit the needs of his (commercial) readership by carefully selecting parts that he believes will be useful to future English merchants in these new contact zones. This involves foregrounding information about trade routes, merchandise, profits and potential trading partners, while omitting circumstantial detail, adding cultural and historical background in the form of margin notes and glosses, and reframing Catholic references to suit Protestant sensibilities. The chapter also discusses how such translated texts contributed to the early English colonial project by helping to form their image of China, since, until the signing of the Convention of Goa in 1635 and the opening-up of Portuguese ports in Asia, most of the information England had about the East had been acquired indirectly from European, especially Iberian, sources.

John Milton's chapter, which closes the volume, continues the Portuguese theme with a look at the interpreters working under the Portuguese maritime empire. Milton describes an astonishing range of types, from the indigenous peoples captured by Portuguese explorers in the fifteenth century (who would be taken back to Lisbon and taught Portuguese, before being brought back on subsequent missions to serve as intermediaries) and

the Portuguese convicts expelled from their homeland (who were literally thrown, i.e. '*lançados*', into the new continent to learn the language) to the slaves that earned their freedom by becoming an intermediaries themselves in the slave trade, and the many freelance traders and smugglers that had acquired linguistic skills to further their trade. The names and functions differed depending on the part of the world they were operating in, and the framework of their operations seems to have been quite distinct in Africa, Brazil, the Indian Ocean or Macau. Nevertheless, Milton points out in his conclusion that they had many things in common, not least trading connections and a certain social marginality, despite attempts in some parts of the world to regulate the activity and introduce formal training.

Overall, the picture that emerges from this volume is of a translational practice that is still very flexible, as, in case after case, source texts are creatively appropriated for new purposes, whether pragmatic, pedagogical or diversional. Moreover, the practice crosses the entire period from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, and involves a range of genres, from science and philosophy to literature, travel writing and language teaching. As such, it seems to support Peter Burke's assertion that translation in this period should best be seen as a form of creative transposition, rather different from the much more constrained practice that we are used to today.

However, we should not blithely assume that source-text fidelity was not yet an ideal to which translators aspired. As Theo Hermans has demonstrated in his very thoroughly researched essay "The task of the translator in the European Renaissance" (1997), pronouncements *about* translation show that, by the sixteenth century, the perceived duty of the translator was in fact to reproduce the source text as *literally* as possible, and that even the notoriously unfaithful libertine translators of the seventeenth century were effectively affirming this norm by rebelling so flamboyantly against it.

Why then, we may wonder, did there continue to be so many cases of translation as creative transposition?

One answer might be that most of the translators described in this volume did not see themselves primarily as translators at all. Just as in Cicero's Rome, when the *fides interpres* was a despised professional who translated documents for money (McElduff, 2009), it may be that the authors of the transpositions described in these chapters conceived of themselves as philosophers, scientists, scholars, men and women of letters, gentlefolk of leisure – anything, in fact, but translators, since this would have implied a clerical status, and increasingly, a professionalisation, with which they did not identify.

And if they did not conceive of themselves as translators, then they may not have classified the texts they produced as 'translations' either. Most of the individuals described here – von Themar, the Low German surgeon,

Eliot, Jonson, Florio, Hakluyt, Purchas and Delany – seem to have felt that they were repurposing content with a view to satisfying a need that had arisen in their own immediate context, and they may have viewed this as a qualitatively different activity from the kind of translation that was the object of the theorisations.

In short, what this volume shows is that, in actual translation practice, the pre-modern attitude, according to which texts would shift and change as they were relocated across languages, cultures and genres, persisted long after theoretical attitudes had moved on. That is to say, though notions of translatability were common, underpinned from the seventeenth century by rationalist ideas of universal grammar, practitioners do not seem to have been particularly fettered by the need to preserve some semantic invariant in their transpositions. We would have to wait till the nineteenth century before the concept of original authorship, combined with the nationalistic drive to demarcate languages, territories and peoples, generated the kind of respect for the source text that we have become used to today.

Notes

1 *Nullius in verba* was of course the motto of the Royal Society, founded 1660.
2 This development is explored in more detail in the first volume of this series (Bennett and Cattaneo, 2022).
3 See Randall (2001: 32–60), Pask (2002) and Kewes (2003) for more on the development of the discourse of originality with the onset of nationalism and print capitalism.
4 Translations produced for pedagogical purposes were usually word-for-word (Hermans, 2007: 1424).
5 A study carried out by Hosington (2011) using the authoritative *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1641* has shown that 11% of the approximately 6,500 translations examined fall into the category of indirect translation.

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Part I

General Reflections

1 Translation as Transposition in Early Modern Europe

Peter Burke

When is a translation not a translation? Where does the frontier lie between a translation and an original work? Actually, like Early Modern frontiers between nations, the translation frontier is not so much a line as a zone, a contact zone if you like, a sort of literary no man's land populated by semi-translations or hybrids.

Like the famous drawing that can be read either as the head of a duck or a rabbit, many Early Modern translations have two faces. If you view them as originals, their plagiarisms are apparent, but if you expect them to be translations, then their creativity springs to the eye. These semi-translations are my topic here, focusing on Early Modern England, France, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

This chapter offers some variations on a theme by Umberto Eco (2003), who famously called translation a *spostamento* between two cultures. Appropriately enough, this term is itself difficult to translate into English. To render this word as 'displacement' or even 'dislocation' gives it a negative sense, emphasising the violence done to a text when it is uprooted from its original culture and transplanted into another. More positively, Eco's term may be translated into English as 'transposition'.

Transposition

So far as I know, the first time that the English term 'transposition' was used to refer to culture in general, rather than to music, was in 1920, when the Oxford anthropologist R. R. Marett referred to the 'transposition' of elements of culture "from one part of a system to another" (1920: 99).

Despite his interest in anthropology, I expect that Eco, given his concern with semiotics, was thinking not of Marett but of the use of the term 'transposition' in Roman Jakobson's famous essay "On linguistic aspects of translation" (1959: 118), and also of Julia Kristeva's (1974: 59) definition of 'intertext', writing in French, as "une transposition" from one system of signs to another.[1]

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Eco's point may itself be translated into an earlier form of scholarly discourse, associated with Friedrich Schleiermacher's famous remarks (1815) on translation as a kind of movement, whether taking the text to the reader or (as he preferred) taking the reader to the text (2012: 52).

In the Early Modern European regime of translation, domestication, in the sense of taking the text to the reader (Venuti, 1995), was dominant, at least in the case of vernacular texts, as will be seen in the case of some spectacular examples discussed below. Translations of the Bible were more literal. So were translations of the ancient Greek and Roman classics, with notorious exceptions such as the translations into French by Nicholas d'Ablancourt (1606–1664). His versions were criticised at the time for their freedom and described as "les belles infidèles" (Zuber, 1968).

The dominant regime was one of relative freedom in other ways too. Some translators saw themselves as co-authors with the right to remove from the texts they were translating whatever did not interest them or what they thought would not interest readers.

Still more surprising, at least for us in the twenty-first century, was the amplification of texts by their translators (Burke, 2007; Smith, 1998: 141). A spectacular example of this process is the translation of Rabelais into German by Johann Fischart. Rabelais loved to produce long lists, of insults, for instance, and of games, but his translator tried to surpass him with still longer ones.[2] Fischart was emulated in this respect by the translator of Rabelais into Scots, Sir Thomas Urquhart.

What Fischart and Urquhart were doing was described in their own day as 'imitation', a term with a double meaning at this time. The first meaning was that of following a model, especially an Italian model, Petrarch or Ariosto for instance, or an ancient model, such as Virgil in the case of epics or Plautus in the case of comedies.

The second meaning of *imitatio* was that of emulation, in other words, an attempt to surpass the original, as in the case of Fischart. Again, Edmund Spenser's poem the *Faerie Queene* was described by one of his friends an attempt to "overgo Ariosto", in other words, to go one better than the work that was imitated.[3]

One major form taken by domestication was and is the displacement of the original text in space, time or genre, or indeed all three.

In more general terms, this practice may be described as creating an 'ecotype' in the sense of a local variation of a more widespread item of culture such as a folktale or a type of building (von Sydow, 1948).[4]

Appropriately enough, displacements of this kind were often the work of displaced persons, exiles or the children of exiles, individuals on the edge between two cultures who turned their position from a disadvantage into a means of livelihood. They include two Londoners, the half-Italian John Florio, who taught Italian as well as translating Montaigne

into English, and the Huguenot exile Pierre Coste, who translated Locke into French.

The term 'transposition' was already employed in English in the seventeenth century to describe both literal and metaphorical movement. Bishops were sometimes described as 'transposed' or 'translated' from one diocese to another, in a context in which we would now use the term 'transferred'. Musical compositions were already described as 'transposed' from one key to another.

In what follows I shall employ the term 'transposition' as a synecdoche, standing for the whole process of domestication, adaptation or cultural translation. In this process, the decontextualisation of the text is followed by its recontextualisation, its dislocation by relocation.

The process I am calling 'transposition' is of course common in many if not all cultures. In our age of globalisation, anthropologists have noted the 'localisation' of the global, for example the domestication of Coca-Cola in the Caribbean.[5] The familiarisation of the foreign is so much part of us, itself so familiar, that it often takes place unconsciously, at the level of perception.

Travellers often describe and may even perceive exotic customs and institutions in terms that are familiar to them, like the Early Modern Europeans who described the emperor of Japan as a kind of pope, or, entering a temple in India, interpreted a statue of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva as an image of the Trinity.

This process of understanding also affects memory, as the British experimental psychologist Frederick Bartlett showed in an article that he published in 1920. After folktales from Africa and the American Indians had been read to his subjects, all English, they were asked to write down what they remembered. In the process, they added or subtracted details that made the story more familiar, a process that Bartlett described either as 'conventionalization' or 'familiarization' (Bartlett, 1920; Bohannan, 1966).

Adaptations

I turn now from unconscious or semi-conscious familiarisation to a series of examples of conscious adaptation by translators from one language into another.

Let's begin with the case of the famous treatise on architecture by the ancient Roman Vitruvius. In the sixteenth century, the text was translated into Italian (twice), French, German and Spanish. Book Six of the treatise is concerned with the housing appropriate for different social groups. Since the book was translated in order to be useful to builders or their patrons, while European social structures were different from those of ancient Rome, transposition became necessary.

Vitruvius referred, for instance, to patrons such as "moneylenders and tax-farmers", *feneratores et publicani*. These groups did indeed exist in Early Modern Europe but they were not exactly respectable. So one Italian translation replaced them by "bankers and money-changers", *banchieri* and *cambiatori*. Again, where Vitruvius referred to magistrates, the translators transposed them into lawyers – *avvocati* in the Italian version, *procureurs* in the French, *Juristen* in the German and so on. In this way, Vitruvius was quietly brought up to date (Burke, 2015: 38).

Translators of other kinds of text also practised familiarisation, changing small things in the original and other things that were not so small. In the German translation of Cervante's *Novelas Ejemplares*, for instance, the names of the characters Rinconete and Cortadillo were elaborated into Isaac Winckfelder and Jobst von der Scheidt, thus keeping the references to corners and knives. In the German translation of Rabelais, Fischart moved the settings of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* from Paris and elsewhere to Strassburg and Basel.

For an example of what may seem today like taking a liberty with the text, the translator into English of Tasso's pastoral drama *Aminta* took the opportunity to add another character to the play, named Pembrokiana in honour of his patron the Countess of Pembroke.

Two Spanish translations of Italian dialogues went even further in the direction of domestication. In the fifteenth century, Juan de Lucena translated, or imitated, a dialogue on happiness by the Italian humanist Bartolomeo Fazio. He moved the setting from Ferrara to Burgos, and more importantly, he replaced the Italian interlocutors with Spaniards: Alonso de Cartagena, Juan de Mena, the marquis of Santillana and Lucena himself (Lucena, 2014).

In a similar fashion, in the sixteenth century, when Diego de Salazar translated Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra*, he not only moved the scene of the dialogue from Italy to Spain but, like Lucena, replaced Italian interlocutors by Spanish ones, including Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, the Great Captain. I suspect that Spanish readers would not have been inclined to accept lessons on the art of war from Italians at a time when Córdoba's successes in Italy were fresh in their memory.

Comedies and Conduct Books

Focusing more sharply, I should now like to discuss transposition in two literary genres that were important in the Renaissance: comedies and conduct books.

You may find this juxtaposition odd, but there is a reason why these two genres should have included outstanding examples of Early Modern literary transposition. Comedy was supposed to encourage good behaviour,

usually by satirising men and women who were behaving badly. Conduct books were also concerned with good behaviour, in a wide sense, not just the details of etiquette that dominate nineteenth-century books of this kind – how to arrange the cutlery for dinner or how to address the envelope when writing to a duke. Comedies and conduct books needed to be both intelligible and relevant to spectators and readers in the culture to which they were addressed. Making them relevant was the task of the translator.

In the case of comedy, scholars have sometimes discovered a whole chain of translations or adaptations. The ancient Roman playwright Plautus adapted the ancient Greek New Comedy into Latin (Telò, 2014). In their turn, comedies written in the Renaissance drew so heavily on Plautus that many can be classified as free translations, or at least as literary examples of the duck-rabbit effect.

More adventurously, some Renaissance comedies combine motifs from different classical plays, usually from Plautus but sometimes from Terence as well. They often relocate the setting, transposing it from Athens to Lucca, for instance, in the case of Lorenzino de'Medici's *Aridosia*. In his turn, the French dramatist Pierre de Larivey adapted the *Aridosia* in his play *Les Esprits* and moved the scene onwards from Lucca to Paris. Larivey's adaptation of another Italian play includes a reference to the red-light district of Paris, nicknamed Champ Gaillard.

In the prologue to *Les Esprits*, Larivey explains that he has practised "the imitation of Plautus and Terence together" (my translation, 1987: 50), adding that "Plautus and Terence were themselves great imitators" (my translation, 1987: 49) but conveniently forgetting to mention his most immediate source, Lorenzino. The frontier between creative imitation and plagiarism was a fuzzy one, like the frontier between translation and imitation.

The most common and also the most creative imitations of Plautus were surely those of his play about a boastful but cowardly soldier, *Miles Gloriosus*. The choice was an appropriate one in the age of the Swiss mercenaries, the *Lanzknechten*, and then of the Spanish *tercios*, especially when they were fighting in Italy from 1494 onwards under the command of the Great Captain. Mocking the Spaniard was a kind of fantasy-revenge by the dominated for the Spanish dominance of much of Italy at this time. A whole army of boastful soldiers strutted onto the European stage, beginning with Centurio in *La Celestina* (ca. 1499) and continuing to the middle of the seventeenth century, the end of the Thirty Years' War.

The attraction of other plays by Plautus for playwrights of the Renaissance often resided in their complex plots, as in the case of the *Menaechmi,* the story of twin brothers that inspired Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, Sá de Miranda's *Os Estrangeiros* and a number of other plays.

In the case of the *Miles Gloriosus*, on the other hand, to judge by the imitations, the attraction was not so much the plot as the character of the boastful coward Pyrgopolinices, first puffing himself up and then deflated. Like the lists in Rabelais, the soldier's bombastic rhetoric presented a linguistic challenge for translators and imitators to which they were happy to respond.

The name *Capitan* was first used for this role in the *Comedia Soldadesca* by the Spanish playwright Torres Naharro, a play that was published in 1517. It was taken up by Italian, French and English writers who invented names for this character such as Spavento, Cocodrillo, Taillebras and Ralph Roister Doister. As you know, the captain ended up as one of the masks in the *commedia dell'arte*, where his boasts, known in French as *rodomontades* were delivered in Italian with a Spanish accent (Miola, 1995).[6] The role of the soldier offered considerable scope for elaborate *bravure*, as the Italians call them, boasts and threats delivered by Captain Fear from Hell Valley, whether following a text or in the semi-improvisations of the *commedia*.

In England, one might view Shakespeare's Falstaff as, among other things, an avatar of *Capitano,* claiming prowess in both love and war and failing in both, first in battle in *Henry IV* and then in love in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, where the plot is a transposition from Italy to Berkshire of a narrative from the repertoire of the Italian storyteller Straparola (Miola, 1995).

It is time to move on to translations of conduct books. Some took the form of a dialogue, not so different from comedy. Indeed, one can easily imagine them being read aloud in a period when many people listened to books rather than looking at them. In some cases, the characters of the dialogue are sharply differentiated, three dimensional (Burke, 1989).

In what follows I shall concentrate on Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. But before turning to this famous text and its translations, I should like to mention four late Renaissance examples of the conduct book; Giambattista Giraldi's dialogues on the *vita civile* (1554); Alessandro Piccolomini's *Della Institutione Morale* (1560), a guide to the education of a gentleman; Francesco Sansovino's *Secretario* (1565); Stefano Guazzo's *Conversazione Civile* (1574).

All four books were translated in a more or less free manner. Lodowick Bryskett, who was probably, like Florio, the son of an Italian refugee to England, transposed Giraldi's dialogue on the civil life from Italy to his own cottage near Dublin and turned the speakers into a group of his friends that included the poet Edmund Spenser. Piccolomini's book was translated into French by Pierre Larivey, who was discussed earlier as the author-translator of nine Italian comedies.

Sansovino's guide for secretaries, a profession that was becoming more and more important in the sixteenth century, was translated by two writers, Angel Day, who published *The English Secretary* in 1586 and the

prolific French translator Gabriel Chappuys, whose *Le secrétaire* appeared two years later in 1588. Both writers made many additions to the Italian text. To use a term current at the time, they 'accommodated' it to the needs and the expectations of English and French readers. In contexts as varied as architecture and the mission field, the term 'accommodation' was used to refer to the process of adaptation.

A small example shows this process at work. In Guazzo's *Civil Conversation*, the author drew attention to the low voices of French Protestants, *ugonotti*. However, the English version replaced *ugonotti* by 'holy Ankers', in other words, anchorites or hermits. In other words, a Catholic gibe at Protestants was transposed into a Protestant gibe at Catholics.

I should like to conclude this chapter with a discussion of three of the translations, semi-translations or if you prefer, 'rewritings' of Castiglione's *Courtier*, a text that successfully combined the genres of courtesy book and dramatic dialogue.

Appropriately enough in this context, the *Courtier* not only discusses creative imitation but also exemplifies it, especially in its relation to the three classics that are cited by the author at the beginning of the dialogue – Plato's *Republic,* Xenophon's *Education of Cyrus,* and above all Cicero's *Orator* (Burke, 1995).

The first rewriting of the *Courtier*, in Spanish, by the humanist Cristóbal de Villalón, showed its creativity by transposing the setting from the court to the university. The speakers in the dialogue, *El Scholástico,* discuss the ideal student and the ideal teacher. Despite this displacement, as the author noted wryly in his prologue, "Some people who have already seen our book … have criticized it by saying that I followed count Baldassare Castiglione's *Courtier* so closely that I virtually translated it" (quoted in Burke, 1995: 85).

A second rewriting of the *Courtier* was Polish while a third was Portuguese. *Dworzanin Polski* [Polish Courtier] was published in 1566 by Łukasz Górnicki. The scene of the dialogue was transferred from Urbino to a villa near Kraków which had belonged to the late bishop, Górnicki's former patron. The speakers are nine Polish nobles. Comparing their conversations with the Italian original, some changes are obvious enough. The language question, for instance, is discussed with reference not to Tuscany and Lombardy but to Czech and Polish.

The most striking differences from the original, however, consist of what is left out. Unlike their Italian counterparts, the Poles do not discuss painting, sculpture or music on the grounds that "we don't know about them here" (quoted in Burke, 1987: 37). The text, published soon after the Council of Trent came to an end, also omits some of the jokes at the expense of the clergy that could be found in the Italian original.

Most striking of all, there are no women present in the dialogue because in Poland, again according to Górnicki, ladies were not learned enough to

take part in this kind of discussion. In any case, their presence might well have been considered inappropriate at the court of a Counter-Reformation bishop.

These changes in the text made other changes necessary. Social psychologists tell us that if a group is together for a certain amount of time, specific roles will emerge, one of which is the jester or clown. Some writers of Renaissance dialogues, Castiglione included, were well aware of this.

In the *Cortegiano*, the role of jester is performed with grace by the Genoese patrician Gaspar Pallavicino, who loves to tease the ladies and is teased by them in return. In the case of the Polish text, in which ladies are absent, Pallavicino presented an awkward problem. It was solved by the re-writer with particular ingenuity.

Although the playful misogyny of Pallavicino had become irrelevant, Górnicki did include a jester in the group of speakers – Stanisław Podlodowski, an unashamed defender of the good old days when Poles were more concerned with fighting than with writing, and a sharp critic of people who praise everything that is Italian. Podlodowski's interventions offer comic relief. At the same time, they gave Górnicki the opportunity to express different views about the process of imitation and reception.

The Portuguese equivalent of the *Dworzanin Polski* was published in 1619 by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo under the poetic title *Corte na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno* [Court in the Village and Winter Nights]. The author transposed the setting of the dialogue from Urbino to a house in a village not far from Lisbon, calling his book "Court in the Village" because there was no real Portuguese court after Spain had taken over the country in 1580. Hence the dialogue is pervaded by a sense of nostalgia.

As in the Polish case, women were eliminated from the dialogue. Hence Rodrigues Lobo faced a similar problem to Górnicki and offered a similar solution. The most memorable character in his dialogue is Solino, "an old man who had served one of the grandees of the court" (my translation, 1945: 8), an unobtrusive reference to the time when Portugal was an independent kingdom. Solino is a jester, the equivalent of Pallavicino and Podlodowski. He is described as speaking in an amusing way ("notavelmente engraçado no que dizia", 1945: 8). He also likes to tease his colleagues by attacking them at their weak points, although his sharp remarks do not go deep ("sem dar ferida penetrante", 1945: 8) and so do not cause offence.

At first sight, Rodrigues Lobo's dialogue seems to have little to do with Castiglione's, beyond the common fiction of a group of friends in conversation. Their first topic, the value or the harm of romances of chivalry, is closer to *Don Quijote* (published a few years earlier) than to the *Cortegiano*.

Their second topic, the etiquette of letter-writing, is closer to the book by Sansovino mentioned earlier, the *Secretary*, than it is to Castiglione's

dialogue. It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that discussions of letter-writing, like published letters, became fashionable, especially in Italy (Montaigne brought several books on the subject home with him after visiting Italy in 1580).

However, in the course of reading or re-reading, similarities to the *Courtier* emerge little by little in an unobtrusive manner. One such similarity is the discussion of grace, both in speech and the movements of the body. Another is the discussion of language, although it is not concerned with regional dialects, as in Castiglione – perhaps Portugal did not develop them – but with the difference between the language of the upper class and that of ordinary people.[7]

To sum up, Rodrigues Lobo brings Castiglione up to date in some respects, although his text also refers to survivals from Medieval culture such as heraldry and chivalry.

His achievement, like that of other Early Modern semi-translators, is twofold: he shows his skill in the art of emulation, and he draws the cultural consequences of the move from the palace of Urbino to a country house outside Lisbon. Rodrigues Lobo might therefore be described as a master of transposition.

Returning to Schleiermacher, his advocacy of taking the reader to the text ushered in a new regime of translation in which the products were closer to the original but the translators had less freedom. Something was gained, but something was also "lost in translation" the traditional challenge to the translator to do better than the original writer.

Notes

1 A more recent example is Ferial J. Ghazoul's (2014) usage in "*Majnun Layla*: Translation as transposition".
2 On Fischart, see Weinberg (1986).
3 Gabriel Harvey, as quoted in J. C. Smith and E. De Sélincourt (1970).
4 The concept originated in botany but I borrowed it from the distinguished Swedish folklorist Carl von Sydow (the father of the now more famous Max).
5 See Miller (1997: 169–187).
6 *Rodomontades* refer to *Capitaine* Rodomont in Belleau, *La reconnue* (1564).
7 In this respect, it anticipates the English socialite Nancy Mitford (1956), who described certain forms of speech in the mid-twentieth century as 'U' (in other words, upper class) and non-U', leading to middle-class anxiety over words such as 'serviette', 'cycle' or 'cemetery'.

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2 Connected Identities

Representing Women in Seventeenth-Century English Translation and Print

Marie-Alice Belle and Marie-France Guénette

In 1659, the London stationer, John Redmayne published a slim octavo, entitled: *The Learned Maid: or Whether a Maid may be a Scholar? A Logical Exercise, Written in Latin by that incomparable Virgin Anna Maria à Schurman of Utrecht* (Van Schurman, 1659). The laudatory title was accompanied by a full-page frontispiece portrait giving full visibility to the author, with a caption in Latin and an epigraph quotation in Greek further advertising her learning (Figure 2.1). Besides the English version of Van Schurman's *Dissertatio Logica* on the education of women, the volume also contains excerpts from the scholar's correspondence with members of the European Republic of letters, in particular, "some epistles to the famous Gassendus" (Van Schurman, 1659: title page). The translation itself was composed by the prolific translator, Clement Barksdale, who would later go on to publish his own treatise on the education of women (Larsen, 2016: 186).

In the dedicatory epistle addressed to "the Honourable Lady, the Lady A. H." (who has been variously identified as Anne Halkett, Anne Huntington, or Anne Hudson) (Larsen, 2016), Barksdale resorts to metaphors that are at once commonplace and unmistakably gendered:

> This Strange Maid, now […] drest up in her *English Habit,* cometh to kiss your hand. She hopes you will admit her to your *Closet,* and speak a good word for her to your worthy *Friends,* and endear her to *Them* also.
>
> (Van Schurman, 1659: sig. A4r–v)

Where the title page publicly celebrates Van Schurman both as a woman and a cosmopolitan writer, her reception among English "worthy" ladies is thus framed as a more intimate affair. Of course, advertising a published book by evoking the fiction of its private circulation among a close circle of friends is a common feature of the paradox of print in the Early Modern period. Perhaps the dedication here mirrors Van Schurman's statement that

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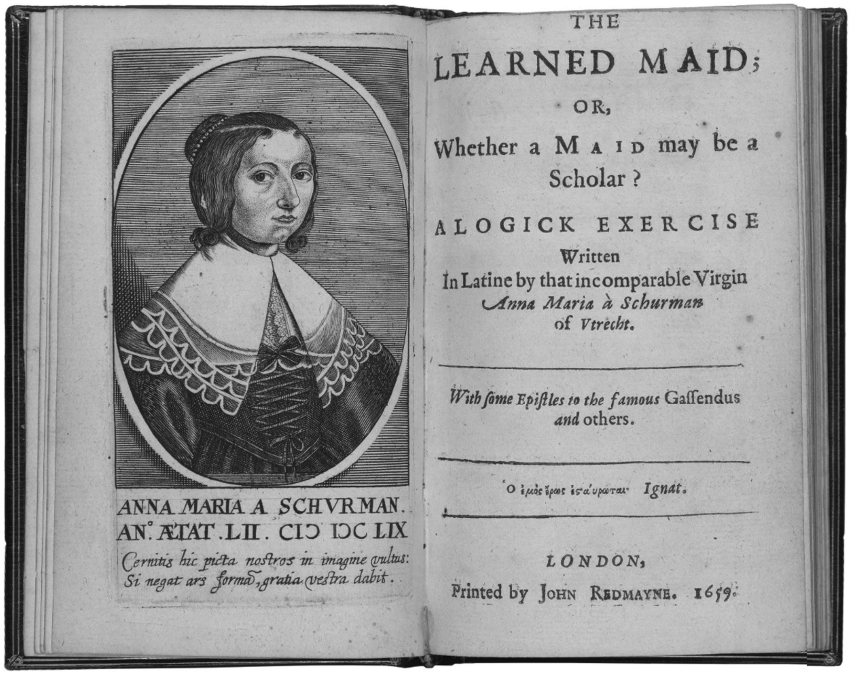

Figure 2.1 Anna Maria Van Schurman, *The Learned Maid: or Whether a Maid may be a Scholar?*, translated by Clement Barksdale (London: John Redmayne, 1659). Shelfmark: S902, frontispiece and title page. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

women are to be educated at home, as well as her own rhetoric of female friendship.[1] However, it contrasts not only with the international fame of the author herself but also with the fact that her epistolary circle did in fact already include a number of British women. One of the "other" correspondents actually mentioned in the volume is Dorothy Moore, a member of the renowned Hartlib circle. Another well-known example is that of Bathsua Makin, tutor to yet another "learned maid", Princess Elizabeth Stuart (Pal, 2012: 197). The 1659 printed volume thus shows a tension between, on the one hand, the public visibility, cosmopolitan connections, and international celebrity enjoyed by Van Schurman as a scholar; and, on the other, a pervasive rhetoric of gendered modesty (Van Schurman is presented on the title page as a "virgin" and a "maid") as well as private intimacy among female friends – the latter being paradoxically facilitated by a male intermediary (here, the translator, Clement Barksdale).

This paradox of public visibility and male-sanctioned modesty has been recently identified by Anne E. B. Coldiron as a recurrent feature

in the portrayal of other Early Modern female scholars and translators (Coldiron, 2018). In this essay, we seek to explore even further the complexities inherent in the representation of women's social and literary identities in seventeenth-century printed translations. The example of Van Schurman's translated treatise represents an important starting point as an example of the visibility in print of both female authorship and translation. Both phenomena having long remained all too "invisible" – to quote Lawrence Venuti's (1995) now widely accepted concept – in Early Modern scholarship, the situation is gradually being corrected by scholars such as Coldiron, but also Brenda Hosington, Micheline White, Deborah Uman, Jaime Goodrich, Patricia Demers, Danielle Clarke, and others, who have demonstrated how translation could represent a high-status, creative, and authoritative practice for women.[2] Female authors in translation, as well as female translators themselves, are thus rightly being recognised and integrated into historical narratives of translation. It is no less important to document less obvious cases in which translation activities and women's identities become intertwined on the pages of the translated book. Names of female patrons, stationers, readers, and other agents involved in the life-cycle of translations also appear on those pages, sometimes giving rise to complex and subtle representations of both translation and female agency in Early Modern literary culture. In her recent essay "Invisibility Optics" in Early Modern women's scholarship, Margaret Ezell (2018: 35) invites us to resist, or at least complement the natural urge towards canonical recognition of women's individual authorship, and focus instead on practices, contexts, and modes of performance of female identity and agency in Early Modern literary culture (Pender, 2018: 70; Pender and Smith, 2014: 2–3). In a similar vein, Coldiron (2019: 206) has highlighted the benefits for the Early Modern translation historian to focus on the *processes* involved in the production and circulation of translations, as opposed to, or at least alongside a more or less fixed corpus of translated texts and authors.

Including, therefore, but also moving beyond well-known cases that might perhaps be read as exceptions, we use a de-centred, micro-historical approach that may offer more widely representative, robust documentation of the place, agency, and representation of women in Early Modern translation and print culture. The examples discussed here have all been identified as part of a research project at the Université de Montréal directed by Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda Hosington, which will result in a catalogue of printed translations for the years 1641–1660. While this study cannot (nor does it seek to) be an exhaustive study of female presences in that catalogue, we believe that the series of *vignettes* presented below will shed valuable light on the interconnected representations of translation and female agency in Early Modern British print culture.

Connected Identities: Women, Translation, and Print Culture in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Britain

The relationship between women, translation, and print culture is rich and complex in the Early Modern period. Somehow ironically prolonging John Florio's (in)famous comment that "all translations are reputed females, delivered at second hand" (Montaigne, 1603: sig. A2r), the historiography of translation has long associated female translatorship with lesser forms of authorial agency in a patriarchal society (Hannay, 1985: 7; Krontiris, 1992: 21). This, however, has been challenged in the last few decades, and female translators, such as Mary Sidney Herbert, Elizabeth Cary or Katherine Philips, among others, are now recognised as writers in their own right. Female patronage has also been shown to represent an important force in the development of the Early Modern English culture of translation. The most obvious cases are those of royal patrons, such as, for example, Elizabeth I, or later Henrietta Maria, consort to Charles I (Guénette, 2019). Yet the liminary pages of printed translations also show dedications to many other women, daughters, sisters, wives, or mothers of more or less famous courtiers and scholars. Similarly, the traditional association of translations with a female readership has also been at once confirmed and diversified in recent scholarship. While Early Modern women were certainly readers of translated romances and devotional writings, as has long been documented (Hackett, 2000), they also were part of the growing public for English translations of the Classics, among other genres usually associated to men. According to the latest survey, for instance, Lady Anne Clifford's famous library included copies of George Chapman's *Homer Prince of Poets*, Philemon Holland's version of Livy's *Roman History*, Golding's *Metamorphoses*, a translation of Thucydides' *Peloponnesian Wars*, and Amyot's French Plutarch (Malay, 2021: 23–41). Besides, as Helen Smith, among others, has persuasively shown, women's roles as readers were not merely passive, or receptive (2012: 211). In the 1630 and 1640s, as avid consumers of fashionable Italian and French *novelle* and pastorals, aristocratic women around Queen Henrietta Maria contributed to shaping literary tastes at the Caroline court (Britland, 2006: 112). Even as readers of devotional writings, women could play an extremely active role, as demonstrated by their roles in the circulation of forbidden Catholic books in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. Upper-class Catholic women patronised and protected translators, helped circulate translated texts among recusant communities, and when translations were dedicated to them, their names and titles could be used as markers of cultural identity as well as sources of social prestige (Belle and Guénette, 2022: 214). Finally, women participated in the dissemination of translated texts as workers in the book trade – most often as stationers (i.e., printers

and/or booksellers), but also as peddlers, as has been established by Smith's pioneering work in that field (2003, 2012).

As noted above, a common theme in the recent historiography of both women and translation has been the question of visibility. In this context, the printed book has been recognised as an essential medium for the construction of Early Modern translation as a visible practice (Coldiron, 2012, 2018). This is also true for the representation of female authority and agency: just as their male counterparts, women authors and translators seized the opportunities afforded by print production and dissemination (Coldiron, 2009, 2018; Ezell, 2018; Pender, 2012, 2018). Of course, manuscript circulation continued to represent an important component of Early Modern literary culture, and many translations penned by, or dedicated to, women in the seventeenth century were never meant to be printed (Coolahan, 2018; Goodrich, 2014). Still, we believe that, as a historically situated cultural and material object, the Early Modern printed book offers privileged insight into the ways in which the practice of translation, and women's variegated relationships with it, were represented in Early Modern literary culture. In sum, we ask: how are women's identities – domestic as well as public; as authors and translators, but also patrons, readers, and diffusers of translations – inscribed in the printed translated book? What does this tell us, in turn, about the place of women in the Early Modern English culture of translation?

As part of the above-mentioned research project, we examined these overlapping critical perspectives through the corpus of printed translations collected for the *Cultural Crosscurrents Catalogue of translations in Stuart and Commonwealth Britain (1641–1660)*. This extension of Brenda Hosington's *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue (2013) specifically gathers translations published in the years of the Civil Wars and the Interregnum. These pivotal decades in the British seventeenth century also witnessed important developments in the history of translation and the book trade, and in both cases, they directly involved women. In 1641, the abolition of the Star Chamber, which controlled censorship, resulted in the free circulation of heretofore forbidden books, including translations of Teresa of Avila's religious writings (Clarke, 2020) and other Catholic texts known to be associated with female patronage and readership. The multivolume English translation of the dévot treatise, *La Cour Sainte*, which was serially printed in France from 1626 and throughout the 1630s, thus saw its first English editions from 1650 onwards (Guénette, 2016). In fact, the 1640s and 1650s witnessed increased contacts between English and French court cultures, especially after Henrietta Maria and many Royalist courtiers found refuge in France. These circumstances are closely linked to a boom in the publication of romances translated from the French, and very explicitly directed to women, as will be discussed below.

The decades are equally associated with the rise of a "new", elegant way of translating the Classics championed by John Denham and Abraham Cowley – both of whom were courtiers at Henrietta Maria's court. While, as Venuti has shown (1995: 45–62), these translations of Classical and Continental poems are to be correlated with a Royalist, upper-class aesthetics privileging "invisible", fluent translations, such developments cannot be separated from the influence of French literary tastes, as mediated by Henrietta Maria's court and the female readership thereto attached. Richard Fanshawe's translations, in particular his 1647 version of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, so lavishly praised by Denham, were clearly dedicated to that circle. Revealingly enough, the first version of Denham's translation of the *Aeneid*, composed in the 1630s – which he was to later publish in 1656 with a preface theorising his free approach to Virgilian translation –, only survives in manuscript in Lucy Hutchinson's commonplace book (Sowerby, 2010: 12). Denham's published preface itself shows clear similarities with the French *académicien*, Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt's own rationale for neoclassical translation, with which Denham most certainly became familiar as he followed Henrietta Maria in her Paris exile in the 1640s and 1650s. Given the interconnections between the history of translation, print production, and women's roles in literary culture in these specific decades, it seems particularly relevant to document the way they were represented, in their various capacities, within the economy of the translated book.

Out of the 1,800 entries, or so, recorded in the *Cultural Crosscurrents* catalogue, we were able to establish a corpus of about 160 entries in which women were visibly recorded in a variety of ways, that is: as authors, translators, named dedicatees, intended readers (as indicated, for example, by a generic address "To the Ladies" [Scudéry, 1655: sig: A2r]), stationers, collaborators, or subscribers – the latter status corresponding to self-publishing enterprises such as John Ogilby's, who financed his first translations of the Classics in the 1650s via a subscription campaign (more on this below). The full range of possible roles is best understood in the context of recent scholarship on the interface of Early Modern translation and book culture. As noted by Warren Boutcher, the notion of an Early Modern "culture of translation", as first proposed by Peter Burke (2007), has been greatly enriched by the consideration of the "nexus of authors, translators (including intermediary translators), paratext-writers, editors and correctors, censors, printers, booksellers, patrons and readers" (Boutcher, 2015: 23) who intervene in the production, circulation, and reception of translations in the period. If one is to examine the forms of agency exerted by women and a given culture of translation, then, it is crucial that one should look beyond the traditional categories of authorship and translatorship. This is also true if one is to examine the way women's

identities were represented or performed in print. Printed translations originate and circulate within a given print culture; it appears, therefore, just as essential to examine the whole range of agents involved in the "life-cycle" of a given translation (Belle and Hosington, 2017) in order to recover historical traces or cultural representations of female agency from the pages of the printed book.

In keeping with this principle, we equally recorded cases in which physical copies of translations included in the catalogue bear manuscript inscriptions and marks of ownership by women. These were identified via the digital resources of *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), which have been systematically consulted to document the paratextual and material features of translations recorded in the catalogue. For example, a copy of the 1648 edition of George Sandys's *Paraphrase upon the divine poems* (i.e., the Psalms) now held at the Bodleian Library (and digitised on EEBO) shows the signature of "Anne Wentworth and Lovelace" on the first page containing the translator's dedication to Charles I. Although the inscription is undated, this is no doubt the daughter of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, who was Lord Deputy of Ireland and Charles I's Chief Councillor until his death in 1641. Anne Wentworth was also known as a finely educated woman. In 1640, Judith Man – daughter of Peter Man, Thomas Wentworth's solicitor – dedicated her translation of John Barclay's allegorical romance, *Argenis*, to her, perhaps as an indirect exhortation to embrace married life (Clarke, 2004; Hosington, 2017: 105–107). Anne Wentworth did marry John, second baron Lovelace, in the 1640s, as attested by the signature on the 1648 translation. The inscribed copy thus speaks at once of practices of devotional reading, family alliances, and associations with the former Caroline court culture, with which Sandy's translations are known to have been intimately connected.

Another example of manuscript inscription revealing, this time, both family connections and potential religious affiliations, is that visible on the copy of the 1649 English edition of *La Journée Chrétienne*, a devotional manual by the Jesuit author, Nicolas Caussin, also held at the Bodleian and digitised on EEBO. The title page is inscribed as follows: "For the Countess of Carbery y^{e} 10th of no: 1649 from her own Carbery" (Caussin, 1649). The couples here evoked are Frances Vaughan, née Altham, and Richard Vaughan, second earl of Carbery, of Golden Grove in Wales. That *The Christian Diary* should have been deemed an appropriate gift from an upper-class husband to his wife illustrates traditional representations of devotional literature as an acceptable pastime for virtuous ladies. The expression "her own Carbery" also reflects a certain degree of intimacy, the latter's name appearing to be an autograph signature (Figure 2.2), and the precise date perhaps indicating a particular event in the Countess's life. Finally, the Catholic associations of the book raise intriguing questions,

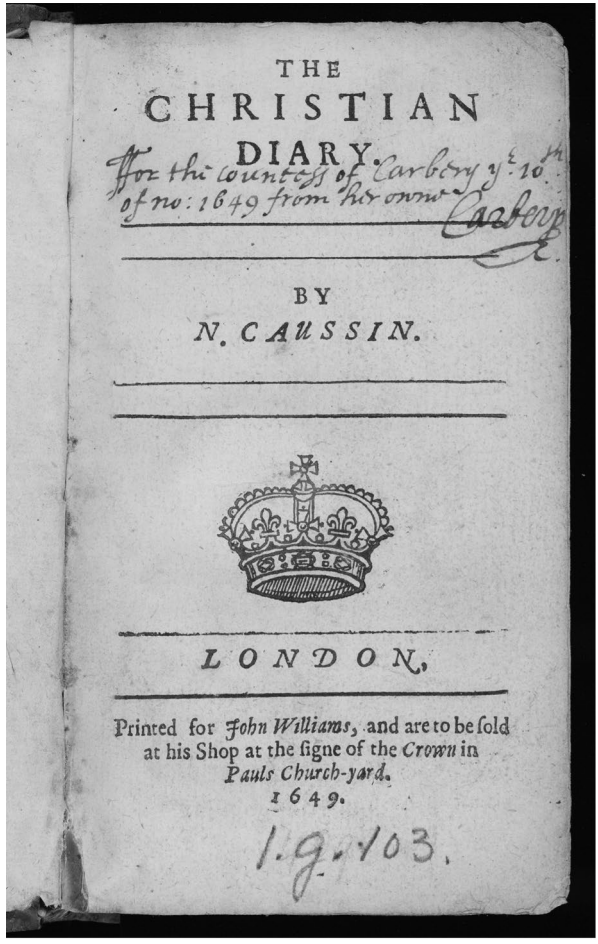
THE
CHRISTIAN
DIARY.
For the Countess of Carbery y^e 10th
of no: 1649 from her owne
Carbery
BY
N. CAUSSIN.
LONDON,
Printed for John Williams, and are to be sold
at his Shop at the signe of the Crown in
Pauls Church-yard.
1649.
1.g.103.

Figure 2.2 Nicolas Caussin, *The Christian Diary*, translated by Thomas Hawkins (London: for John Williams, 1649). Used by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, shelfmark (OC) 1 g.103, title page.

since neither of the Carberys have been so far identified as recusants. There were reports of Carbery's father embracing Catholicism in the 1620s, as he travelled to Spain with Charles (then Prince of Wales) to prepare the so-called "Spanish Match", and it is known that the young Richard went with him (Bowen, 2008; Hutton, 2008). It is possible, then, that he was also a covert Catholic. But Carbery is mostly known as a patron of the Anglican divine, Jeremy Taylor. His wife does not have any known associations with British recusants: her grandfather, Sir James Altham, appears

instead to have leaned towards Puritanism (Ibbetson, 2008). It could be that they privately held Catholic beliefs, in which case the book could be seen as a tangible token of their shared religious practice; or that Carbery, having been exposed to Catholic devotional practices in his youth, still valued them enough to recommend this kind of reading to his wife; or, again, that Caussin's devotional writings, which had been extremely popular at the court of Henrietta Maria and had circulated in English translation since the mid-1620s, continued to be read by former members of the Caroline court (no matter their denominations) as they retired to "sit out" the Interregnum (Hutton, 2008) in the relative safety of their country homes.

These two cases of female ownership apparently confirm what we already knew about women and printed translations in the Early Modern period. Both books are owned by upper-class, educated women; they consist of religious texts, almost certainly read in a domestic setting, and women's social identities are inextricably linked to those of their male relatives.[3] However, upon closer inspection, these short manuscript inscriptions reveal complex, overlapping networks involving family ties, social status and belonging, political affiliations, and cultural and religious affiliations. They confirm the importance of adopting a micro-historical approach and of remaining attuned to the complexities of Early Modern social identities. As Smith notes in her study of women's involvement in the book trade, it is essential to resist the temptation of seeing women as a homogeneous category and assigning them a common identity as such (2003: 165–166). This equally applies to our female translators, patrons, printers, and readers of translations. Of course, disparities in birth, education, and occupation are obvious between aristocratic patrons, middle-class readers, and women working in the book trade, for instance. Furthermore, even within a common category of "patrons", or "book owners", as we have seen, women's identities are very much linked to pre-existing and intersecting modes of social and cultural belonging.

Translation itself being relational by definition (scholars have even recently approached it as a form of collaborative writing; Pender, 2017), published female translators could fashion their literary identities through the authors, languages, and genres which they chose to (or could) translate, and with which their names became associated through print. More generally, women's identities, as recorded on the pages of printed translations, are more often than not defined by their social relations. Family ties, as noted above, are the primary form of identification.[4] Other forms of social belonging can also represent key identity markers. These include social rank and court connections (as often invoked in dedications); forms of political or ideological affiliation (less often overtly displayed, but still detectable by association with politically active relatives, for example); or membership in religious communities: see the above-mentioned examples

of recusant patronage, but also cases of translations composed by nuns, whose personal identities at times become almost fused with those of their religious orders (Coolahan, 2018; Goodrich, 2020). Finally, recent research on Early Modern networks has revealed the importance of "sustainers", that is, members of a network whose roles at first sight could appear secondary, but who in fact proved essential to the structure as a whole (Anhert, 2016: 144–145). In contexts such as the seventeenth-century network of English Jesuit translations, for example, such roles were performed by foreign printers, local facilitators, as well as clandestine carriers of forbidden books. Now, women were clearly involved in such functions, acting as connectors between better known, or more readily identifiable agents (Belle and Guénette, 2022: 212). Again, these findings point towards a decentred approach, one that extends beyond issues of female authorship and even authority to address the various kinds of connected agency available to, and performed by, women in the Early Modern cultures of translation and print.

Female Translatorship and Print Visibility: Social and Literary Connections

Examples of printed translations explicitly penned by women during the 1640s and 1650s are few: we counted only three names of female translators for those decades: Judith Man, Susan DuVerger, and Anna Hume. Their works have already been studied by scholars such as Brenda Hosington and Alessandra Petrina, who have shown how these women effectively took advantage of the paratexts of the printed translation to advertise, not only their agency as translators but also their connections to influential patrons, male and female. Judith Man's 1640 translation of Barclay's *Argenis* has already been discussed above. In 1641, Susan Du Verger similarly dedicates translation of Jean-Pierre Camus' *Diotrephe* to Lady Herbert, "wife to the Lord Herbert, eldest son to the Earle of Worcester" (Camus, 1641: sig. [A2]r). By specifying her female patron's relatives, she indirectly links her work to powerful male courtiers. Du Verger makes explicit her connection to the Queen's court when she declares having been "emboldened by a Great Queen's gracious acceptance of the first fruits of my labours of this kind" (*ibid*.). The allusion is to her translation of Camus' *Les Evenements Singuliers*, published in 1639 as *Admirable Events* and dedicated to Henrietta Maria – a volume that had apparently received a favourable welcome from the Queen and also, presumably, her close circle.[5]

The Scottish translator Anna Hume equally makes effective use of the paratextual space in her translation of Petrarch's *Triumphi* dedicated to the young princess Elizabeth of Bohemia. Published in Edinburgh in

1644, Hume's translation contains an extensive liminary apparatus of dedicatory verse, descriptive "arguments" and interpretive footnotes. As Alessandra Petrina has noted, Hume reappropriates the somewhat conventional genre of the dedicatory poem to highlight her role in taking "Chaste Lauretta" (i.e., the famous Laura of Petrarch's poem) "from the dark Cloyster, where she did remain / Unmark't, because unknown" (Petrina, 2018: 173). Her role in publicising, so to speak, a previously "unmarked" Laura, is first articulated in terms of acceptable feminine sociability. In the dedicatory poem to Elizabeth, she casts Laura as a potential lady-in-waiting to the princess: "my aime is now / To make her happy, by attending you" (*ibid.*). Yet Hume's agency as an intermediary between her reader and the translated text is also eloquently performed in print. Her name is clearly inscribed on the title page of the translation, and she regularly intervenes through a series of "Arguments" punctuating the text, as well as extensive "Annotations" inserted between each section of the book. Although, as Petrina notes, it is impossible to determine whether she gave explicit instructions for this shrewd *mise-en-livre* (the *mise-en-page* is certainly elaborate and elegant), the general economy of the book demonstrates at once her textual agency and a heightened "consciousness of the possibilities of print", reaching well beyond her royal dedicatee (Petrina, 2018: 174; 2020: 188–201).

Besides these already well-known translators, an intriguing example of the framing of female translatorship through print is that of the anonymous version of Manzini's *Academical Discourses*. An indirect translation through the French, it was first published in 1654 by Thomas Harper as *Manzinie his Exquisite Academicall Discourses upon Severall Subjects, Turned into French by Scuderie, and into English by a Lady*. It enjoyed a second edition, published in 1655 by Humphrey Moseley with an expanded title presenting the translator as "an honourable lady".[6] To borrow Coldiron's (2018) evocative expressions, this case offers a telling case of both "anonymous" and "ambiguous" visibility.

The address to the reader, which in both editions occupies a whole page, presents an extremely complex discursive configuration. At once extensive and self-cancelling, the text displays, almost *à outrance*, the conventional, gendered imagery of translation as a derivative practice. The anonymous translator's work is not "some abortive issue of [her] owne brain", but only "borrow[ed] at second-hand", and she expects her reader's forgiveness for her "crimes" as it is "usually afforded to the weaknesse of [her] Sex by generous Persons" (Manzini, 1654: sig. [A4]r). She ends her address by "confessing" herself "asham'd of [her] work by not daring to owne it with [her] Name" (Manzini, 1654: sig. [A4]r). The overt rhetoric of subservience still allows her to remind readers of her own association with male authorities. Manzini is "one of the most eminent wits of his time", and Scudéry

is "notorious (by his Writings) for ingenuity" (Manzini, 1654: sig. [A4]r). Both characteristics (wit and ingenuity) are thus indirectly transferred by association onto the "second-hand" translator, in a move that is typical of translation prefaces, in that it allows the (female) translator to appropriate the prestige conferred to (male) authors.

The translator's strategies of association with "eminent wits" are all the more striking as, although both editions of the *Discourses* display the names of Manzini and Scudéry on the title pages, together with the mention of our anonymous "lady", neither actually includes the liminary writings of the Italian author nor his French translator. Now, all known French editions of Scudéry's translation of the *Discourses* include both Manzini's preface and Scudéry's address to the reader, so our English translator must have been aware of both. Besides, previous English translations of Manzini's works, such as Thomas Hawkins's 1634 version of his *Political Observations*, preserved the author's preface (suitably Englished) among other liminary pieces. So did, in fact, all previous translations of Scudéry's works published by Humphrey Moseley, including a version by Edward Wolley of *Discours politiques des rois*, issued in 1654 as *Curiae Politiae or the Apologies of Several Princes*, a volume for which the 1655 edition of the *Academic Discourses* was probably designed as a companion piece.[7] In this context, it is quite striking that the translator of the *Discourses* should apparently defer to both author and intermediary translator, while occupying alone (albeit unnamed) a liminary space where their presences would perhaps have been expected.

To go back to the address itself, this leaves us to wonder to what extent its hyperbolic declarations of modesty should be taken at face value: as Pender and many others have noted, conventional declarations of humility often cover more elaborate agenda (2012: 2–3). Here, the convoluted rhetoric of the preface appears almost to function as a *pastiche*. At least, it reveals a perfect mastery of the rhetorical tropes and figures associated with the dedicatory genre – the speaker adopting here a triply apologetic posture, as a woman translating at second hand. Now, it is important to note that Manzini's text is devoted to the rhetoric of affect, as well as to the effects of rhetoric. The *Discourses* present a collection of speeches in a variety of oratorical genres uttered by historical characters – each section being followed by a discussion of the "effect" of the speech on both orator and addressee. Most remarkable in this case is the only piece attributed to a female orator, namely, Cleopatra. Evocatively entitled "Cleopatra Humble" (*Cleopâtre Humiliée* in the French intermediary source), the speech shows the queen of Egypt abasing herself before Caesar in the hopes of avoiding being displayed in his triumph. Strikingly for us, the rhetorical devices deployed in her oration are very similar to those in the address to the reader. The speech moves from Cleopatra's self-deprecating posture

as a "Suppliant … petitioning and humble" (Manzini, 1654: 34) to hyperbolic expressions of gratitude, and from praises of Caesar's expected "mercy" and "magnanimity" (33–34) to the "confession" of her "crimes" and "shame" (35) – as well as her final death wish (39).

The anonymous translator shows great skill in rendering the elaborate, sinuous, even at times paradoxical logic of Cleopatra's baroque oratory. See for instance the use of paradox in the following passage

> Be content with this, that I am become a Suppliant; it is no small triumph to see Cleopatra petitioning, and humble: I assure thee that a heart lesse then thine should never be intreated by Cleopatra, for that soule accustomed to receive respects from the Caesars themselves, would disdaine to humble it selfe before man.
>
> (Manzini, 1654: 34)

The translator deploys comparable devices in the Address to the reader, for instance when she notes antiphrastically that she "might (certainly) have … despaired of ever procuring [her readers'] pardon for [her] presumption"; or when she pre-emptively begs forgiveness for her "crimes" and her "shame" (Manzini, 1654: sig. [A4]r). Not only does she prove a proficient imitator of Cleopatra's rhetoric, but by mimicking her discourse she might even be indirectly pointing to her own liminary strategies. In the discussion of the "effect" of Cleopatra's oration, readers are reminded that, as "every one knows", she saw through Caesar's apparent benevolence and managed to outwit him and commit suicide, thus restoring her honour (Manzini, 1654: 39). In this light, the ostentatiously self-abasing address to the reader could paradoxically function as an oblique, if not devious, advertisement of translator's rhetorical skill, in terms that still conform with the modesty *topos* expected from her gender and chosen genre. While cancelling her own name and authority, the translator advertises her presence and her proficiency, indirectly inviting readers to count her among "notorious" wits such as Manzini, Scudéry – and Cleopatra herself.

Occulted Authorship, Explicit Readerships: Translations for "The Ladies"

The complexities of representing female agency in printed translations are equally to be observed in other versions, this time by male translators, of works overtly assigned to Georges de Scudéry. It is well known that many of the texts published under his name were in fact written, at least in part, by his sister Madeleine. One of the first published works in which her contribution has been clearly established is the *Femmes Illustres ou Les Harangues Héroïques* (1642), a collection engaging with the tradition of

Ovid's *Heroides* as it compiles various rhetorical speeches by women of mythical or historical importance. In the French preface signed by Georges Scudéry, the volume is explicitly presented as a continuation of Manzini's *Discourses* (Scudéry, 1642: sig. a3v). It is therefore significative that an English translation, penned by "I. B., Gent." should be published by William Hope in 1656, shortly after the successful translation "by a lady" of Manzini's own work (a success attested by the two editions mentioned above).

The English title page clearly assigns the work to "Monsieur de Scudéry", but its readership is unmistakably defined as female: the translator's address "To the Ladies" presents the text as composed "by the skillful hands of Monsieur de Scudéry, to the glory of your excellent sex" (Scudéry, 1656: sig. A3r). This liminal piece is in fact an abbreviated version of Scudéry's own "Aux Dames". It reproduces the metaphor of the triumphal ark originally present in the French, as well as Scudéry's expectation that the "natural sweetness" of a female readership ("une bonté qui vous est naturelle", Scudéry 1642: sig. a3v) will guarantee a favourable reception for the book. The English address, however, does not reproduce Scudéry's comments on the specifically feminine form of rhetoric deployed in the *harangues* – that is, a form of art that conceals its devices and looks natural where it is most carefully studied:

> L'artifice le plus délicat, consiste à faire croire qu'il n'y en a point … Vous faites des boucles et des anneaux de vos cheveux: mais c'est avec une négligence si subtile, et une nonchalance si agréable, qu'on soubçonne plutôt le vent que vostre main, d'avoir aidé à la Nature.
>
> (Scudéry, 1642: sig. e1r)[8]

The original, playing on the *ars celare artem* commonplace, makes a strong argument for a gendered and successful form of oratory, thus perhaps hinting at Madeleine's unnamed authorial voice. The English version, however, remains silent on this point. Instead, the book is fashioned as a woman-friendly contribution to the literary tradition of the *querelle des femmes* – a genre which enjoyed a vivid reception in England throughout the Early Modern period, especially through translations of French and Italian works (Coldiron, 2009; Hosington, 2019). These associations are highlighted in the title, *A triumphant arch erected and consecrated to the glory of the feminine sexe* (Scudéry, G. [and M. de], 1656), which shifts the original focus on female heroic eloquence (or "harangues héroïques", that is, heroic speeches, in the original title) to a more general praise of women. This, in turn, tends to obscure the novelty of Scudéry's literary project, aligning instead the translated text with a familiar literary genre, known to be popular among female readers.

Similar strategies appear to be at play in the many translations of French romances which the London stationer, Humphrey Moseley, is known to have commissioned for serial publication in the 1650s. As is well established, Moseley's commercial success relied, among others, on delineating specific genres, or lines of publications, and linking them with distinct readerships (Belle, 2014; Boutcher, 2018; Kastan, 2007). While the association between women and the genre of the romance was already conventional at the time, these links are reactivated in Moseley's volumes by a series of dedications to high-ranking women. The 1651 volume, *La Stratonica, or the Unfortunate Queen: A New Romance*, is thus dedicated to "To the Right Honorable and most Vertuous Lady, my Lady Katherine Howard, Eldest Daughter to the Right Honorable and my most Noble Lord, The Earl of Arundel and Surrey" – with the name, Katherine Howard, standing out in large capitals before the name and titles of her male relative (Assarino, 1651, sig. A2r). The same is true of other translated romances published by Moseley, which systematically combine the generic marker in the title with an explicit female dedicatee. To focus only on those authored by Madeleine de Scudéry (and attributed, like their originals, to Georges de Scudéry), *Ibrahim, or The Illustrious Bassa an excellent new romance*, was published in 1652 with a dedication "To the high and excellent lady Mary, Dutchess of Richmond and Lennox", with the name, "Mary", singled out in large capitals (Scudéry, 1652: sig. A2r). Again, in the copy now at the Huntington library of the multi-volume translation of *Artamenes, the Grand Cyrus: An excellent new romance*, the dedication of the third volume to "the right honourable and most perfectly noble, the Lady Anne Lucas" occupies a full page, designed by Moseley "in signe and hopes of future protection" (Scudéry, 1654: n.p.). This is in addition to dedicatory epistles to the same lady at the beginning of every tome of the publication, with Moseley unfailingly presenting himself as the dedicatee's "most humble and obedient servant". The pattern is repeated in the serial translation of *Clelia, an Excellent new Romance*, published from 1655 onwards. While the first volume opens with an address "To the Ladies" (Scudéry, 1655: sig: A2r), the following tomes include dedicatory epistles to Lady Dorothy Heale (Scudéry, 1656; sig. A2r), so far unidentified but perhaps related to William Heale, the author of *An Apologie for Women* (1609); and to Constance Enyon (Scudéry, 1658: sig. A2r), who was most probably related to Dorothea Enyon, the wife of the well-known courtier, writer, and translator, Thomas Stanley (Chernaik, 2008).

As Alice Eardley (2016: 131–32) has noted, the generic address "to the ladies" functions mainly as a marketing strategy and should not be taken as evidence that only women read those texts (there are quite a few romances dedicated to male readers, see Hosington, 2017: 109); or that their gender meant they automatically enjoyed them, as prefaces often imply.

Eardley documents instead negative comments from educated women of the times: Dorothy Osborne, who had read the originals in French, deplores the poor quality of such translations, stating that she could hardly recognise the originals she was familiar with (Eardley, 2016: 137–138). Margaret Cavendish is also scornful of the "romances of A and of C." (probably Scudéry's *Artamenes* and *Cyrus*, or perhaps La Caprenède's *Cleopatra*) which a female friend had urged her to read (quoted in Dodds, 2011: 197). Some readers appear to have preferred a loftier kind of literary connection. Osborne, for instance, is among the many subscribers of John Ogilby's self-financing campaign towards the production of his annotated and illustrated translation of Virgil's works, first published in 1654. According to this publication project, contributors who were ready to pay 12 pounds had their names, titles, and coats of arms displayed at the bottom of full-page, elaborate engravings designed by the celebrated court artists, Francis Cleyn and Wenceslaus Hollar (Clapp, 1933: 367). Certainly, the format of Ogilby's illustrated and annotated translations was reminiscent of previously translated romances, the most famous precedent being John Harington's *Orlando Furioso*. Yet for female subscribers, having their names appear on an engraving also represented a public recognition of their interest in Classical high culture – the English translations allowing them to enter a cultural domain mostly reserved to educated men. In the copy of the 1654 edition held at the University of Toronto's Fisher library, for instance, male and female members of eminent families, such as the Beauchamps, Seymours, Molineux, Capells, etc., are equally represented in the first section of the translation (Virgil's *Bucolica*). While the proportion of women subscribers diminishes further in the volume, the names of learned women such as Anne Wentworth, her sister Arabella, or Dorothy Osborne (as noted above) still appear at regular intervals. Such inscriptions obviously diversify the homogeneous representation of "the ladies" as readers of romance on which Moseley capitalised. Yet here again, women's identities are closely interconnected with those of their kin: the plates inscribed with their names are systematically placed together with those bearing their male relative's titles. Family links, domestic or dynastic, thus continue to frame the inscription of women's identities on the pages of the printed, translated book.

Agency and Mediation: Widows in the Book Trade

As is well known, women had official access to printing and publishing activities as wives of registered stationers – or more precisely, as widows, since they inherited their male relatives' privilege upon their deaths, although they had already been working in the shop (Smith, 2012; Wayne, 2020). Among the dozen female stationers in our corpus, we thus find

Ruth Raworth, widow of John Raworth. We know through the *British Book Trade Index* that she collaborated with Humphrey Moseley, most famously for the 1645 edition of Milton's *Poems*. In 1647, her name appears on the imprint of the first edition of Guarini's pastoral, *Il Pastor Fido*, translated by Richard Fanshawe – the very same work that Denham praised for its "new and noble way" of translating, as noted above. The elegant, ornamented volume was issued again in 1648 – the imprint only bearing this time the mention, "printed for Humphrey Moseley". Raworth also collaborated with Moseley on volumes of poems and translations by Caroline court poets James Shirley and John Suckling. Another notable stationer in the market for translations in that period is Jane Bell, widow of Moses Bell. She is mostly known for her quarto edition of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1655), but she also printed translated fables and romances. Her output includes expurgated editions of *Reynard the Fox*, "newly corrected and purged from all grossenesse in phrase and matter" (Anonymous, 1650: title page), and a translation of the Spanish chivalric tale, *Amadis de Gaule* (1652) by Francis Kirkman.

While Ruth Raworth and Jane Bell appear to have directed their publications to the kinds of (female) aristocratic readers identified above, our corpus of printed translations also witnesses the agency of women evolving in a completely different cultural setting, that of Puritan print networks in London and beyond. As Helen Smith has noted, an important player in that milieu was Anne Griffin, widow of Edward Griffin. She was "part of a minority of women who printed overtly controversial or seditious texts" (Smith, 2003: 176). Her influence, however, was not negligible since her books were sold across Southern England thanks to a wide network of distribution (Smith, 2003: 170). Smith notes that after Anne's death, her printing privileges were passed on to her daughter-in-law, Sarah Griffin, ca. 1648. This is illustrated in our corpus through a number of translations bearing the latter's imprint, including a volume in Welsh most probably destined to be sold outside London. Sarah Griffin's output for the years under study equally includes English books of Psalms, along with many Puritan sermons most probably inherited from Anne. Yet her translated titles also comprise works that are less ideologically marked, such as an illustrated travel guide to Italy, printed in 1660, and, in the same year (marking, of course, the English Restoration), an English account of *The Triumphs of Paris at the Reception and Entrance of their Majesties of France*. Griffin thus continued the lines of publication initiated by her predecessors, while adapting to the changing times, and to the interests of the market.

Women's participation in Puritan print networks was not limited, however, to the production and circulation of religious tracts. A case in point is the role they played in the diffusion of medical knowledge among the lower classes at a time when access to medical treatises and medicinal

recipes was limited, on the one hand, by the fact that they were mostly written in Latin and Greek; and on the other, by the College of Physicians' wish to keep an undivided monopoly over this kind of knowledge. Of course, books of remedies in English had been circulating in print since the sixteenth century, but the political upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s witnessed – and to an extent, facilitated – a movement of translation of medical treatises and medicinal remedies by English apothecaries based in London, and often related to Puritan milieux (Kelly, 1989). The most famous character in these "medical wars" (Furdell, 2002: 108) is Nicholas Culpeper, a devout Puritan who denounced the monopoly of the College of Physicians over medicinal remedies. Put on trial for witchcraft and for practising without a license, he justified his translations of the College's pharmacopoeia, as well as of many other medical writings, as a work of charity: they were designed to make authoritative remedies available to the poor who, neglected by arrogant and greedy physicians, "forfeit [their lives] for want of money" (Culpeper, 1649: sig. A1v). Another, less-known figure is that of Richard Tomlinson, also a London apothecary, who in 1657 translated the pharmaceutical manual of the renowned French physician, Jean de Renou. The target readership for those books explicitly included women: the title pages of both Culpeper's and Tomlinson's translations often advertise their relevance to the health of women and that of their children. Culpeper himself compiled a *Directory for Midwives; or a Guide for Women in their conception, bearing and suckling their children* (1651) which went through at least six editions by the end of the century. Evidence of the circulation of Culpeper's translations among women can be found in a copy of the 1656 edition of his *Two Books of Physick* at the Fisher Library in Toronto, with a manuscript annotation reading: "Mrs Slinger booke / Borrowd of her 1720" (Figure 2.3). Although the date exceeds the boundaries of the present study, it can still be considered indicative of women's practices of lending and borrowing useful books in the Early Modern period.

Yet here again, women's place in the Early Modern English "bookscape", to borrow Leah Knight and Micheline White's apt expression (2018), cannot be circumscribed to the reception of translated works: some were directly involved in the vulgarisation of medical knowledge. Gertrude Dawson, widow of John Dawson, who belonged to the Puritan circle of her better-known fellow stationer Hannah Allen, issued several editions of Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent's medicinal recipes, published as *A choice manuall of rare and select secrets in physick and chyrurgery* through the 1650s (Bell, 1989: 39; Furdell, 2002: 109). She equally printed translations of medical treatises such as Felix Wurtz's *An Experimental Treatise of Surgerie* (1656), as well as *A Physical dictionary*, i.e., a dictionary of medical terms explicitly marketed as a companion piece to

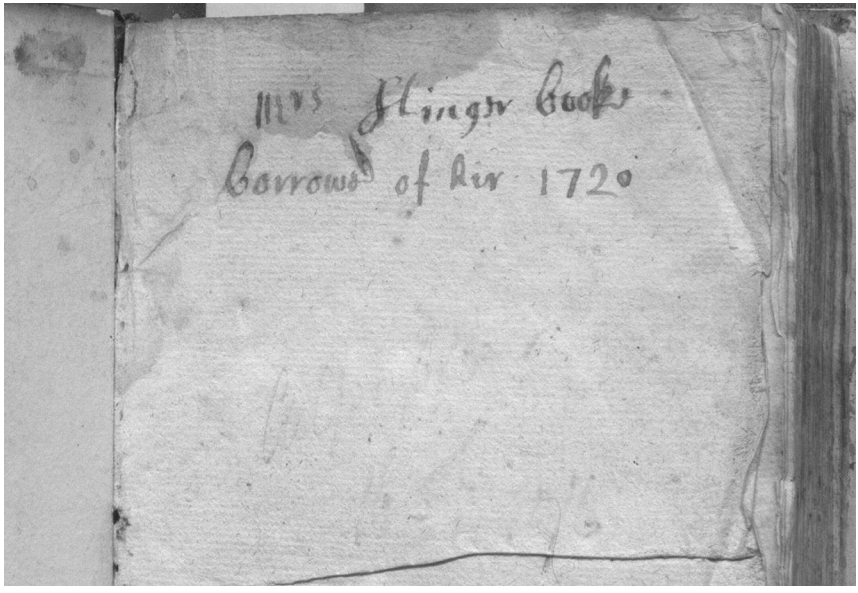

Figure 2.3 Jean Prévost, *Two books of physick: viz. I. Medicaments for the poor; or, physick for the common people*, translated by Nicholas Culpeper (London: Peter Cole, 1656). Used by permission of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, shelfmark: jah2001, flyleaf detail.

Richard Tomlinson's translated *Dispensary*, published in the same year, 1657. While representing an important example of women's involvement in Puritan print networks, and in the dissemination of medical knowledge among women, Dawson's agency as a stationer still conforms with the regular practices of the trade. Perhaps less expected is the role played by Culpeper's own widow, Alice Culpeper, in the marketing of his translations after his death in 1654. According to the *ODNB* entry for Peter Cole, Culpeper's stationer, Alice played a crucial part in the continued dissemination of her late husband's work:

> Cole printed seventeen Culpeper titles while the herbalist was alive, all of which enjoyed enormous sales. After Culpeper's death in 1654, his widow invited Cole to produce seventy-nine more, such as multiple editions of the pharmacopoeia, anatomies, herbals, and *The Art of Chirurgery*.
>
> (Furdell, 2008)

Most of these posthumous publications included prefatorial material by Alice Culpeper guaranteeing the authenticity of the recipes printed by Cole.

A notable example is the 1656 volume revealingly entitled *Mr Culpeper's Ghost, Giving Seasonable Advice to the Lovers of his Writing. Before which is Prefixed, Mris. Culpepers Epistle in Vindication of her Husband's Reputation*. Such vindications were in fact much needed, since there had been attempts at recuperating her husband's name and works directly after his death. This is evident from the address to the reader opening the 1656 edition by Peter Cole of Culpeper's treatise on *Aurum Potabile* – a "rare cordial, and Universall medicine" (Culpeper, 1656: sig. A5v) supposed to remedy everything, from gout to miscarriages. After clearly stating on the title page that the treatise was "faithfully written by [Nicholas Culpeper] in his life-time, and since his death, published by his wife" (Culpeper, 1656: title page), Alice Culpeper criticises one unauthorised publication as a "hodge-podge of undigested Collections and Observations of my dear husband deceased" (Culpeper, 1656: sig. A3v). Not only was her late husband's reputation at risk but also her own. As Mary McCarl notes, as early as 1655 an anonymous tract had compared her to the "[whore] of Babylon who with her curious golden Potion, hath en-deavoured the delusion of many people" (1996: 239). Alice Culpeper's paratextual interventions thus aimed to secure at once her husband's legacy, her own role as sole authoriser of his recipes, and finally, Peter Cole's monopoly on this lucrative line of publication.

Conclusion

Even with a limited corpus of publications covering two decades of British translation history, our effort to document the ways in which women's identities are inscribed within the economy of the book affords a wealth of information on both their private, domestic, and familial ties, and their public representation as authors, translators, stationers, readers, patrons, and sustainers (through their activities as subscribers, or even mere readers) in the diffusion of printed translations. Despite many variations in social rank, religious and political connections, or literary interests, a recurrent feature in our corpus is the relational nature of female cultural identities, as constructed through translation and print. We have also found manifold expressions of the "ambiguous" forms of visibility identified by Coldiron. Public fame is tempered by declarations of female virtue, and visible practices of authorship, translatorship, and readership tend to be contained within pre-established boundaries of literary genres, social settings, and family bonds – as overt forms of engagement continue to provoke anxieties about potential "whore[s] of Babylon" seducing readers via the combined means of translation and print dissemination.

What is finally confirmed in our examination of Early Modern women's connected identities in translation and print is the crucial importance

of a multifaceted approach, as championed by recent research in both women's studies and translation studies. While documenting the multiple forms of agency performed by women in the Early Modern "bookscape" (Knight *et al.*, 2018; Philippy, 2018), it is essential to pay attention to the various "languages of the book" at play in printed translations, including text and paratext, as well as the linguistic, social, and material codes they engage (Belle and Hosington, 2018: 9). This in turn involves creating further ties between biographical and bibliographical research, in order to identify female players and their connections; between textual analysis and contextual research, to gain a full, historicised understanding of the discursive and literary strategies that involve them; and between micro-historical, fine-grained research and the broader narratives of translation history, in order to continue documenting the place of women and their highly complex forms of visibility within the Early Modern culture of translation.

Notes

1 See the seventh argument in Van Schurman's treatise (1659: 13), as well as her epistle to Lady Dorothy Moore in the same volume, in which she evokes the "closet of her heart" where her friend finds "a chief place", and wishes that she and Dorothy Moore might "enjoy the happiness of living together in the same house, we may be able in so great a Conspiration of studies and affections, to excite each other unto Virtue" (1659: 42).
2 Recent scholarship in Early Modern studies has indeed challenged the older view that translation was a passive act. Translation, like religious writing, was long considered merely safe rather than authoritative (see Margaret P. Hannay's *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, 1985). The data shown here seeks to contribute to the growing trend of what we could perhaps call "visibility studies" in connection with Translation Studies, and more specifically, Early Modern women's writing.
3 For other, similar cases of women reading religious books in a matrimonial setting, see McKitterick (2000).
4 This obviously creates difficulties when trying to identify women appearing under different names as daughters, wives, or even mothers. It also represents a useful (if problematic) starting point for biographical research, since the lives of men named as their relations are often better documented than their own.
5 For a full discussion of Man's and DuVerger's paratextual strategies, see in particular Hosington (2017).
6 We were not able to retrace who this "honourable lady" actually was, and one cannot exclude the possibility that the translation could have been penned by a male translator, although attributed to a woman. However, since we are interested in the ways in which women's identities are represented, or even performed, through translation and print production, it seemed relevant to include this unnamed translation in our research corpus.
7 See also the 1652 translation of *L'Illustre Bassa* as well as other romances published by Moseley in the following years. It is now known to have been authored by Madeleine de Scudéry, although overtly attributed to her brother Georges.

8 Literally: The most delicate artfulness consists in making it seem as if there were none (…) You style your hair into curls and winglets; but this is done with such subtle negligence, and so pleasant a carelessness, that one would think that Nature was aided by the wind rather than your own hand. (Our translation)

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Part II

Translating Knowledge

3 Translation, Humanism and Politics in Early Modern Germany

Xenophon's Hiero Translated by Adam Werner von Themar

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Classical Texts, Humanists and Rulers

If we wish to investigate the vibrant question of the relationship between literate multilingualism, translating and politics, the translations from Latin or Greek into German produced by various humanists at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries certainly represent a promising field of research. At this point in time, translation activity in the German-speaking area was determined by particular conditions that lend it a special political dimension and pose a particular challenge for research.

First, the humanists' activity in Germany was located in a political space in the broadest sense, if only because they were usually associated more or less directly with the court of a sovereign, by whom they were also materially supported. They were often entrusted with a variety of tasks, becoming educators of his children, speechwriters or occasionally ambassadors, and sometimes also holding political office. This is manifested in the dedications that usually precede the texts, often to a prince or another personality from his circle, even if the works were not actually commissioned.

Second, the translation activities of the humanists unfolded against the backdrop of a complex of cultural activities directed towards the dominant ideal of the time, namely, to transfer to Germany the Renaissance culture developed primarily in Italy, thus fulfilling the ambitious programme of *translatio studiorum* demanded by the German Poet Laureate Conrad Celtes in particular. The aim was to develop a national culture on a par with that of Italy (if in practice this was often rather local due to the political fragmentation). That task was to be achieved, among other things, through the creation of a neo-Latin German literature and a historiography geared to Germany's own needs. In this context, humanist literary activity, including translation, took on a special political relevance, since the entire cultural enterprise served not least to portray its patrons as promoters of a worthwhile cultural reception process.

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Third, there was also a general tendency to functionalise literary texts, in the sense of using them as advice literature or for pedagogical purposes. The ancient and Renaissance writings that were widespread in Italy were appropriated (through skilfully chosen analogies or scholarly allusions) as examples of personal conduct. These identification strategies were particularly evident when a text was written for a specific occasion, which could be related to the personal situation of the ruler or to the political situation at the time. And though in principle any kind of text was suitable for this kind of use, translations were particularly interesting in this regard because the reference to the present was usually implicit, leaving the recipient to draw conclusions.

Finally, while the humanists themselves preferred to use Latin in their literary output in keeping with their self-image as a cultural elite, translations into German already represented a certain concession to the Latin-illiterate public (which included most of the political rulers), who were thus able to participate in humanist culture. Translation from Latin or Greek into German is therefore defined in Translation Studies as a form of 'vertical' translation, i.e. as involving a downward transfer from a more sophisticated and prestigious language to a lesser one (Folena, 1991). This cultural asymmetry between the literary language and the vernacular caused specific problems for the translator as regards the syntactic and lexical shaping of the target text, in some cases requiring compensation strategies in order to ensure comprehensibility.

The complex conflict experienced by humanists in general and translators in particular has been addressed in research from various perspectives. Historical studies, for example, have devoted a great deal of space to the conditions of dissemination and the function of humanist culture (Helmrath, 2013). Among other things, it has been possible to demonstrate how the legitimisation of rulers and the self-stylisation of the scholar often mutually conditioned each other in cultural activities, and how the latter's freedom could sometimes be preserved despite necessary compromises (Mertens, 2006).

As for the translations themselves, 'humanist' translation (i.e. translation of classical Greek and Latin texts) into German has for long time attracted the attention of important philologists (Worstbrock, 1970, 1976) and famous translation scholars (Toury, 1995: 102–112; Vermeer, 2000). Interest in the topic has risen sharply in recent years, and more studies have been carried out (Toepfer et al., 2017a), allowing some problems to be better defined, including those regarding text selection and translation strategies.

An extensive and systematic collection of translated texts shows that ancient classical texts form an important, though not predominant, part of the corpus of translations that have come down to us from the period until

1500 (Bertelsmeier-Kierst, 2017). As regards the selection of texts to be translated, this developed over time, to the extent that a subdivision into three temporal phases has been proposed (Sasse, 2012: 10–11). According to this, during the first phase (the 1460s and 1470s), mostly Renaissance works were absorbed by means of a consistent Übersetzungsliteratur ('translation literature', now also called *Rezeptionsliteratur* ['reception literature']), though ancient or Medieval texts that were widespread in the sphere of Italian humanistic culture could also be included (e.g. the *Translatzen* by Niklas von Wyle, a collection of 18 translations carried out from 1461 onwards and republished in their entirety in 1478 [Keller, 1861], contain mainly works by Poggio Bracciolini, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Petrarch, Boccaccio and others, alongside a passage by Bernard of Clairvaux and one by Lucian). Then, in a second phase (around 1500), classical writers made their way more into the mainstream, with translations undertaken for specific occasions (such as German versions of passages from Demosthenes and Lucian, dedicated in 1495 by Johannes Reuchlin to the Württemberg Duke Eberhard) or for cultural or educational purposes (e.g. a series of translations made between 1484 and 1494 by Johann Gottfried which, taken together, form an anthology of texts aimed at the *studia humanitatis* and *moralis philosophia* [Drücke, 2001]). Finally, a third phase (after 1520) saw, among other things, the translation into the *Volkssprache* ('people's language', i.e. German) of works written in Latin by the most successful German humanists. Among the German authors whose works are also published in German, we can mention Ulrich von Hutten, a humanist who turned his attention towards German for mostly political reasons in a cultural context which had already changed due to the beginning of the Reformation and was characterised by an increasing self-esteem (Sasse, 2012: 83–98).

The attention of modern scholars has for some time focused on the strategies and conceptions of translation during this period (Albrecht, 2011: 35–96; Sasse, 2012: 61–72), assuming an epochal turning point following the advent of Renaissance culture, which determined the passage from the concept of the *Wiedererzählen* ('re-telling') to that of the more faithful Übersetzen ('translating') (Worstbrock, 1999: 128–142). This was sometimes considered to be analogous to the dichotomy found in the Italian context between the idea of *volgarizzare* ('translating into vernacular') and that of *tradurre* ('translating') which can perhaps be traced back to the work of the Florentine Humanist Leonardo Bruni who was the first to use the Latin verb *traducere* ('to translate') for translation in the Quattrocento (Folena, 1991) and also the first to write a longer tractat on translation (Viti, 2004). The reconstruction of changing attitudes towards translation in Early Modern Germany is also based on an analysis of the theoretical reflections contained in the prefaces, introductions or commentaries added

to the translated texts, highlighting a growing awareness of language use and a marked interest in translation (Limbeck, 2005: 10–45; Schwarz, 1944: 368–373, 1945: 289–299). At first, during the phase of the Übersetzungsliteratur, there were opposing positions (Vermeer, 2000: 526–568), such as those of Niklas von Wyle, who advocated a translation strategy strongly oriented towards the source language, even at the syntactic level (perhaps with the intention of improving German by creating a kind of 'third language'), and Heinrich Steinhöwel, known for his translations of ancient fables, who, with reference to a famous passage from Horace (or rather St. Jerome) states that he does not want to translate "eyn wort gegen eyn wort" ("word for word"), but "aus eynem synne eynen andern synne" ("sense for sense"), aiming at 'verstentnusz' ('comprehensibility') (Schwarz, 1944: 371, n. 1). Later, the idea of the diversity of languages, each distinguished by its own grammar, clearly emerged, a concept expressed in observations such as that of Matthias Ringmann, author of the first German version of Julius Caesar's *De bello gallico* published in 1507, who stated that this diversity must be respected in order to obtain acceptable translations (Limbeck, 2005: 15).

However, newer studies show that the sequence of reflections described above forms a discourse about translation which, although interesting from a theoretical point of view, does not really do justice to the plurality of translation strategies that coexisted in practice, some of which were already in use in the Middle Ages (Toepfer *et al.*, 2017b: 11–18). It also emerges that translation issues do not end with the simple choice between *verbum de verbo* or *sensum de sensu*. Depending on the function of the translation, translated works made use of reductions and additions, dramatisation and actualisation, and paratexts such as introductions, prefaces, comments, explanations and registers accompanying the main text. The accurate description of all these techniques is still in progress and may, together with the correct contextualisation of the individual translations, contribute to the re-evaluation of these works, which are oriented towards the ideal of "Klarheit, Verständlichkeit und Anschaulichkeit" ("clarity, comprehensibility and vividness") (Toepfer *et al.*, 2017b: 24), so that they might also share some of the characteristics of the Italian *volgarizzamenti* ('translations into vernacular'). At the same time, the attention of scholars, for a long time concentrated on linguistic aspects concerning syntax and lexicon, now shifted to purely translational issues such as the treatment of *realia*, and the adaptation of the text to the needs and expectations of the reader.

For research on translation, this means that, on the one hand, the environment in which translation activity unfolded should be reconstructed as precisely as possible (Baldwin, 2007: 101, for the contextualisation of political texts). On the other hand, the translations themselves can be examined

for techniques and strategies that can be explained by their context and in which the 'political' dimension described above thus becomes apparent.

This kind of investigation can be more or less straightforward in individual cases, depending on how obvious the reference to extra-textual reality is in the text. A relatively easy example to assess is the already cited translation of *De bello gallico* by Matthias Ringmann (1507). Even though a critical edition and an in-depth study of this highly interesting work are still pending, it is striking that it is dedicated to Emperor Maximilian, and Ringmann almost always renders *Caesar* as *Keiser* in the text in order to offer a possibility of identification. In the paratexts to the translation, Caesar's role as the founder of the Roman monarchy and thus of the imperial state as such is emphasised, as are his imperial virtues, which thus also become binding on Maximilian (Brix, 2017: 465–469); his role as a politician and man of letters is also indicated and he thus praised as an educated ruler. The entire translation can also be interpreted as a contribution to the construction of a Germanic early history, which also formed part of Emperor Maximilian's cultural program and self-stylisation (Johnson, 2009).

More problematic, on the other hand, seems to be the exact evaluation of the two short writings that Johannes Reuchlin translated for Eberhard im Bart von Württemberg in 1495, when the latter was at the Imperial Diet in Worms. The first is the first Olynthian speech of Demosthenes – a political text in the narrow sense – (Poland, 1899) while the second is the rather satirical twelfth dialogue of the dead by Lucian of Samosata, in which deceased personalities from Greek and Roman history appear in the underworld (Distel, 1895). We are relatively well informed about the circumstances under which these translations were produced through dedications and prefaces as well as other sources (including a number of mentions in Reuchlin's correspondence). The significance of the translations for the relationship between Reuchlin and his princely patron has been reconstructed in detail (Graf, 1998: 205–224). Nevertheless, the details of the concrete relation of the writings to the contemporary present are not clear. For example, the Demosthenes speech is frequently interpreted as a call for the German princes to show unity towards the French King Charles VIII in view of his efforts in Italy, but an anti-Turkish thrust cannot be completely ruled out, as Cardinal Bessarion had already intended with his Latin translation of the same speech in 1470 (Düren, 2014: 793–810). However, these ambiguities may also result from the fact that the translated texts themselves (which incidentally are only available in editions from the end of the nineteenth century) have only exceptionally been interpreted in context (Engels, 2009).

In what follows, we will present a case study involving the discussion of a particularly illuminating example of an ancient text that is eminently

'political' in content and which – after having already been received in Italy and France – was also translated by a German humanist in a well-known courtly setting.

Xenophon's *Hiero* Translated by Adam Werner von Themar (1502)

Adam Werner von Themar was not one of Germany's best-known humanists,[1] but he stands out for being the first German translator of some works by important ancient authors, such as Xenophon, Horace and Virgil. Born in Themar, Thuringia, in 1467 or 1468 (and not 1462, as previously assumed), he enrolled at the University of Leipzig in 1482 and then in Heidelberg in 1484. After the Baccalaureus (1485), he taught in a Latin school in Neustadt an der Weinstraße, and upon returning to Heidelberg in 1488 for his Masters examination, was appointed educator of the children of the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Philip the Upright (1448–1508) – a task later to be taken on by the much more famous Johannes Reuchlin. Here Werner had the opportunity to become a member of the *Sodalitas litteraria Rhenana* around the Bishop of Worms, Johann von Dalberg, and was thus able to cultivate contacts with important humanists of his time. At around the same time, Werner began his law studies, which he completed with the Baccalaureus (1492), the Licentiate (1495) and the Doctorate (1503). As a lawyer, he held important public offices, but remained connected to academia, serving as rector of the university in 1504 and 1510 and as dean of the law faculty from 1522 until his death in 1537.

Of Adam Werner von Themar's literary works in Latin, there remain 12 letters (addressed to Johannes Trithemius, Jakob Wimpfeling and Conrad Celtes, among others) and almost 230 carmina in Latin dating from 1485 to 1514. In addition, there are two didactic works (one *ars versificandi* and one *ars carminum*) addressed to the students of Neustadt (1488) which were rediscovered in 2001. Various writings show that Werner, who considered Conrad Celtes to be his teacher, fully shared the programme of *translatio studiorum* in Germany.[2] His translations into German include four dialogues from Petrarch's *remedia utriusque fortunae*, printed on eight sheets in 1516 (Knape, 1986: 293–308), as well as six texts dated 1502–1503 contained in the middle section of a manuscript codex preserved in Heidelberg, the Codex Palatinus Germanicus 298.[3] The texts are written by a single hand in a bastard script and attributable to Werner, as shown by a comparison with some of his signatures and the occasional corrections he made while translating. The individual passages are almost all introduced by a brief summary or 'argumentum', preceded in turn by an extensive dedication to the sovereign of the Palatinate, "herrn Philipsßen Pfalzgrauen by Ryn ...", which closes with Werner's claim to

have translated the text, using the formula "durch (mich) Adam Wernher von Themar licentiatum geteutzscht" ("translated by [me] Adam Wernher von Themar licenciate") or similar.

Researchers initially thought that Adam Werner's translations were mostly associated with his pedagogical activities at the Palatine court (Zaenker, 1982: 218), but now it is believed that they were more likely to have been addressed to the ruler himself (Backes, 1992: 144–145; Worstbrock, 2013: 1287). In any case, the selection of works in Cod. Pal. germ. 298 from the repertoire of 'humanistic' writings prevalent in Germany at the time can be interpreted in the context of an educational programme aimed primarily at imparting advice for a good life, in the sense of a moral philosophy. Thus, Werner's translation of Horace's famous satire I,9 (fol. 130r–132v; Hartfelder, 1883: 30–32) can be understood as a call for restraint in speaking, while the translations of Virgil's eighth and tenth Eclogues (fol. 122ar–129v; Hartfelder, 1880: 99–102, 1883: 28–30) deal with unrequited love and its consequences. Similarly, the Abraham by Hrotsvith of Gandersheim (fol. 100ar–122r; Zaenker, 1982: 221–229)[4] as well as the elegy on the virgin Alda (fol. 76ar–79r; Düchting, 1963: 83–86), attributed (probably wrongly) to Guarino Veronese, each warn of the dangers of love.

As far as our case study is concerned, by far the longest text among Werner's works in the Cod. Pal. germ. 298 (fol. 79ar–100v) is the translation of the Attic philosopher Xenophon's minor work *Hiero* written in the first half of the fourth century B.C. (Marchant, 1920; Werner von Themar, 1502). The German version is unpublished and has not been taken into account by research so far (Hempel, 2005; 2018, 2021).[5] The text presents a fictional ('Socratic') dialogue between the poet Simonides of Keos and the tyrant Hieron I of Syracuse about 474 B.C. In it, the ambiguities pertaining to the concept of rule of a single individual are explored more fully than in any other work of antiquity, both negatively and positively. A relatively wide conceptual range can therefore be expected for the translation, which also provides information about the translator's interpretation and the use of the translated text in its context.

The work begins with a series of questions that Simonides addresses to Hieron, who is known to the poet not as a ruler in the past, but as a simple citizen. In doing so, Simonides suggests that the life of the ruler is more pleasant than that of a commoner. In each case, Hieron refutes the arguments put forward and provides evidence that the ruler is in a worse position than the commoner, suffering from flattery, ill-will and concealed hostility on the part of his subjects, whom he loves on the one hand but must fight on the other. Various themes are covered, such as the pleasures of seeing and hearing, eating and drinking, love and friendship, material possessions, until Hieron finally depicts the life of the tyrant (i.e. his own)

who – lonely and unhappy – becomes the victim of his fears, especially those of conspiracies and attacks. At this point, a decisive turning point is introduced in the dialogue: Simonides asks Hieron to simply give up tyranny, but Hieron refuses; because he cannot offer sufficient compensation to the victims of his rule, all that is really left for him is suicide. After this expression of Hieron's extreme despair, Simonides shows him in detail a number of ways in which he can improve his relationship with his subjects, for example by encouraging good performance on the part of the citizens and personal commitment to the common good, which will secure him general recognition and thus a happy reign.

What is presented here is a single ruler who is aware of the behaviours he is forced to adopt because of his power, but is led to a positive view of his government, while still remaining 'tyrannical'. This concept of tyranny, as Luciano Canfora among others has noted (1986: 14), is distinct both from the political theory of the Greek classical period with its simplistic categorisation into positive and negative types of rule (such as *monarchy* vs. *tyranny*) and from the later Machiavellian notion of a single *principe* who feels entitled to do any deed by virtue of his status as autocrat. This ambivalent concept of rule, in which tyranny does not appear static but contains a potential for development, is probably also the reason why it is not easy to interpret the text as an unequivocal statement for or against tyranny. Because of the dialogue form, the author himself recedes into the background so that his own position is not made explicit. However, it seems to be precisely that ambivalence which has secured Xenophon's text a place in the politological and philosophical discussion of autocracy to this day. At the end of the 1940s, the German-American philosopher Leo Strauss based his political theory on the Xenophontic concept of tyranny, leading to a much-noticed debate about politics and philosophy with the 'Hegelian' Alexandre Kojève.[6] The reason for this is that Xenophon's idea, in contrast to that of modern political science, which is oriented towards 'objective' criteria, allows a value judgement to be made about the autocratic ruler.

With such a subject matter, Xenophon's *Hiero* already had an important reception history in the Italian Renaissance by the time it was translated into German. It was one of the first texts to be translated from Greek into Latin at the beginning of the Quattrocento by Leonardo Bruni, and this remained the standard translation until Erasmus of Rotterdam published his version in Basel in 1530. The circulation of Bruni's translation is attested by some 200 extant manuscripts (Marsh, 1992) as well as by 14 printings published from about 1470 onwards (Cortesi and Fiaschi, 2008: 1706–1708; Viti, 2002: 119–124), while a modern edition is lacking.[7] In recent years, research has been able to show that it was known to Poggio Bracciolini, Maffeo Vegio, Antonio Da Pescia, Giovanni Pontano

and Niccolò Macchiavelli, among others, some of whom also used it for their own works (Bandini, 2005, 2007; De Nichilo, 2013). However, it is not easy to classify Bruni's translation, particularly as regards its position towards tyranny. The introduction with dedication to Niccolò Niccoli contains no clear indications, though the translation can probably be understood as an expression of an essentially critical, though also differentiated, attitude towards autocracy. In any case, it is a contribution to the discussion on questions of morality and politics protagonised by Bruni's teacher Coluccio Salutati, who had written his *De Tyranno* shortly before – a work which Bruni seems to refer to in his translation (Hankins, 2012; Maxson, 2010).

Werner's version is part of this tradition as it is based on Leonardo Bruni's text and not the Greek original (Worstbrock, 1976: 160–161, 1998: 917, 2013: 1286). It is therefore an 'indirect' translation, as so often happened at a time when knowledge of Greek was not yet very widespread (Albrecht, 2011: 44–46). Bruni's text is also the basis of the French translation, preserved among other things in an illustrated manuscript that Charles Soillot produced for Charles the Bold between 1460 and 1467 – the first French version ever of a work of Greek antiquity (Schoysman, 2019). Werner does not mention Leonardo Bruni in his introduction and also omits his preface to the Latin translation of Xenophon's text. This is unusual, since his contemporaries tended to indicate any intermediate translation used.[8] It is difficult to say why the translation is not marked as indirect at this point, whether, for example, it had something to do with the desire to imply a knowledge of Greek or the need to avoid an explicit reference to Leonardo Bruni for political reasons.

The context in which Adam Werner's translation of *Hieron* originated thus already gives clear indications that it is to be understood as part of his 'humanistic' teaching activities. The translation also fits well into the cultural climate at the court of Philip the Upright, where two mirrors for princes had been written shortly before, namely, the *Agatharchia* and *Philippica* by Jakob Wimpfeling, which also deal with the topic of proper ruling. The aforementioned French translation of Xenophon's text by Charles Soillot also presents itself as a 'mirror of princes', in which the learned translator, as the accompanying illustrations show, seems to take on the role of Simonides in the original text (Schoysman, 2019: 244–248).

In what follows, I will attempt to show the extent to which these tendencies are visible in the Hieron translation or had an effect on it and on the representation of the tyrannis theme. A systematic study of the characteristics of Adam Werner's translations has yet to be undertaken. So far, studies have mainly focused on his translations of post-classical works, while those of ancient writers are mainly based on the nineteenth century editions by school headmaster Karl Hartfelder (1880, 1883), who published and

commented on most of the Horace and Virgil poems. Researchers are not entirely unanimous in their assessment of the translations, but their various comments can at least allow us to gain an initial overview of his translation techniques and strategies (since Werner himself appears to have made no explicit statements on his translation activity). Thus, Knape (1986: 67–69) has noted with regard to the 1516 Petrarch translation that it merely retains the binomial expressions of 'the translator's language' and does not follow the Latin syntax, though it does attempt to reproduce the information structure of the source text while making target-cultural adaptations and updates. Zaenker (1982: 220–221) reports of Hrotsvith's Abraham that Adam Werner here writes lively dialogue and speaks "zum Herzen seiner Leser" ("to the heart of his readers"), without rendering verse metre and learned commentary, so that the target text is stylistically reminiscent of contemporary *Volksbücher*. The same translation has also been judged elsewhere to be "in jeder Hinsicht angemessen" ("adequate in every respect") (Düchting, 1963: 82). Less positive are the comments on his translations of ancient works. Hartfelder (1883: 10) finds them clearer and more comprehensible than those of Jakob Wimpfeling and Johannes Reuchlin, but also too prosaic to render the poetic 'colour' of the originals. In more recent times, F. J. Worstbrock (1996: 270) harshly disqualifies Adam Werner's renderings of poetry as "Prosaübersetzungen ohne Anspruch und Kunst" ("prose translations without pretension and art"), a judgement that is to some extent softened later on when he characterises his translations in general as "an Treue und Verständlichkeit ausgerichtete, doch auch flüssige Übersetzungen" ("translations oriented towards fidelity and comprehensibility, but also fluent") (Worstbrock, 1998: 918, 2013: 1279).

In fact, the techniques observed in Werner's translation of the Hiero largely correspond to what has been noted with regard to his other translation works. The sentence structure follows German syntax; in particular, participle constructions are usually resolved, while infinitive constructions appear only with verbs of perception – where they are frequently used also in contemporary German. As for the lexis, borrowings are strictly avoided, so that Latinisms in the target text are very rare (I observed in Themar's German version only *conspiratz*, *possess*, *summa*, *regiment* and *legion*, and each only once and usually in connection with an explanation by a word of Germanic origin in the context of a binome). The only Latin word frequently used by the translator is *jtem* ('likewise'), which, however, is typical for the so-called German *Kanzleisprache* ('official language') and is not due to an occurrence of the same word in the source text. The text aims primarily at clarity, a tendency that is evident, among other things, in explicit formulations, for example, in the structure of the dialogues, in which the name of the respective speaker is used to facilitate the reader's orientation and to make the dialogue seem more lively and personal.

As far as the *realia* are concerned, these are rather brusquely adapted to the contemporary situation by Werner, in some cases based on a 'Romanisation' already carried out earlier by Bruni. Most of the references to pagan religion are eradicated in the German text, such as invocations to Zeus like ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία (or similar), which are found about ten times in Xenophon and almost universally replaced by references to Hercules (*mehercle*) by Bruni. On the other hand, Werner sometimes inserts additions that obviously refer to Christianity. Any reference to the homosexuality of the Greeks had already been suppressed by Bruni himself (I,29–36), especially when he feminises Hieron's preferred (male) lover Δαΐλοχος under the name *Dialocha*. A strong cultural adaptation is also evident in the description of a city in its parts, which in Greek consists of walls, temples, houses and harbours (XI,2: "τείχεσί τε καὶ ναοῖς καὶ παστάσι καὶ ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι", i.e. "walls and temples and houses and squares and harbours"), whereas in Latin, like a Roman *urbs*, it is equipped with "menibus, templis, porticibus, foris curiisque" ("walls, temples, columned halls, fora and curiae"). Finally, in German, it presents the aspect of a late Medieval city with "kirchen, maühhern, greben thürmen, etc." ("churches, walls, moats, towers, and so on") (fol. 98v). A particularly striking cultural adaptation, in which the perspective of the interlocutors themselves is 'updated' is found in a passage where Hieron laments the isolation of the tyrant, for he must in the end "ee vertraühhen den frembden dann den sÿnen / vnd ee den walen dann den teützschen" ("trust the stranger rather than his own people and the French [*walen* may indicate any stranger who speaks a romance language] rather than the Germans") (fol. 91r), while in Xenophon and Bruni (VI,5), that contrast was obviously between barbarians and Greeks: "ἔτι δὲ ξένοις μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ πολίταις πιστεύειν, βαρβάροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ Ἕλλησιν" and "potius alienis committere quam suis et barbaris quam Grecis" ("to trust the strangers rather than the own citizens and the barbars rather than the Greeks"). These observations on syntax, lexis and cultural adaptation clearly show that we are dealing with a translation strategy geared to the needs of the addressee, which aims to facilitate the intended reader's understanding and offer possibilities for identification.

Probably the most interesting comments can be made about 'political' vocabulary and its translation. A systematic review of the entire text of Werner's translation of Hieron and a comparison with the earlier versions of the text shows that the occurrence of words from the word family τυραννν-/*tyrann-*/*tirann-* in Bruni's translation corresponds in number to that in Xenophon, whereas in the German translation, they appear to be reduced to about a quarter (Table 3.1).

This means that Bruni quite consistently uses *tyrannus, tyrannis*, etc. for the various terms with the stem τυραννν- that he found in the original Greek text, while Werner prefers a genuinely Germanic lexis or one that

Table 3.1 Word family τυραν-/*tyrann-*/*tirann-*. Number of occurrences in the different text versions of the *Hieron*

Xenophon		*Leonardo Bruni*		*Adam Werner*	
τύραννος	76	*tyrannus*	82	*tirann*	21
τυραννίς	8	*tyrannis*	11	*tiranney*	2
τυραννικός	2	*tyrannicus*	2	-	
τυραννεῖν	3	-		-	
τυραννούμενοι	1				
τυραννευόμενοι	1				
-		*tyrannicida*	1	-	

Table 3.2 Adam Werner: Xenophon, *Hieron* – translations of *tyrannus*

grosßer herr	I13, I19, I21, I22, I28, I29, I 30, I31, I37, I38, II6, II7, II7, II8, II11, II12, II12, III1, III6, III8, IV1, IV6; IV7, IV7, IV8, IV9, IV9, IV 11, V1, V2, V2, V2, VII2, VIII2, VIII8, XI1
Herr	I15, I17, II14, II14, II17, VII2, XI6, XI6
gewaltiger grosßer herr	I8, I11,
könig	I1, I2, VIII10
könig und grosßer herr	I7, I14, IV6
grosßer könig und herr	IV6
gewaltiger könig und grosßer herr	I11
tirann	IV5, V3, V3, VI8, VI8, VI11, VI 11, VI13, VI15, VII10
tirann ader grosser herr	VI13, VI13
tirann und grosser herr	VI10
tirann und grosßer gewaltiger herr	VII12
grosßer herr und tirann	IV5
tiranney ader grosßer gewalt und herschafft (translation of esse tyrannum)	VII11
(omitted in translation)	I13, I18, I18; I24, I24, IV9, VI 14, VII5

has already been naturalised into German for some time. If we look at the translations chosen for Bruni's *tyrannus* in the German version in detail (Table 3.2), we see that the expression *grosßer herr* ('great lord') serves as a 'standard' translation and can sometimes occur without the adjective (i.e. only as *herr*). Occasionally, it is extended by the adjective *gewaltig* ('mighty') or used together with *könig* ('king') in a pair formula. The word *tirann*, on the other hand, occurs much less frequently as *(grosßer) herr*, although it can sometimes be combined with the former.

The term *tyrannis* (which occurs 10 times in Bruni's text) appears less consistently in Werner, but it can be observed that predominantly *herrschafft* ('rule') and *gewalt* ('power') occur, which are mostly expanded again by *groß* ('great') or appear together in a binome, while *tyranney* is only used once (V,3).

For our analysis, the distribution of the expressions in the text is of particular interest, because it can be shown that the occurrences are by no means random, but can be linked to semantic differences. For example, it is immediately striking that the words *tirann* and *tiranney* do not appear at all in the first and last parts of the text, but are concentrated in a few sentences in the middle part (IV–VII), in which the main theme is the lack of trust between the tyrant and his subjects or his bodyguards, who could also kill him. The first occurrence of *tirann* in the German translation is when Hieron discourses on tyrannicide (IV, 3), suggesting that Werner specifically uses expressions from the word family *tirann-* where the text clearly depicts the greatest possible alienation of the autocrat from his political function. However, these terms are only used consistently in VI, otherwise they continue to alternate with *grosßer herr* and its variants, which are again used preferentially from VIII to the end of the text. It therefore seems that *tirann* is only used when the translator feels compelled to do so by the context. It is also conceivable that Werner, who – as occasional corrections in the text show – translates successively, originally did not want to use the term at all and then had to use it in connection with the murder of the tyrant. The counterpart to *tirann* seems to be the term *könig* which is never combined with *tirann* in Werner to form a binome. The term occurs mainly at the beginning of the text, for example when Hieron is introduced for the first time (I,1), sometimes at the change of speaker, but also in VIII,10, where the good government is discussed and almost panegyric tones are struck towards the happy ruler.

If we look at Werner's lexical translation decisions in the rendering of expressions from the word family τύραννο- or *tyrann-* in their overall context, we can see that he gives preference to more or less neutral terms such as *großer herr*, *herrschaft* or *gewalt*, presumably because these are more open to interpretation and can thus be used without difficulty in most places in the text. These expressions thus largely take over the ambivalent function of τύραννος/τυραννίς or *tyrannus/tyrannis* in Xenophon and Bruni, respectively, which could not have been expressed by the German loan words *tirann* or *tiranney* – these expressions entered German from the thirteenth century onwards, but are characterised by a clearly pejorative connotation (Kipf, 2012). The Germanic word used as a gloss for *tyrannus* in Old High German is *wuoterich* ('brute'), in Middle High German it is *wüeterich*, and it is striking that the Early Modern *wüterich* does not appear at all in Werner's entire text, possibly because it is characterised

by an even more clearly negative connotation, which might have been detrimental to a positive conception of autocracy. In selected places, on the other hand, *tirann* or *tiranney* indicate the despair of the ruler, while *könig* is used sometimes in a deliberately positive way. It can thus be concluded that Adam Werner von Themar, as a translator, was aware of the polyvalence of the concept of 'tyrant' in Xenophon's *Hieron* and adapted his lexis accordingly to the text or the respective passages, while at the same time trying to keep in mind the identification needs of his addressee. It is inconceivable that a translation intended to serve as an object lesson for an electoral prince might express a critical attitude towards monarchical rule, distinguishing only between happy and unhappy rulers. The ambiguous image of the tyrant in the original text is thus essentially preserved in the translation, though in some places the main point of it may be lost due to Werner's different lexical choices (in the sense that it is always the same 'tyrant', in a neutral sense, who has to decide how to shape his rule).

The translation of Xenophon's *Hiero* by Adam Werner von Themar can be considered a good example of a translation of a political text in the political environment of the early fifteenth century, whereby the translation takes place in the field of tension between Greek, Latin, German, humanists and rulers. Adam Werner was active in the elector's circle and offered him a humanist cultural programme that, as he should become a part of fit, had to be recognisable as useful to him. The choice of an ancient text in which politics was seen from the perspective of the person of the ruler was particularly favourable in this context, because on the one hand, it corresponded to the educational concerns of humanism, and on the other hand, it gave the addressee good possibilities for identification. Themar thus presented himself as an advisor through his translation, supporting his advice with ancient sources, which he thus indirectly made accessible to his patron.

Our investigation was able to show how these circumstances could affect translation decisions in detail. Cultural adaptation and updating, i.e. a clear addressee orientation, are the essential guiding principles in this situation, which can be seen in the treatment of *realia* as well as in the explication of facts. In the political vocabulary occurring in the text, especially in the designation for the autocrat, a lexical desambiguation or differentiation with positive and negative valences was introduced by Adam Werner in comparison to the Greek or Latin text, which only knew the τύραννος or *tyrannus*. On the one hand, this leads to more clarity and thus greater comprehensibility, but on the other hand, it also reflects the power relations under which the translation was created. Overall, the text thus shows a clearly different function than Xenophon's original text, but also than that of Leonardo Bruni's Latin intermediate translation, both of which were conceived as contributions to a philosophical-scientific discussion.

Further research could show to what extent such a functionalisation in political contexts is also evident in other texts and whether our results can be generalised.

Notes

1 For Adam Werner von Themar's life and works, see Worstbrock (2013).
2 See, for example, the Ode *ut Apollo ad Germanos veniat* (Hartfelder, 1880: 41 no. 67).
3 The whole codex is available on: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg298 (Accessed 21 Feb. 2022).
4 This was a translation of a new find published by Konrad Celtis in 1501, which caused a sensation as a testimony to a German culture of its own, as Werner says, "von eyner Cristlichen Poetin [...] uß teutzscher Nation" ("by a christian poet of German nation") (fol. 101r).
5 All readings of the manuscript text presented here are my own.
6 On that debate, see McIlwain (2019: 117–134).
7 I am very grateful to Michele Bandini (Potenza) for providing me with his unpublished text of Leonardo Bruni's Latin translation of Xenophon's *Hiero*, based on his studies on the text tradition.
8 For example, Niklas von Wyle did so in the dedicatory letter for his 13th *Translatze* (Keller, 1861: 248), as did Johann Gottfried in his translations of excerpts from works by Aristotle, Lucian and Isocrates (Drücke, 2001: 246–247, 348–358), and also Dietrich von Pleningen, who in 1516 dedicated a translation of Lucian to his teacher Rudolf Agricola, who had translated the same text from Greek into Latin (Gerlach, 1993: 230).

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4 The Translational Practice of a Low German Surgeon

Chiara Benati

Hans von Gersdorff's field surgery manual (*Feldtbuch der Wundarzney*, 1517) represents, along with Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia* (1497), one of the earliest vernacular medical sources to enjoy wide circulation in Early Modern Europe and, consequently, to be translated into other vernaculars. In this chapter, a fragmentary Low German translation of the *Feldtbuch* transmitted in the anonymous manuscript Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, GKS 1663 4to is analysed and contrasted with its High German source in order to single out the importance of High German texts and their translations for the initial development of a medical and surgical register in the Northern German language area.

Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney*[1]

The *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* was printed for the first time in folio format in Strasbourg in 1517 by Schott. The text, which is presented by its author, the Strasbourgian surgeon Johannes (Hans) von Gersdorff, as the result of his personal experience in surgical practice, appears, nevertheless, to be strongly dependent on some of the most authoritative medical sources of the time. The most evident influence seems to be that of Guy de Chauliac, one of the most eminent European surgeons of the fourteenth century. On the whole, one-third of von Gersdorff's surgical manual derives directly from Guy's *Chirurgia Magna* (1363) and, a smaller part, from his *Chirurgia Parva*.[2] In particular, the chapters on anatomy and the treatment of ulcers and other dermatological diseases can be traced back to this author. The chapters on wounds and fractures, on the other hand, are based on the works of Rogerius (before 1140–ca. 1195), with some references to Lanfranc of Milan (ca. 1250–1306), Ortolf of Bavaria (d. before 1339) and Hieronymus Brunschwig (ca. 1450–ca. 1512), while the theory of phlebotomy derives from Johannes Kirchheimer (Ketham) and the *antidotarium* follows the teachings by Guy de Chauliac and Nicholas of Salerno (Frederiksen, 1983: col. 628). Moreover, some 160 authors are

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mentioned within the text, among whom are Galen, Avicenna, Albucasis and Hippocrates (Panse, 2012: 59).

The first edition of the handbook includes four treatises (*tractate*). The first 12 chapters of the first treatise deal mainly with anatomy.[3] The 13th chapter is introduced by an engraving representing the 'counterfeit bloodletting manikin' (*Contrafacter Lasszman*)[4] and deals with the practice of phlebotomy. The first book ends with a description of the 12 zodiac signs and their features and with a table containing the names and numbers of the days of each month ordered according to the traditional Roman numeration. In the second book – preceded by an illustration showing the 'Wound Man' – the author presents the different pathologies (mainly traumata, but also infectious and oncological diseases) that can be treated surgically, as well as their therapies. The 17th and 18th chapters of this treatise contain the *antidotarium,* that is, a collection of recipes for the various remedies a surgeon might need. The third book is completely dedicated to leprosy and other dermatological pathologies. The fourth and last book of the first edition of the text is composed of three Latin-German glossaries on anatomy (*Vocabularius Anathomie*), pathology (*Vocabularius Infirmitatum*), and on the herbs used in pharmacopoeia (*Vocabularius erbarum*).[5]

This first edition was followed by several others: 11 or 12 in quarto (Strasbourg, Schott, 1526, 1527 (?), 1528, 1530, 1535, Augsburg, Steiner 1542, Frankfurt am Main, Gülfferich 1551 and Egenolff und Nachfolger 1551, 1556, 1576, 1598, 1606) and three or four in folio format (Strasbourg, Grüninger 1519 and Schott, 1540, 1542 (?), Hagenau, Anshelm 1517–1518). In some of these, the original material has been integrated and given a new structure divided into seven books. The latter is, for example, the case of the *Feldtbůh der Wundartzney newlich getruckt/und gebessert* printed in 1528 by Johannes Schott in Strasbourg. In 1540, the same publisher included in the *Feldtbuch* the German versions of two short treatises: the so-called *Albucasi contrafayt* and the *Chiromantia* by Jean d'Indagine. On the other hand, in some other editions, the text has been shortened; in 1551, for example, Christian Egenolff in Frankfurt a. M. entrusted Walter Ryff with the revision of von Gersdorff's treatise in order to publish it in a new graphic form with the addition of some new illustrations taken from the works of Johannes Dryander, Konrad von Megenberg and Mondino de' Liucci. Later Frankfurt prints (1598 and 1606) end with the chapter on leprosy and do not include the above-mentioned Latin-German glossaries. This large number of editions and reprints bears witness to the great popularity of the *Feldtbuch*, which is also corroborated by the fact that it was translated into Dutch (Amsterdam, Cornelis Claeß 1591, 1593, 1605, Jacob Theunisz Lootsman 1651 and Amsterdam and Harlem, Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh 1622) and probably into Latin (Strasbourg 1542 and Frankfurt 1551), even though no copy of this latter translation has ever been found (Frederiksen, 1983: col. 627; Panse, 2012: 154).

The Manuscript and the *Velt bock*[6]

The manuscript with the shelfmark GKS 1663 4[to] (Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen) is a composite manuscript made up of three parts, which were bound together sometime before the manuscript was acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen (*terminus ante quem* indicated by the library catalogue: 1787).

The first part, consisting of folios 1–206, in quarto (ca. 215 × 152 mm) was produced in the early sixteenth century (probably before 1540[7]) and written in a single hand (H 1) most likely in the region south of Lüneburg. The second part (fols. 207–225), produced at the end of the fifteenth century, is written in another, neater and more regular hand (H 2) and provided with red rubrics and initials.[8] The third (fols. 226–241), which is in duodecimo (ca. 150 × 100 mm), was written by the same irregular hand before 1540.

The early sixteenth-century parts of the manuscript, which are relevant in this context, show traces of the scribe's own leaf numeration on the top of the *recto* of some leaves: fols. 15–86 and 91–146 have been marked with Roman numbers from i to lxxiiij and from i to lxxvj, respectively, while fols. 147–170 and 171–204 are identified by Arabic numbers from 77 to 99 (with 84 appearing twice) and from 1 to 34 (in red ink). The presence of this original numeration has revealed the existence of two lacunae between fols. 73 and 74, where two leaves (lxj–lxij) are missing and between fols. 96 and 97, where fols. vij–xxvij have been lost (Borchling, 1900; Panse, 2012: 154).

As far as its contents are concerned, the manuscript may be defined as a collection of Middle Low German medical texts including: a short note on how to perform medicine correctly and on the impossibility of fully mastering this art, but also by two paragraphs containing therapeutic indications (fol. 2r); an analytical index to the text (fols. 3r–12v) (Benati, 2013b: 298); a short glossary of Latin terms (fols. 13r–14r) (Benati, 2013b: 300); a fragment of a Low German translation of Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* known as *Dat velt bock* (fols. 5r–63r);[9] a series of prescriptions from various sources;[10] *Dat kinder bock* (fols. 87r–146r);[11] a collection of recipes for the preparation of unguents (fols. 146v–158r); a detailed explanation of some common medical verbs deriving from Latin (fols. 158v–166v); two paragraphs about anthrax, which probably constitute an addition to what comes after (fol. 170v); an alphabetical glossary on surgically treatable pathologies (fols. 171r–177v); an alphabetical glossary on medical terms and phrases (fols. 179r–204r) (Benati, 2016); a *practica* (fols. 226r–227r); a *practica*, mentioning the 12 months as well as the hours of the day (fols. 227v–240r).

Moreover, the analysis of the alphabetical glossary on fols. 179r–204r and the cross-references constituting some of its glosses have proved that the manuscript, in its original form, included at least two other large works

(over 400 leaves altogether) – most likely a surgical manual (*Ciurgia*) and a herbal (*Herbariuß*) – which are now lost. The presence of the latter in the original concept of this medical commonplace book is also confirmed by the otherwise quite surprising absence of pharmacobotanical terms in the glossary (Benati, 2016: 7).

High and Low German for Surgical Purposes in the Early Modern Time

From the linguist's point of view, Medieval and Early Modern scientific prose is particularly interesting because it bears witness to the progressive emancipation of the vernacular languages from Latin and the formation of a vernacular language for specific purposes (German *Fachsprache*). This is also true of medical and surgical Early Modern German handbooks. Apart from a few exceptions such as the Thurigian *Bartholomäus*,[12] in fact, throughout the Middle Ages most medical literary output is either in Latin or translated from Latin. Consequently, Medieval and Early Modern German lacks terminology in both the medical and the surgical fields, which means that Latin (or Greek) loanwords continue to play a fundamental role in identifying key concepts. This phenomenon has been analysed by Pörksen (1994: 61–65), who – on the basis of the language of Paracelsus' lectures – introduced the notion of 'Fachwerksprache' ('half-timbered language'), through analogy with the wooden scaffold constituting the structure of the half-timbered building (*Fachwerkhäuser*). That is to say, the universally recognized and crystallized medical vocabulary of Classical origin represents a guarantee against potentially lethal misunderstandings which could arise from the use of the still precarious and arbitrary German terminology.

Up to now, almost all historical studies of German medical and surgical *Fachsprache* have focused on the High German language area, while only very little attention paid to the (quantitatively no less relevant)[13] output from the northern part of Germany. In this respect, texts such as the Low German translation of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Cirurgia* (Benati, 2010, 2012a, 2012b, 2018) or the *Velt bock* constitute precious sources for the investigation of specialized medical and surgical language in Middle Low German. The latter, which is the product of a person documenting and useful pieces of information from various sources translating in his personal scrapbook (Benati, 2013b, 2014, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c), is particularly interesting because it bears witness to the linguistic practice of a surgically competent Northern German translator and the strategies he adopted to render High German specialized language into another cognate vernacular, thus highlighting the specificity of his task and the challenge it represented. In fact, if von Gersdorff himself had to deal with the lack of a stable and universally acknowledged terminology, the Low German compiler

of the Copenhagen manuscript faced a further difficulty – rendering the vernacular terminology of the original into a language that was extremely similar, but not necessarily intelligible to his potential readers.

My preliminary research on the macrostructure of the Low German *Velt bock* has shown that it does not represent a linear from-the-first-to-the-last-page form of reception of von Gersdorff's handbook since the Low German compiler of the Copenhagen manuscript seems to have moved freely through the source text, selecting specific themes and prescriptions. Still on the macroscopic level, another significant element is represented by the very nature of the selected sections, which consist mainly of praxis-oriented passages (Benati, 2013b, 2014, 2017a, 2017b), rather than anatomical descriptions or more theoretical discussions of aetiologies (Panse, 2012: 158).

An eye-catching corollary of this almost exclusively pragmatic reading of von Gersdorff's work is represented by the systematic omission of the numerous references to Classical and Medieval medical authorities that are included in the source text. For example, a reference to Avicenna is omitted from a passage on the possible negative consequences of the bloodletting of the temporal arteries:

(1) Source text
Zwo aderen an beyd*en* end*en* des schlafs geschlagen ist gůt wider den schmertz*en* der oren. wider den tråher flussz der augen. wider das mittel we des haubts. Vn*d* ***secundu*m Auicenna*m*** / so sollent diße aderen nit geschlagen werden den fruchtbaren vn*d* kindgeberig*en*. dan*n* durch ir offnu*n*g werd*en* vßgetriben die geist so von der natur verordenet seint zů der geberung.

(von Gersdorff, 1517: XIVv, emphasis added)

[Puncturing the two arteries on both sides of the temple is indicated against earache, against excessive tearing of the eyes and against the pain in the central part of the head. According to Avicenna, however, these arteries should not be punctured if the patient is fertile or pregnant, since their opening causes the expulsion of the spirits naturally responsible for the birth process].

Target text
Two aderen by den enden des slapes edder du*n*ninge geslag*en*: iß gut wedder den smerten der oren: wedder den tragen flot der ogen: Wedder dat myddel del des houedes: Jo doch scolen de aderen nicht geslagen werden: den fruchtbaren vnde dede kynder boren: dan dorch de opyning werden vth dreuen de geist: so von der natur vor ordenth sint to der geberingh.

(Benati, 2017a: 19)

> [Puncturing the two arteries on both sides of the temple is indicated against earache, against excessive tearing of the eyes and against the pain in the central part of the head. However, these arteries should not be punctured if the patient is fertile or pregnant, since their opening causes the expulsion of the spirits naturally responsible for the birth process].

This can, at least partially, be ascribed to the medium shift connected with the possibly private handwritten recording of a text originally destined for a broader readership and for sale. That is to say, while von Gersdorff needed to legitimize his handbook for any potential reader that was considering entrusting someone's life to his instructions, the anonymous scribe that took notes and wrote down the prescriptions and passages he considered relevant for his own personal use did not need to justify his choices or quote sources for the various therapies he collected (although he may have consulted various medical sources).

Apart from the citation of universally acknowledged medical authorities (*auctoritates*), the other main legitimation strategy employed in the *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* is reference to the author's own experience (*experientia*, Panse, 2012: 58): this can be found both in the preface to the text and in a series of anecdotes introducing or commenting on single prescriptions. However, in the Low German translation, even this form of knowledge legitimation has become redundant, and so those passages have been systematically omitted. For example, in a passage dealing with the treatment of fistulas, the reference to von Gersdorff's personal experience has been left out:

> (2) Source text
> **Diß hab ich auch gebrucht.** Nim mercuriu*m* sublimatu*m* .j. lot dar noch so nim baldrion krut vn*d* wurtzel vnd dǒrr das vff eim sturtz blech über kolen / vn*d* puluerisier dan*n* das.
> (von Gersdorff, 1517: LXIv, emphasis added)

> [I have also used this: Take one part mercurius sublimatum, then take valerian herb and root, let them dry on a metal plate on the coal and reduce it to powder].

> Target text
> Nym mercuriu*m* sublimatu*m* j lot. dar na ny*m* baldrion krut vnd wortel vnd rore dat vp ein sturtz blech dat iß ene glate: in ene*n* poth: sette ouer de kolen vnd puluer dat denne.
> (Benati, 2017a: 28).

> [Take one part mercurius sublimatum, then take valerian herb and root, let them dry on a metal plate on the coal and reduce it to powder].

The avoidance of all references to Hans von Gersdorff is also mirrored in the shift from the first to the third- and second-person imperative, which we find in the manuscript:

(3) Source text
Wan*n* **ich** ein fystel **gereiniget hett /** vnd sye sauber ward / so name ich ein gůt oleu*m* tartari / das ist weinstein ǒl / vnd thet das in den schaden ein mol oder zwey. das tǒdtet all gemeine fystelen die do nit zů alt seint gesin. dor noch **so hab ich sye geheylt** als andere fystelen wie hyeruor stot.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: LXIIr, emphasis added)

[Once I had cleaned the fistula and it was clean, I took good oil of tartar and I poured it in the injury once or twice. This kills all common fistulas which are not too old. Then I healed them as other fistulas as described above].

Target text
Wen de fisteln **gereyniget iß** vnd iß sauber suuarck vnde schon geworde*n*. So ny*m* guden win sten olie. vnd don den in den scaden en edder ij male dat dodett alle gemene fisteln. de dar nicht to olt sinth: dar na **hele se** alse andre fisteln alse her vor gescre*uen* stet.
(Benati, 2017a: 29)
[Once the fistula is clean, take good oil of tartar and pour it once or twice in the injury. This kills all common fistulas which are not too old. Then heal them as other fistulas as described above].[14]

Similarly, introductory and discursive passages, such as, for example, general recommendations to the surgeon have been systematically omitted by the translator:

(4) Source text
Nim myrrhen / aloepaticum / bolu*m* armenum / tutia preparata yedes ein halb lot. stossz dißе stuck vnd pulueriser sye rein / vnd sǎg sye jm in die fystel. **Du solt auch fleisszig besehen / das das aug allweg wol beschirmt sey / d*az* jm kein schad douon widerfar.**
(von Gersdorff, 1517: LXIr, emphasis added)

[Take myrrh, Aloe Epaticum, Armenian bole and Tutia preparata, half a part each. Mix these and reduce them to a fine powder and pour it in the fistula. You should be careful to protect the eye, so that it is not injured.]

Target text
Nym myrre*n*: aloe epaticu*m* boluß armenuß: tucia preparata: jslikeß j lot: dusse stote alle vnd puluisere se reyn. vnd do dar in de fisteln.
(Benati, 2017a: 27)

> [Take myrrh, Aloe Epaticum, Armenian bole and Tutia preparata, half a part each. Mix these and reduce them to a fine powder and pour it in the fistula.][15]

The same is true also for many considerations about the effectiveness of a specific therapy. See, for example:

> (5) Source text
> Ein gůt salb zů der fystelen. Nim aloe / myrrhen / sarcocolla / mastix / weyrouch / sanguis draconis yedes .j. quinsit rein gepuluert. vn*d* nim roßenhonig das sein genůg seye / vnd mach ein sålblin doruß / vn*d* lege jm daz mit fåßen dorin, **das hilfft vast wol.**
> (von Gersdorff, 1517: LXIv, emphasis added)

> [A good unguent for the fistulas. Take aloe, myrrh, Sarcocolla, mastic, incense and dragon's blood, a fifth part each, finely pulverized. Take enough rose honey and make an unguent out of it. Then pour it into the lesion, it helps very well.]

> Target text
> Ene salue to der fisteln: Nym aloe: myrren: sarcocolla: mastix: werok: sa*n*guiß draconiß islikeß en que*n*tin sit rein gepuluert. vnd nym rosen ho*n*nich. dat genoch sy: vnd make en salue dar vth. dat legge myt fasen dar in.
> (Benati, 2017a: 28)

> [A good unguent for the fistulas. Take aloe, myrrh, Sarcocolla, mastic, incense and dragon's blood, a fifth part each, finely pulverized. Take enough rose honey and make an unguent out of it. Then pour it directly into the lesion.]

Nevertheless, the systematic comparison of the single portions of text with their source has also revealed a series of additions to the original. These have been inserted at potentially critical points in order to serve the pragmatic need of conveying a clear unequivocal message. They seem to have been determined either by terminological ambiguities or by the shift from a print to handwritten medium, and the corresponding absence of paratextual elements, such as woodcut illustrations present in the original print.

For example, in a passage dealing with the puncturing of the saphenous veins, the Low German manuscript specifies the exact position for bloodletting and hints at something which can be interpreted as a distinction between the great and the small saphenous vein, their origin and position (Grabert, 1943: 264). The 1517 High German original, on the other hand, simply states that these two blood vessels have to be punctured under the sole of the foot.

(6) Source text
Saphene seint zwo adern vnde*n* an der fůßhüly beyder füsszen / die geschlagen seint gůt für vff lauffen vnd geschwullst der hoden.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XVv)

[Saphenous are two veins below the sole of both feet, which can be punctured against swelling and tumor inside the testicles.]

Target text
Saphene sinth two aderen vnder an der voth sulen by den voten dat iß **scher nedden an der verssen** de geslagen sinth gut vor aufflopen vp lopen vnd swulst der hoden dusse iß tyne muteß. **Vnde de ader Sciatica deß bute*n* an de vote vnd dusse luteste ku*m*pt van der sulen van bute*n* vnd de erste alfa Saphena ku*m*pt van der syden van bynnen.**
(Benati, 2017a: 24, emphasis added)

[Saphenous are two veins below the sole of the feet, below the heel, which can be punctured against swelling and tumor inside the testicles. And vein *sciatica*, which is in the external part of the foot and the small one from the exterior of the sole and the first *alfa saphena* comes from the internal side.][16]

The Low German translator must have considered it necessary to be more precise about the exact position for bloodletting the saphenous veins because he was conscious that he would not have at his disposal the visual aid included in the original print (Figure 4.1), showing the incision of the "counterfeit bloodletting manikin" (von Gersdorff, 1517: XIIIIr).

Similarly, the distinction between the two saphenous veins, possibly borrowed from the first anatomical treatise of the *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney*[17] or from another source, could have been dictated by the decision not to completely translate von Gersdorff's compendium or indeed any other.

Terminologically determined additions involve mostly synonyms or explanatory glosses inserted to clarify the meaning of a specialized term used in the High German original. Vernacular synonyms or explanations are often introduced by the phrase *dat is* or by the conjunctions *e(f)fte* and *edder* 'or'. See, for example, the case of the High German loanword *buler* 'palate and gums':

(7) Source text
Die adern der lefftzen geschlage*n* / ist gůt wider die apostemate*n* des mu*n*des vnd der **büller** / vn*d* auch des fleisches in dem die zån gewurtzelt seint.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XIVv, emphasis added)

[Letting the arteries of the lips is indicated against the swelling of the mouth and of the palate and also of the flesh, in which the teeth are rooted.]

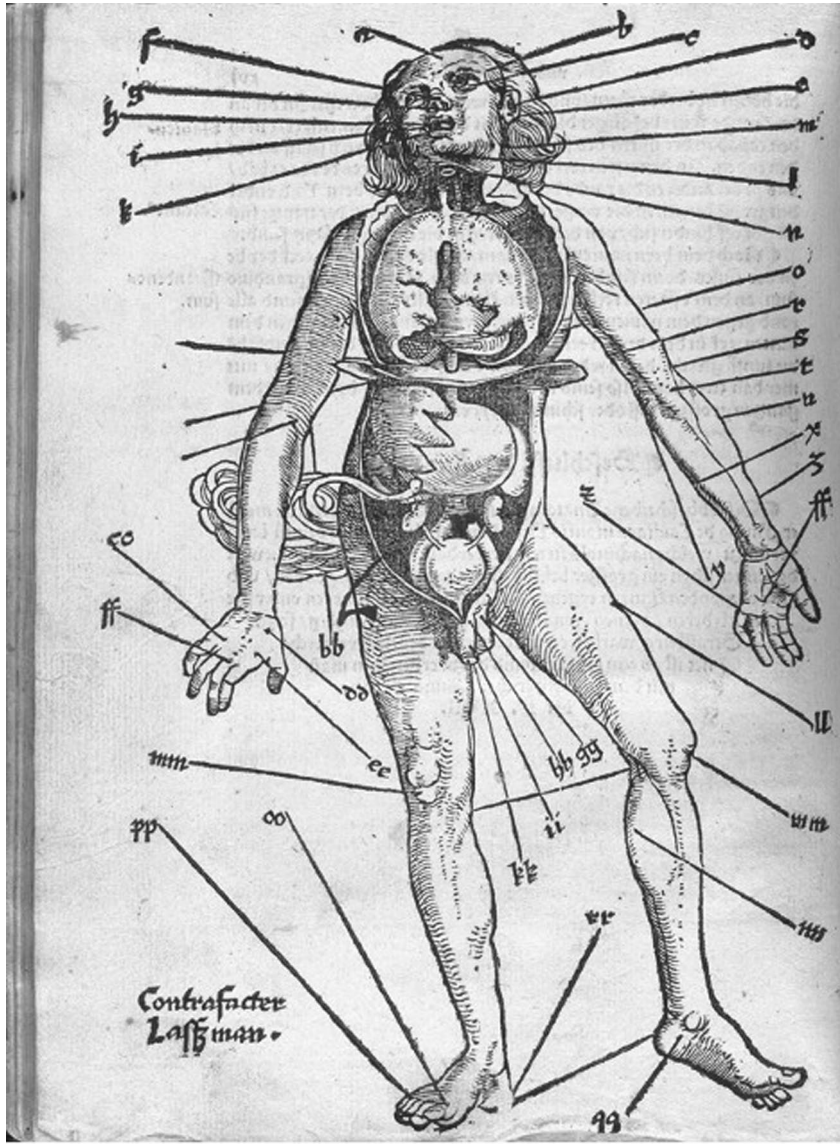

Figure 4.1 Johann Ulrich Wechtlin, "Counterfeit bloodletting manikin", *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* (1528), fol. XIIIIr. Retrieved from the National Library of Medicine. Public Domain.

Source: https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/bookviewer?PID=nlm:nlmuid-2246021R-bk#page/48/mode/2up.

Target text
De aderen der lippen geslagen iß gut wedder de apostemen deß mu*n*deß vnd der **buler** wee. Ok wedder deß flesscheß dar de tenen ingewortelt sint: **buler: dat is dat gagel vnd dat tenen fleisch.**
(Benati, 2017a: 20, emphasis added)

[Letting the arteries of the lips is indicated against the swelling of the mouth and the pain of the *buler* and also of the flesh, in which the teeth are rooted. *Buler* are the palate and the gums.]

See also HG *stirn* – LG *sterne* 'forehead', which is combined with LG *vorhouede* and HG *schlaf* – LG *slap* 'temple', which is paired with LG *dunninge*:

(8) Source text
Die ader mitten an der **stirne*n*** geschlagen ist gůt für all apostemate*n* d*er* augen.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XIVv, emphasis added)

[Letting the artery in the forehead is good for all swellings of the eyes.]

Target text
De ader am **sterne edder vorhouede** geslagen iß gut vor alle apostemen der ogen.
(Benati, 2017a: 19, emphasis added)

[Letting the artery in the *sterne* or forehead is good for all swellings of the eyes.]

(9) Source text
Zwo aderen an beyden ende*n* des **schlafs** geschlagen ist güt wider den schmertze*n* der oren.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XIVv, emphasis added)

[Letting the two vessels on both sides of the temple is indicated against earache]

Target text
Two aderen by den enden deß **slapeß edder du*n*ninge** geslage*n*: iß gut wedder den smerten der oren.
(Benati, 2017a: 19, emphasis added)

[Letting the two vessels on both sides of the *slape* or temple is indicated against earache]

These correspondences of High and Low German anatomical terms can be considered well-consolidated, since they appear also in the 1518 Low German printed translation of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia* (Benati, 2018). The same can be said of LG *bregen* and HG *hirn* 'brain', which in the 1518 print is systematically replacing its HG equivalent, whereas in the Copenhagen manuscript it is often combined with it:

(10) Source text:
Von den zeyche*n* der verseru*n*g des **hirns.**
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XXv, emphasis added)

[On the signs of the lesion of the brain]

Van den teken der vorseringe deß **hirnß edder bregenß.**
(Benati, 2017a: 70, emphasis added)

[On the signs of the lesion of the *hirn* or brain]

Another consolidated LG term is *knake* 'bone', which is used to render HG *bein*:

(11) Source text
besichtig vn*d* ersüche die wu*n*den wol / vn*d* hab acht ob keine **beinlin** oder schyferlin dorum*b* ligen oder seyen.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XIXv)

[Observe and inspect well the wound and pay attention that no small bone or impurity is there.]

Target text
So merke vnde besee de wu*n*den ganß wol: offt dar ok klene **knaken** edder scarneken in sint edder liggen.
(Benati, 2017a: 69, emphasis added)

[Observe and inspect well the wound and pay attention that no small bone or impurity is there.]

When rendering High German specialized terminology in Low German, the scribe of the Copenhagen manuscript proceeds fairly systematically. If the Low German language has a consolidated alternative to the High German term, this is used to replace it (translation), but if, on the other hand, the Low German language has no consolidated term for a given concept, or if it coincides, at least etymologically, with the High German one, the original term is transferred into Low German as a loanword.

In this case, there are two possible scenarios: either the compiler of the Copenhagen manuscript borrows the High German word and adapts it to Low German phonology, apparently considering it perfectly intelligible; or he clarifies it in some way. The clarification strategies are mainly represented by the juxtaposition with a synonym and the paraphrasing of the original term. In some cases, however, a High German loanword, which, at the moment of the translation, seems to have been considered unequivocal, no longer appears so clear, when the manuscript is consulted at a later stage. For this reason, synonyms are inserted in the form of interlinear and marginal glosses (later correction). See, for example:

(12) Source text:
Zwo adere*n* am **gu*mm*en** des mu*n*ds geschlagen.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XIIIIv, emphasis added)

[Letting two vessels on the gums of the mouth]

Target text
Two adern am **gume** oft gagel deß mundeß geslagen.
(Benati, 2017a: 19, emphasis added)

[Letting two arteries on the *gume* or gums of the mouth]

(13) Source text
Nim **dürre** entzian wurtzel.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: LXIIr, emphasis added)

[Take dried gentian root]

Target text
Nym **turre** drogen Encian wortel.
(Benati, 2017a: 30, emphasis added)

[Take *turre* dried gentian root][18]

Since, as I have mentioned above, Early Modern medical and surgical specialized language is terminologically indebted to the Classical tradition, it is necessary here to take account of its rendering of the Latin terms present in the original. In this respect, a systematic comparison of the two texts has revealed that the Latin terminology used in the High German original has not been treated in a fully consistent manner in the Low German *Velt bock*. In some cases, the Low German translator maintains the Classical terms as they are used in his High German source

(for example, highly specialized anatomical or pathological terms, such as *dura mater* or *emigranea*, are employed in both the High German surgical handbook and in the Low German medical commonplace book, usually along with an explanatory gloss):

(14) Source text
dura mater / das ist d*az* erst fell ob dem hirn.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XXr)

[*Dura mater*, which is the first membrane around the brain]

Target text:
dura mater. dat iß dat erste fel boue*n* deme bregen edder hirn.
(Benati, 2017a: 69, emphasis added)

[*Dura mater*, which is the first membrane around the brain or *hirn*]

(15) Source text
wider **emigranea*m* /** das ist ein kranckheit mitten im haubt.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XIIIIv, emphasis added).

[against migraine, which is a disease in the middle of the head]

Target text
Ok wedder **Emigraneam**. Dat is ene krancheit mydden im houede.
(Benati, 2017a: 19, emphasis added)

[And against migraine. This is a disease in the middle of the head]

Sometimes, on the other hand, the Classical term occurring in the High German original is replaced with one or more vernacular equivalents. This is usually the case with Latinate verbs and nouns referring to surgical procedures. See, for example:

(16) Source text
Ein ader bey den naßlocher*en* geschlagen **purgiert** das haubt.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: XIIIIv, emphasis added)

[Puncturing an artery near the nostrils acts as a purgative for the head]

Target text
Ene ader vnder by den nesze holer geslage*n* **reyniget** dat houeth.
(Benati, 2017a: 19, emphasis added)

[Puncturing an artery near the nostrils cleans the head]

(17) Source text
Die heylunng antracis ist glich der **cur** carbunculi.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: LXIIIIr, emphasis added)

[The therapy for anthrax is the same as the cure for carbuncle]

De helynge antrax iß gelik alsame **helet** de Carbunkeln.
(Benati, 2017a: 33, emphasis added)

[The therapy for anthrax is the same as the cure for carbuncle]

Finally, some Latin terms appearing in the High German *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney* are maintained in the Low German translation but are paired with a vernacular equivalent to clarify their meaning. Often these vernacular translations seem to have been inserted at a later stage as interlinear or marginal glosses, possibly because the Low German compiler of the Copenhagen manuscript reconsidered his previous terminological choice on a subsequent rereading.

(18) Source text
Ein ander tranck do die fystel in den beinen oder **neruis** ist.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: LXIIr, emphasis added)

[Another drink against the fistulas in the bones and the nerves]

Target text
En ander dranck: dede de fisteln in den boue*n* vnd **neruen** senen heft.
(Benati, 2017a: 30, emphasis added)

[Another drink against the fistulas affects in the bones and the *neruen* nerves]

In some cases, however, the vernacular synonym was not inserted at a later stage, but right away during the translation. This is the case for the assimilated form associated to the Latin loanword *carbunculus* 'carbuncle':

(19) Source text
Carbu*n*culus ist einn bo̊ße blůtige blotter.
(von Gersdorff, 1517: LXIIIr)

[*Carbunculus* is a malignant bloody boil]

Target text
Carbuculuß dat het ene Carbunkel. vnde iß ene bosze bledder.
(Benati, 2017a: 31, emphasis added)

[*Carbunculus* is the name of carbuncle and is a malignant boil]

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have tried to shed light upon the initial development of the medical and surgical register in Low German on the basis of the linguistic practice of one individual, the Northern German surgeon who compiled the medical commonplace book preserved in the early sixteenth-century parts of Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4to, collecting and translating relevant pieces of information, prescriptions and operative instructions from a wide range of sources, including Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundarzney*. Given the nature of the Low German *Velt bock*, which was not intended for a broad readership or for sale, the anonymous translator could refrain from legitimizing the information inserted in his work. For this reason, he simply focused on prescriptions and operative instructions, systematically omitting all discursive passages referring to universally acknowledged medical authorities or to von Gersdorff's personal experience. Nevertheless, the message of the High German surgical handbook had to be rendered exactly and unequivocally, since any misunderstanding could lead to potentially lethal consequences.

Keeping this in mind, the systematic comparison of the two texts and their specialized medical and surgical terminology has permitted the reconstruction of the translator's *modus operandi* when dealing with vernacular terms. As we have seen, whenever possible, he replaced the High German term with a consolidated Low German equivalent, otherwise making use of phonologically adapted High German loanwords, which were clarified in some way if they were potentially ambiguous. These clarifications were sometimes inserted directly during the translation or were added at a later stage in form of interlinear or marginal glosses. The most frequent lexical clarification strategies are juxtaposition with a synonym and paraphrase. In this respect, the Low German translator followed the example of von Gersdorff's original, where classical terms are paired with vernacular synonyms in order to make sure they were understood correctly (and also possibly to familiarise his non-university-educated readers, with Latin (and Greek) medical and surgical vocabulary).

Many of the original combinations of Classical and vernacular terminology have been maintained in the *Velt bock* as well. Nevertheless, the comparative analysis of the High German surgical handbook and the Low German manuscript has revealed a somewhat inconsistent treatment of these specialized terms, as some of them have been maintained and used exactly as in the High German source, while others have been translated into the vernacular and still others paired with a synonym for clarification. On the whole, the language of the Low German *Velt bock* is, like its source, characterized by a high frequency of synonyms and bilingual couplings

designed to prevent misunderstandings that could have arisen from the use of occasional, *ad hoc* phonological adaptations of High German loanwords. Furthermore, the very nature of the Copenhagen manuscript (which was possibly the lifetime's work of a surgeon wishing to keep record of any new and interesting information he found while reading) shows that a preoccupation with terminological accuracy and precision is by no means connected with the diffusion of the text and the concern that other readers could misunderstand it. The presence of later terminological clarifications and corrections within the manuscript clearly shows how precarious and arbitrary Low German specialized terms must have been in the eyes of a sixteenth-century Northern German surgeon.

Notes

1 The author and his work are also presented in detail in Benati (2017a: 7–10, 2017b: 503–506).
2 It is still uncertain as to which language version of Guy's works were in Hans von Gersdorff's possession. According to Grabert (1943: 64), the anatomical treatise derives more or less directly from the Latin 1498 incunable print of *Chirurgia magna*. On the other hand, the therapeutic part of the handbook appears to be mainly based on some High German manuscripts, which, due to a long transmission, have detached themselves so much from the original that they often convey a hardly understandable message (Frederiksen, 1983: col. 629).
3 In order, skin and muscles, nerves, veins and arteries, bones and cartilages, and then, following the *a capite ad calcem* scheme, head, face, neck and spine, shoulders and arms, thorax, abdomen, genitals, and lower limbs.
4 Choulant (1930: 165) underlines that this plate had been especially engraved for Schott's first edition of von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch*.
5 On these glossaries, their structure and sources, see also Benati (2013a: 35–57).
6 This description of the Copenhagen manuscript and of the *Velt bock* is a synthesis of the one included in Benati (2017a: 11–15).
7 The Roman digits *MDXL*, which can be found on the lower margin of fol. 227r and which are repeated on fol. 241v can be interpreted as the possible year of the manuscript's completion (Borchling, 1900: 57).
8 An edition of this portion of text has been provided by Lindgren (1986: 135–178), who noticed that fol. 217r–225v have erroneously been rebound after fol. 207r–216v, even though fol. 217r is clearly the first page of the fragment.
9 This consists of a series of apparently randomly ordered thematic chapters from the High German handbook, whose beginning is usually marked by bold-written keywords, dealing, inter alia, with phlebotomy (*Ader latende*, fol. 15r), zodiac signs (*Van den teken*, fol. 20v), fistula (*Fistel*, fol. 21r), carbuncle (*Carbunculuß*, fol. 23v), anthrax (*Antrox edder Antrax*, fol. 24v), ulcerated cancer (*Cancer ulceratum*, fol. 26r), estiomenus (*Estiomenuß*, fol. 28r), stemming blood flow (*Blot stillen*, fol. 33v), leprosy (*Lepra*, fol. 34v), morphea (*Morphea*, fol. 35v), the various remedies a surgeon has to know and use (*Medicina*, fol. 38v), head wounds (*Houet dat vorwundet iß*, fol. 45v), wounds to internal organs (*Ingeweyd vorwüntinge*, fol. 56r) and haemorrhoids (*Von den flot, Emorroidarum* fol. 61r).

10 These include some excerpts of a Low German version of Otto Brunfels' High German translation of Lanfrank of Milan's *Chirurgia parva* (fols. 63v–86v) (Benati, 2017a).
11 This Middle Low German handbook, preserved exclusively in GKS 1663 4to, consists of a treatise on phlebotomy, an incomplete calendar, and a series of prescriptions for pathologies, which are ordered from head to heel, and has been identified as a Middle Low German translation of the Latin treatise *Liber de aegritudinibus infantium* by Cornelius Roelans van Mecheln (1486). See also Lindgren (1983: cols. 1148–1149), Malm (2015: cols. 1460–1462) and Benati (2017c).
12 A twelfth century compilation of mainly Salernitan sources which can be considered as belonging to the oldest genre of the German medical literature: the collection of recipes. This text had an extraordinary diffusion in the German-speaking area, where it would be the main medical reference until the beginning of the fifteenth century. See also Keil (1978: col. 609).
13 For a short account of medical and surgical literary production both in High and in Low German see for example Haage and Wegner (2007: 196–207).
14 See also Benati (2020: 38).
15 See also Benati (2020: 38).
16 See also Benati (2017b: 509–510).
17 See, for example, von Gersdorff (1517: XIIv–XIIIr): "So aber nun die vene von oben vß jren anfengen sich zertene*n* vn*d* abstige*n* in die vndersten bein des ruckgrots / werde*n* sye geteylt in zwey teyl. deren eins got zu dem rechten dyech. das ander zů dem lincken dyech. vnd do werden sye geteylt in zwen grossze ǒst. einer got zů dem vsszeren teyl. der ander zu dem inneren teyl. vn*d* wurtzelen sich do / vn*d* stige*n* ab durch die schin bein zu den füsszen / vnd machent do fier aderen / welche gmeinklichen geschlagen werdent für fiererleye siechtagen oder kranckheite*n*". [The veins, which descend from their origin until the lowest bone of the spine, are divided in two parts. One of them goes to the right thigh, the other to the left thigh. There they are divided into two large branches. One goes to the external part, the other to the internal part. They are rooted there and descend through the shins towards the feet, where they form four vessels, which are usually punctured to treat many diseases.]
18 See also Benati (2020: 34).

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5 Mary Delany's *British Flora* (1769)

Female Agency in the Translation of Science

Tiago Cardoso

Introduction

Throughout history, translation has played a pivotal role in the creation and dissemination of knowledge (Bennett, 2023; Fransen *et al.*, 2017; Manning and Owen, 2018; Montgomery, 2000; Olohan, 2014) and, although the written record is dominated by men, from the second half of the seventeenth century we start to see the appearance of female translators of scientific and philosophical texts. Aphra Behn and Elizabeth Carter in England, Émilie du Châtelet and Geneviève Thiroux d'Arconville in France, and Maria Ardinghelli and Giuseppa Eleonora Barbapiccola in Italy, for example, translated works of natural philosophy, physics, or chemistry into their respective vernaculars, helping to reach other women and stimulate their interest in scientific matters – though whether this intervention was welcomed by their male counterparts is another matter (Agorni, 2016; Anonymous, 2009; Findlen, 1995; Martin, 2022; Ogilvie, 1986; Rebière, 1897).

Despite the growing interest in the work of women translators of science in eighteenth-century England (Agorni, 1998; Anscomb, 2005; Healy, 2004; Martin, 2016), there is one name that seems to be missing from the conversation: Mary Delany. Though known for her letter writing and botanical paper mosaics, her work as a translator of William Hudson's *Flora Anglica* (1762), which resulted in the production of her English text *British Flora* (1769), seems to have generally gone unnoticed. The most immediate explanation for this resides in the conditions under which the work was produced. At a time when women barely made a mark in this field, the text, which was handwritten, was never published.

This study aims to make use of the concept of translator's agency (Kinnunen and Koskinen, 2010; Milton and Bandia, 2009; Tyulenev, 2015) to analyse Delany's *British Flora* and examine her role in reworking Hudson's Latin text into English. The approach shows that Delany's intervention was not limited to transferring the source text as faithfully as possible,

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since parts of Hudson's study were left out, others were reformulated, and several notes were added.

Before moving on to this analysis, let us start by first taking a look at Delany's life and work to gauge how her upbringing and habitat will have contributed to her decision to translate the work. For organizational and logical reasons, the rest of the chapter will be divided into two separate but complementary sections: the first examines the additions, reformulations, and omissions made by Delany in her version of the work, while the second focusses on mistakes, doubts, and what we shall call "mysteries," that is, interventions of a diverse nature that we have been unable to explain. Finally, the conclusion considers what might have been the ultimate purpose of this translation and speculates as to its target reader.

Delany's Habitat: Women, Botany, and Translation in England (1750–1800)

Botany, like other branches of science, was not as open to women as it was to men in the second half of eighteenth-century England. Indeed, the winds of change only really started to blow at the very end of the century.[1] Until then, botany was broadly seen as an exclusively male endeavour (George, 2017; George and Martin, 2011; Sagal, 2022; Schurch, 2019: 528).

Some women, however, managed to be involved in scientific discoveries, and these belonged almost entirely to the upper class (Easterby-Smith, 2017: 104; George and Martin, 2011: 2; Robertson, 2000: 164). One of the means through which these women could develop their knowledge of botany was through Carl Linnaeus' system of classification, which simplified the description of plants and divided them into male and female. It became very popular in England from the 1760s onwards (George, 2005a, 2017); indeed, Linnaean categories underpinned Delany's translation, as we will see.

On the one hand, the Linnaean system may have encouraged less positive attitudes to gender. As Shteir (1996: 17) reminds us, the Linnaean classification conveyed "a contemporary obsession with sex and gender difference," and with its sexual metaphors, prone to be deemed controversial by conservatively minded botanists, was considered unsuitable for women to research (Babilas, 2013: 635). On the other hand, despite its limitations and inappropriateness (Noltie, 2019; Schurch, 2019: 519), the dissemination of Linnaeus' works in English will have helped make botany more accessible to women. Many translations from the Latin came out from the late 1750s onwards, including Benjamin Stillingfleet's *Miscellaneous Tracts* (1759), a key introduction to Linnaean methods that seems to have been read by women (Laird, 2009: 161); James Lee's *Introduction to Botany* (1760); William Withering's *System of Vegetables* (1783), in which the species were

desexualised (or made "appropriate" for women's learning); and James Edward Smith's *Dissertation on the Sexes of Plants* (1786; Allen, 1994: 37; George, 2005b: 195; George and Martin, 2011: 2).[2]

It is in this context that we find Mary Delany (1700–1788), an Englishwoman who became known for her botanical paper mosaics as well as for her embroidery, shellwork, and correspondence. Despite being "modest and shy" (Clayton, 1876: 127; see also Wilde, 2003: 76), she was acquainted with many important figures in the world of botany, was part of the Blue Stockings Society, and even knew members of the Royal Family, such as King George III and Queen Charlotte (Alic, 1986: 203; Babilas, 2013: 640; Clayton, 1876: 125–127). But like some women of this period, "instead of fluttering [her] fans and trying to look pretty and small-waisted, [she] went out and did something with [her] intellect and resources" (Hanly and Deevy, 1997: 17; Horwood, 2010: 168; Sagal, 2022; Shteir, 1996: 43) – especially, as we shall see, during her extended stays at the Bulstrode Estate.

Located in Buckinghamshire, Bulstrode, the seat of William Bentinck, the second Duke of Portland, was used by his wife Margaret to house her extensive natural history collection. It was also a place for the gathering of minds that were "caught up in the age of enlightenment, an era of discovery, new ideas and classification of plants" (Oxley, 2008: 10). Mary Delany was invited there by the Duchess of Portland, after both had lost their husbands (Laird, 1999: 338), and she effectively lived there for at least half the year (from spring to autumn) over a period of 17 years (1768–1785), not only enjoying her time but also learning (Clayton, 1876: 126; Laird, 1999: 338; Oxley, 2008: 10).

During her stays at Bulstrode, Delany would have come into contact with some of the most important botanical figures of the period. We know that the parson-naturalist John Lightfoot, author of the *Flora Scotica* (1777), was a curator for the Duchess, and that the botanists Daniel Solander (disciple of Linnaeus) and Joseph Banks stayed there on more than one occasion, donating exotic plants that they had collected from their voyage with Captain Cook around the world (Baker, 2003: 169–170; Kerhervé, 2021). One of Delany's letters from September 1769[3] reveals how the botanist Georg Dionysius Ehret, just returned from an expedition, lectured her and the Duchess on his latest discoveries, much to her amusement (Delany quoted in Llanover, 1862: 240).

Through these years, Delany's interest in natural history developed, particularly in botany, and we find her engaging in the study and practice of Linnaean methods (Alic, 1986: 203; Babilas, 2013; Neri, 2009: 184–185; Schurch, 2019). Her familiarity with this taxonomy is especially evident in what is considered her most famous and beloved work, *Flora Delanica*, begun in 1772 and completed in 1782. A collection of nearly 1,000 paper

collages of plants, it is believed that she produced it in honour of the Duchess (Weisberg-Roberts, 2009: 10),[4] although many of the specimens in it seem to have been recommended to her by individuals in her network (Schurch, 2019: 529).

Delany's collages and notes, which reveal her understanding of Linnaean classification methods, were much admired and respected by her contemporaries, including the famous Joseph Banks (Easterby-Smith, 2017: 104; Kelley, 2012: 114). As Easterby-Smith (2017: 104) points out, these mosaics of plant specimens exemplified how botanical knowledge could be integrated within the female culture of accomplishments: such artistic endeavours acquired legitimacy precisely because "flowers were closely associated with women, granting them a creative outlet that did not exceed the bounds of acceptable public behaviour[5]" (Schurch, 2019: 529; see also Martin, 2016: 161).

However, Delany's work, like that of many of the other women mentioned above, went far beyond the merely aesthetic, and in the "almost unknown handwritten manuscript" (O'Malley, 2010: 158) that was her translation of Hudson's *Flora Anglica*, she ventured into territories considered much less acceptable for her sex, such as mycology, i.e., the study of fungi (Schurch, 2019: 529). As we shall see, the agency she exercised in her translation ultimately reflected her scientific knowledge.

Mary Delany's Agency in *British Flora*

William Hudson's *Flora Anglica* (1762), short for *Flora Anglica, Exhibens Plantas per Regnum Angliæ Sponte Crescentes Distributas Secundum Systema Sexuale: Cum Differentiis Specierum, Synonymis Autorum, Nominibus Incolarum, Solo Locorum, Tempore Florendi, Officinalibus Pharmacopœorum*, was the first Linnaean work on British flora to be published in England (Edmondson, 2009: 188; O'Malley, 2010: 165). Presumably because of this, in his manuscript Hudson also provides the English name, or names, of each species listed. However, with the exception of these entries and an index in English at the end, everything else is in Latin. Seven years later, in 1769, Mary Delany translated Hudson's work into English, resulting in her *British Flora* (full title: *A British Flora after The Sexual System of Linnæus or An English translation of the Linnæan Names of all the British Plants*). Interestingly, Hudson's work is not mentioned directly as the source for this translation on the cover, only in the text and in brief and rare occasions, as we shall see.

Our main source of information about Delany's source text is a volume of her autobiography and correspondence, edited by her great-grandniece, Lady Llanover (1862), which mentions that she indeed used Hudson's *Flora Anglica* for her translation. Llanover also mentions that there were

"ten sheets superscribed '*Mrs. Delany, Bulstrode, 4th December, 1778*,' with 39 drawings of the crystalline forms of minerals, and the names of 54 species of the '*Systema Lapidum*' of Linnaeus, with 12 pages of English descriptions of them," which were "all by Mrs. Delany's own hand" (Llanover, 1862: 243–244). Unfortunately, these are no longer with the translation and their current location is not known (Neri, 2009: 184). Although a few works make reference to Delany's translation (Alic, 1986: 203; Hayden, 2000: 188; Johnson, 1925: xxvi; Kelley, 2012: 115; Laird, 2009: 159; Peacock, 2011: 303; Robertson, 2000: 164; Schurch, 2019: 520; Weisberg-Roberts, 2009: 10), there do not seem to have been any attempts to critically examine it. Therefore, in this section, I shall use the concept of translator's agency to observe Delany's various interventions with regard to Hudson's *Flora Anglica*. My analysis involved a systematic comparison between Hudson's 1762[6] *Flora Anglica* and, of course, Delany's *British Flora* (1769).

Additions, Reformulations, and Omissions

Let us begin by looking at the decisions that Delany seems to have made intentionally, such as broad additions, reformulations, and omissions.

Additions

The most immediate example of additions in Delany's text is perhaps the insertion of different ways of referring to the same species. In Hudson's work, these had only one name in English but in the target text have two (Table 5.1). This is likely to be related to the fact that the "new way" of referring to them had not yet crystallised, and that there were various competing terms in English for the same plant.

If we take a closer look, however, we realise that some of the species mentioned in the translation were not actually present in the original text, implying that they were added by Delany herself.[7] What is more, we not only have new names of plants in English but also additional details about their habitat or physical appearance. For example, the Betula *nana* (Delany, 1769: fol. 337), which includes a note that "this has been lately discovered to be a native of Scotland" (Delany is probably referring to Lightfoot's expedition, given that the species is present in his *Flora Scotica*); the Alyssum *alyssum*, which has "upright hoary spear shaped leaves quite entire [and] flowers growing in clusters at the top & the petals bifid" and "was found in Wales by Mr Haviland[8]" (Delany, 1769: fol. 231v); and the Galanthus *nivalis*, which "grows in great abundance in several places about Stroud & Chalford bottom in Gloucestershire" (Delany, 1769: fol. 111v). We can also observe that the descriptions that Delany added are far

Table 5.1 Species that in Hudson's text have only one name in English but in Delany's work have two © Tiago Cardoso

Hudson's Flora Anglica (1762)	*Delany's British Flora (1769)*
"Meadow Cat's-tail-grass" (p. 23)	"Meadow cats-tail grass or Timothy grass" (p. 18)
"Small wild teasel" (p. 50)	"Small wild teasel or Shepherds rod" (p. 40)
"Limewort" (p. 161)	"Limewort or proliferous pink" (p. 148)
"Knotty-rooted Spurge" (p. 185)	"Knotty-rooted Spurge Makerboy or Irish spurge" (p. 172)
"Conic Bryum" (p. 405)	"Conic or extinguisher Bryum" (p. 397)

longer than those that were already in Hudson's text and made it into the translation (these shorter descriptions are discussed under "omissions").

We can assume that these were species that Delany already knew and decided to include in the translation to complement the information that was already there. This assumption is supported by pages 458–473, whose versos (with the exception of page 459) specifically describe genera and species newly discovered while at Bulstrode, such as Agaricus (1769: 458; Figure 5.1), Clathrus (1769: 467), and Peziza (1769: 468).

It is curious to note that all three of these (Agaricus, Clathrus, and Peziza) are fungi. At a time when women's interest in botany was still largely limited to flowers, Delany's decision to include fungi reveals not only her first-hand botanical knowledge but also the opportunities offered by translation to participate in the scientific debate beyond the bounds of what was considered appropriate[9] (Figure 5.2). At the centre of these two statements is the lively Bulstrode Estate, where on September 3, 1769, according to a letter sent to her niece, Mary Dewes, with whom she got along very well and frequently corresponded (Paston, 1900; Wilde, 2003: 76), Delany observed that "Mr. Lightfoot and botany go on as usual; we are now in the chapter of *Agaricks and Boletus's* [both of which are fungi]…and her Grace's breakfast-room [is] filled with all the production of *that nature* [and] books of all kinds" (Delany quoted in Llanover, 1862: 238).

In some cases, we can also find dates that indicate when these species were found, with some mentioning the place as well. For example, on page 467, her description of Clathrus and its species reads "this is a fungus of a roundish or else an oblong form, consisting either of a latticed substance or else a spongy netted substance"; we also learn that the species *denudatus* and *nudus* "were discover'd by Mr Bolton florist, near Halifax in Yorkshire growing upon Rotten wood" (Figure 5.2). Other examples concern the species Boletus *strobiliformis*, which "was found in walk wood/Bulstrode/in October 1769" (465v); Hydnum *auriscalpium*,

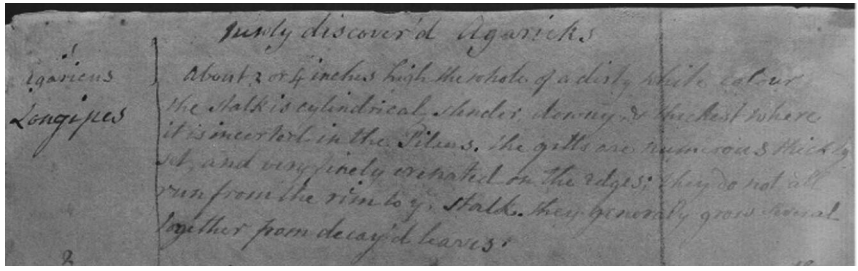

Figure 5.1 Fol. 458v of Delany's *British Flora* (1769), describing the newly discovered species of Agaricus. Used by permission of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

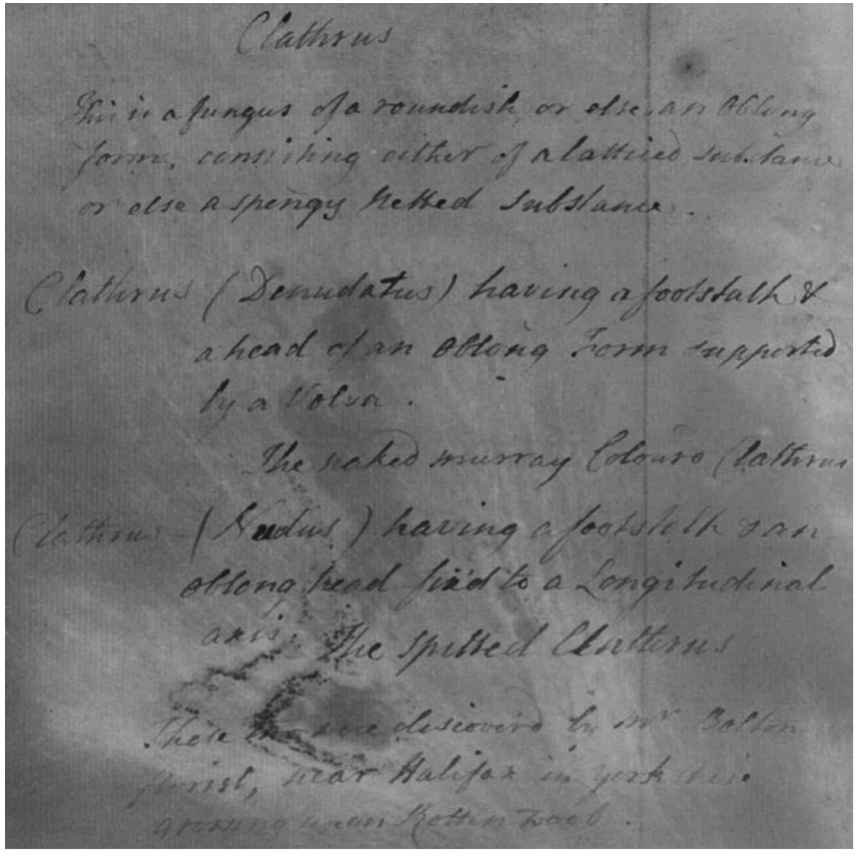

Figure 5.2 Fol. 467v of Delany's *British Flora* (1769), describing Clathrus and its species. Used by permission of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

"found at Bulstrode on Fir Cones in Nov 1769"[10] (466v); and Lycoperdon *epiphyllum*, which "was found upon decay of wood bank of a tree in Oct. 1769 at Bulstrode" (470v).

Finally, Delany's up-to-date knowledge is also revealed in the addition of comments such as "NB The Genus of chara is reduced by Linnaeus in his last edition of Sys: Nat: to the Class of Monoecia Monandria" (1769: fol. 436v) and "NB Linnaeus has reduced the Brionia to his Class of the Monadelphia" (1769: fol. 362v). Sometimes this even meant correcting Hudson's words. For example, Delany (1769: fol. 205) includes the *hirta* as part of the Betonica, as Hudson (1762: 220) had done, but adds a plus sign which takes us to the verso of page 204, where we read "+ This plant is no betony but a true galeopsis having all the characters of that Genus. It may be called Galeopsis *eboracensis*."

Reformulations

Let us now look at the parts of Hudson's text that were reformulated in Delany's.

We can start with the names of the species in English. If previously we saw that some of these had two names in the translation, now we have species whose only name is different in both source and target texts (Table 5.2).

Once again, this might hint at Delany's theoretical and practical botanical knowledge, an idea which can be further backed up by another of Delany's reformulations: updating the Latin scientific name of some genera and species. One example is the Glechoma *arvensis* (Hudson, 1762: 224), which in Delany's text can be found under a different genus – the Stachys.[11] Delany indeed reveals that "NB this plant is called Glechoma arvensis by Hudson" (1769: fol. 211).

Table 5.2 Species whose names in English are different in the source and target texts © Tiago Cardoso

Hudson's Flora Anglica (1762)	*Delany's British Flora (1769)*
"Middle Quaking-grass, Cow-quakes, and Ladies-hair" (p. 32)	"Common quaking grass" (p. 26)
"Yellow Stonecrop, or Prick-madam" (p. 170)	"Yellow reflexed Stonecrop" (p. 158)
"Yellow poppy" (p. 204)	"Yellow Welch poppy" (p. 188)
"Hooded Willow-herb" (p. 232)	"Blue Hooded Willow-herb" (p. 216)
"Mountain groundsel" (p. 316)	"Strong scented mountain groundsel" (p. 299)
"Brown carex" (p. 353)	"Great brown carex" (p. 335)
"Serrated Fucus, or Sea Wrack" (p. 466)	"Serrated wrack" (p. 439)

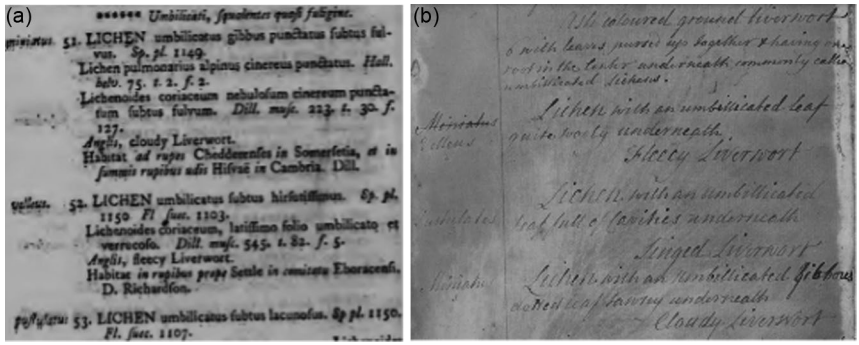

Figure 5.3a and 5.3b The positioning of Lichen *miniatus* in Hudson's *Flora Anglica* (1762: 454l) and Delany's *British Flora* (1769: fol. 431r). Used by permission of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Another of Delany's reformulations is the Ficaria, which is its own genus in the source text with a species (*verna*; Hudson, 1762: 213–214) but in the translation is listed as a species of Ranunculus. A note was also added: "NB The calyx of this species has three leaves, & the flower has commonly eight petals" (Delany, 1769: fol. 195).

Lastly, we can observe the deliberate repositioning of the Lichen *miniatus* in the translation. In Hudson's work (1762: 454), the order is *miniatus*, *velleus*, and *pustulatus*, while in Delany's (1769: fol. 431) it is *velleus*, *pustulatus*, and *miniatus*. This was not done at random, as we can see that Delany had first included the *miniatus*, only to cross it out and replace it by the Lichen *velleus* (Figure 5.3).

Omissions

Finally, let us look at the parts of Hudson's text that were omitted in Delany's version, beginning with the name of the species in English. In these cases, out of the two or three names that Hudson provided, only one was kept (Table 5.3).

Once again, this may have to do with developments in the field which allowed to decide on the best way of naming the species in English.

But it was not only certain English names that were excluded. Two other aspects inherent to each species were consistently removed in the translation: the lists of physical descriptions by other botanists, which are systematically quoted in Hudson's work,[12] and the reference to their habitat.

For example, in the case of the Vella *annua* (Figure 5.4), only the first line of Hudson's description "*VELLA foliis pinnatisidis, siliculis pendulis*" (1762: 243) is included in the translation ("Vella with finely cut pinnated

Table 5.3 Species that have two or three English names in Hudson's manuscript but only one in Delany's © Tiago Cardoso

Hudson's Flora Anglica (1762)	*Delany's British Flora (1769)*
"Dodder, Hellweed, or Devils Guts" (p. 89)	"Dodder" (p. 79)
"Navel-wort, Kidney-wort, or Wall Pennywort" (p. 169)	"Wall Pennywort" (p. 157)
"Small Bramble, or Dewberry-bush" (p. 193)	"Dewberry-bush" (p. 180)
"Red Archangel, or dead Nettle" (p. 225)	"Red archangel" (p. 209)
"Cotton groundsel or stinking groundsel" (p. 316)	"Cotton groundsel" (p. 299)
"Great Cats-tail, or Reed-mace" (p. 345)	"Great Cats-tail" (p. 327)
"Black-berried Heath, Crow, or Crake-berries" (p. 367)	"Black berried heath" (p. 353)

(a)

1. VELLA foliis pinnatifidis, filiculis pendulis. *Sp. pl. annua.* 641.
Naſturtium ſylveſtre erucæ affine. *Bauh. pin.* 105. *R. Syn.* 304.
Naſturtium ſylveſtre valentinum Cluſio. *Bauh. hiſt. II.* 920. *Park.* 830.
Eruca naſturtio cognata tenuifolia. *Ger. Em.* 247.
Anglis, Creſſe Rocket.
Habitat *on* Saliſbury-plain, *not far from* Stonehenge, Mr. Lawſon. *R. Syn.* ☉. VI.

(b)

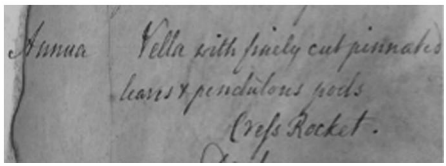

Figure 5.4a and 5.4b The entry for Vella *annua* in Hudson's *Flora Anglica* (1762: 243l) and Delany's *British Flora* (1769: fol. 227r). Used by permission of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

leaves & pendulous pods"; Delany, 1769: fol. 227), meaning that both the citations from other naturalists and the reference to the habitat ("*on* Salisbury-plain, *not far from* Stonehenge") have been omitted.

In fact, the only time the habitats were not left out was when Delany decided to incorporate her own expertise. For example, while Hudson (1762: 249) mentions that the Dentaria *bulbifera* can be found "in Old Park wood, near Harefield, abundantly," Delany (1769: fol. 233) instead writes "in the road from London to high Wickham about a mile before you come to the town, & half a mile on your left hand out of the road, is a wood called Burland where is plenty of this plant." It thus seems Delany created her own descriptions to include what seemed most relevant to her.

These omissions reach another level with the complete absence of some species (e.g., Crocus *sativus*, Secale *villosum*, Antirrhinum *monspessulanum*, Sisymbrium *murale*, Phascum *pedunculatum*; Hudson, 1762: 13, 46, 238, 258, 397). One of these omissions is particularly interesting, as we have direct access to why it happened. On folio 222, Delany (1769) writes, in relation to the Antirrhinum *monspessulanum* (Hudson, 1762: 238),

"NB the plant mention'd by Ray,[13] as growing near Penryn in Cornwall called by Hudson, antirrhinum Monspessulanum, appears from samples brought from the place to be the same with [the] preceeding [sic] which grows about Henly upon Thames."

That is to say, Delany seems to be assimilating Hudson's Antirrhinum *monspessulanum* to the Antirrhinum *repens*.

Last but not least, most of the paratextual information, such as Hudson's dedication and foreword as well as the English index, was also not included in the translation. But why would Delany want to leave these parts out? Consideration of this issue may shed some light on the purpose of her translation and possible target public, as discussed in the concluding section.

Mistakes, Doubts, and Mysteries

This section of the analysis looks at aspects of Delany's translation that may not have been deliberate exercises of agency, including some questions that remain unexplained.

Mistakes

Translators are not immune to making mistakes. Proof of this are some words in Delany's text that were crossed out, either because they were meant to be other words or because they should not have been there in the first place. Regarding the first, we have, for example, "one" replaced by "two" right at the beginning (Delany, 1769: fol. 9); "hairy" replaced by its opposite, "smooth" (Delany, 1769: fol. 84; Figure 5.5); "seed" by "stalk" (Delany, 1769: fol. 105); "flowers" by "fruit" (Delany, 1769: fol. 173); "leaves" by "pods" (Delany, 1769: fol. 230); "open" by "oval" (Delany, 1769: fol. 332); and "plants" by "vegetables" (Delany, 1769: fol. 371). As for the second hypothesis, we have "small" (Delany, 1769: 130); "divided" (Delany, 1769: fol. 131); "oval" (Delany, 1769: fol. 314); and "flowers" (Delany, 1769: fol. 338; Figure 5.5). Even pagination did not escape: fol. 175 was first written down as fol. 174 (Figure 5.5); the same happened in fols. 246, 311, and 447, for example.

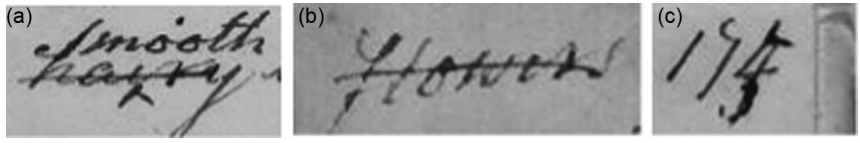

Figure 5.5a, 5.5b, and 5.5c Examples of mistakes and their crossing-out and correction in Delany's *British Flora* (1769), fols. 84, 338, and 175, respectively. Used by permission of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

There are other page-numbering errors elsewhere as well. Fol. 417, for example, is repeated twice, and there is no fol. 418, which leaves us with the following order: 417, 417, 419. Fol. 132, in turn, seems to be missing from Delany's work. At the same time, if we take a closer look at how "133" was written, it seems as though there is a "2" underneath the last "3." When checking other pages ending with the number "2," we can see that it is possible to corroborate this assumption.

Doubts

Throughout her translation Delany did not refrain from displaying her doubts, sometimes in the form of questions, sometimes as comments.

As regards the questions, we can highlight two examples. The first is a note by Delany (1769: fol. 462) under her "newly discovered" species section ("Q: If this be not a variety of Agaricus Extonetorius?"); the other is a reflection which displays not only Delany's up-to-date knowledge about Linnaeus' works but also his doubts, which she shares. On page 310, she writes: "The *Filago Maritima* is now called by Linnaeus Athanasia Maritima with a query by him, whether it does not belong to the Genus of Santolina?" (Figure 5.6).

There are also some notes left by Delany that show that, despite her engagement with botany, she is not immune from self-doubt and is aware that her knowledge may need to be further explored and substantiated by other sources. For instance, in the description of the "Welsh Golden rod," Delany adds "NB perhaps this is only a variety of the preceeding [Common Golden rod]" (Delany, 1769: fol. 301); another example is the Adiantum *trapeziforme*, "afirm'd by Sibbald to be a native of Scotland but it is very much to be doubted" (Delany, 1769: fol. 383v). Other aspects need to be further interiorised by her it seems, such as when we turn the page to find a note that reads "NB the Male flowers are such as have

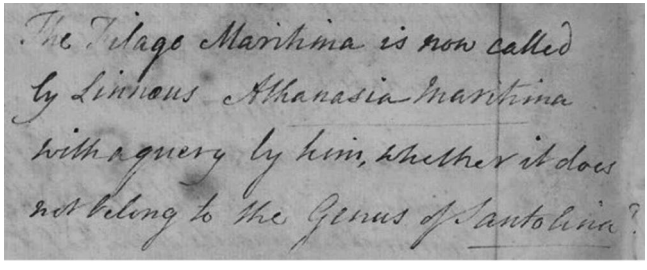

Figure 5.6 Extract from Delany's *British Flora* (1769: fol. 310) showing evidence of her doubts. Used by permission of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

stamina only without styles. The Female flowers have styles only without stamina" (Delany, 1769: fol. 9v); when a *spadix* is mentioned for the first time and Delany (1769: fol. 118) notes down that "The Spadix (or receptable for your flowers) is cylindrical…"; and when we read that "NB by an androgynous spike is to be understood a spike which hath both male and female flower" (Delany, 1769: fol. 329). Finally, to sustain her analysis and possibly legitimise her findings, she also cross-references them to other works in the field, such as those by John Ray: for example, "Ray Page 6 N° 27" and "Ray Page 9 N° 44" (Delany, 1769: fol. 459) and "This is not described by Linnaeus but is mention'd by Ray in his Lyn: p. 16 N° 20 & figured by Robins" (Delany, 1769: fol. 464).

Mysteries

To conclude this section, we will take a look at some parts of the translation that we are unable to properly interpret, in some cases because we do not have enough information to do so.

Let us begin with two drawings that are located between pages 119 and 120, along with a four-page list of what seems to be a separate study of plant taxonomy.

The first drawing shows a majestic vase with different plants, above which hangs a curtain (Could this be a glimpse of the view Delany had from where she was translating Hudson's work?). In the second drawing, harder to decipher than the former, the only object that can be accurately identified is a box. What it contains is another mystery (Figure 5.7).

Due to the lack of any notes or captions, we can only speculate about the nature of these drawings. On the one hand, these may be merely doodles, a way that Delany found to unwind from the hard work that translating

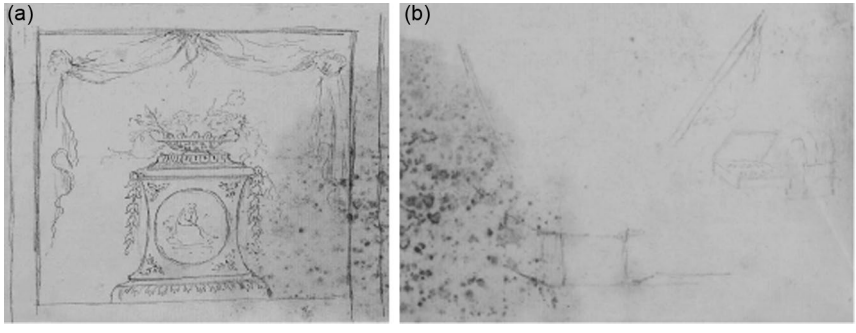

Figure 5.7a and 5.7b Delany's drawings in *British Flora* (1769: fols. 119–120). Used by permission of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

entails. On the other hand, given the importance that illustration was beginning to acquire in the field of botany, they could be understood as indications of Delany's engagement with the natural world and the value given to observation.

Immediately after the drawings comes the aforementioned list, which spans four pages and looks like a completely separate study of different

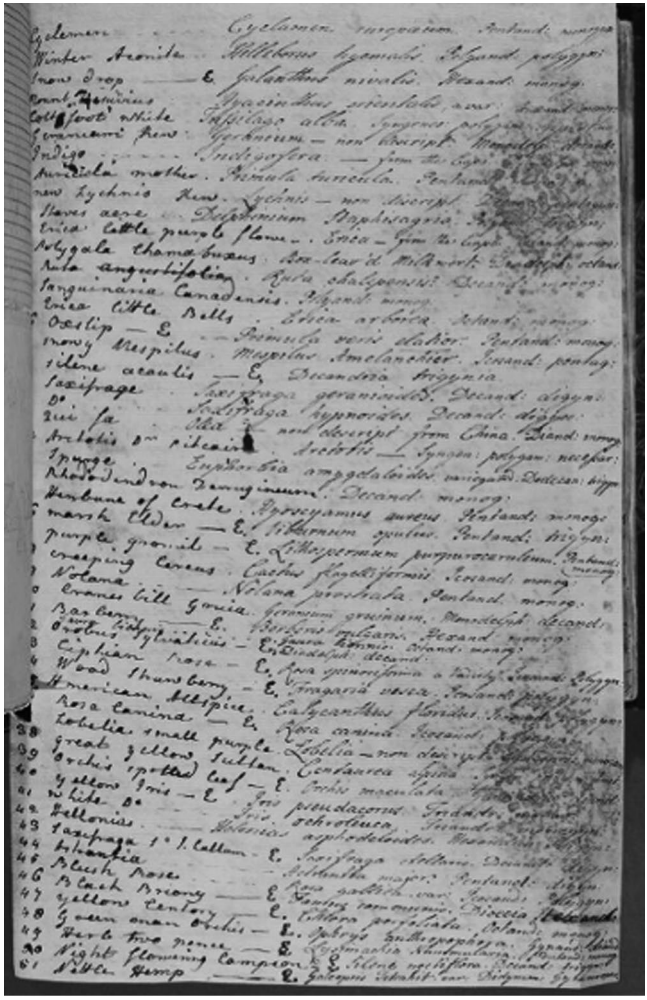

Figure 5.8 The separate study of taxonomy in Delany's *British Flora* (1769: fols. 119–120), showing the presence of a different pen – and a different hand – as well as some crossed-out words (l. 13) and information that might have been added in later (l. 31–32). Used by permission of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

genera and species (in the lefthand column) and their respective classes (in the right). What is particularly intriguing is that, after carefully examining the calligraphy on the left and right side of these pages, the list does not seem to be an individual endeavour. While on the right side we can observe the same handwriting that is found in the rest of the translation, on the left it seems that someone else collaborated with Delany on this task. What is also curious is that these pages do not appear to be part of Delany's manuscript – instead, they look like separate notes that were kept inside the book, maybe to avoid getting lost and perhaps to be used for comparison with the translation later (Figure 5.8).

Our last observation focusses on how some of the genera's names, in the final pages of Delany's translation, were abbreviated in a way that they were not elsewhere in the text. For example, Jungermannia is referred to as "junger," "jung," and "jun" (Delany, 1769: fols. 414–418) and "Liverwort" turned into "liverwt," back to "liverwort," and finally "livert" (Delany, 1769: fols. 433–436). This suggests that fatigue may have started to have an effect on Delany's work – though the fact that she permitted herself such informality might also tell us something about the ultimate purpose and target reader of the translation, as we will now discuss.

Conclusion

Mary Delany's translation of William Hudson's *Flora Anglica* provides a glimpse into the agency enjoyed by an Early Modern scientific translator, whose sex is not irrelevant. Women's position in science in England started to become more prominent in the second half of the eighteenth century, with translation and, in the case of botany, also illustration, acting as vehicles for this. Delany's agency, evident in the alterations she made to her source text during the process of translation, highlights not only the lasting complexity of translating scientific texts but also the capacity of women to be involved, alongside men, in the development and circulation of science.

In the case of Delany's translation, we can ask ourselves: To whom was this knowledge directed? Given that the text remained unpublished, it is difficult to ascertain who the "target public" was supposed to have been. Though Delany signed her manuscript at the beginning, the fact that it contains personal references and drawings suggests that it may have been for her own use only. As previously mentioned, her most famous endeavour – the *Flora Delanica* – was not yet under way when she finished the translation,[14] and the resemblance between the two titles might suggest that the translation could have served as inspiration for it. Certainly, the knowledge acquired from translating *Flora Anglica* could have proved useful here. Lastly, translating Hudson's text would also have opened up the possibility for her to delve deeper into fields that women had less access to, such as mycology.

But it might be that Delany's manuscript was destined for other people, particularly other women, who could have had trouble following the Latin and the terminology of the original work. Frances Boscawen, another Bluestocking, would indeed reveal to Delany in a letter from 1773 "the frustrations caused by the difficulties of naming species" (Horwood, 2010: 20). Within this frame of contributing to other women's knowledge, we can again mention Delany's niece, Mary Dewes. We know that Delany's letters to Dewes "avoided describing the physical characteristics of fungi at all, despite [Delany's] extensive botanical and mycological knowledge" (Schurch, 2019: 528) – so a translation of the first work on British flora to use Linnaean classification might have been seen by her as the perfect way for her niece to explore this brand new world.

Notes

1 We can highlight as first attempts Priscilla Wakefield's epistolary *Introduction to Botany* (1796) and Maria Jacson's pedagogical *Botanical Dialogues* (1797).
2 At the same time, we must bear in mind that "while popular translations from Linnaeus led women out of the labyrinth of ignorance and local knowledge, they were still bound by the cords of propriety. Linnaean botany [could act] as a form of containment, regulating and ordering supposedly undisciplined women" (George, 2005a: 15).
3 This was one month before Delany started to work on her translation of *Flora Anglica*. The date 18 October 1769 is registered at the beginning of the manuscript and corroborated by her great-grandniece Lady Llanover (1862: 243).
4 In fact, the Duchess's patronage seems to have accounted for a number of Linnaean publications, among them the already mentioned *Flora Scotica* by John Lightfoot, published after an expedition to Scotland (Schurch, 2019: 519).
5 At the same time, the link between botany and the female sex – two "entities" of the same "tender" nature – could be used to these women's advantage if the chance presented itself (Sagal, 2022).
6 In this regard, it is worth noting that Lady Llanover (1862: 243) stated that Delany began writing her text "[at] Bulstrode, which she completed with her own hand [and it] appears to be a translation of the first edition of Hudson's 'Flora Anglica'." In Delany's lifetime, *Flora Anglica* was also published in 1763 and 1778. While the 1778 text was a revised edition, as is made clear on the cover, we can assert, after a systematic comparison, that the book published in 1763 is the same as the one published in 1762, i.e., no changes were made to the text.
7 Their name in Latin, however, is likely drawn from secondary sources, such as John Lightfoot, for example.
8 I was unable to identify who Mr. Haviland was. From Delany's correspondence we understand that she knew him personally and he is mentioned twice in Llanover (1861: 367, 614). He is also mentioned once in Hudson's *Flora Anglica* (1762: 197) in the description of the Potentilla *alba* ("Habitat *in* Wallia, D. Haviland"). Other references to Haviland, however, all seem to stem from this passage in Hudson's text (see James Edward Smith's *English Botany* [1798: n.p.], in which he notes that "Hudson relates that [the Potentilla *alba*] has been found in Wales by *a* Mr. Haviland" [emphasis mine]).

9 We should bear in mind that Delany's translation was not published, which would have attenuated her transgression.
10 Lady Llanover (1862: 243) writes: "it is possible Mrs. Delany might have copied this [note] from Mr. Lightfoot's manuscripts." Though we cannot be sure of this, we do know that, as discussed earlier, Delany and Lightfoot knew each other well and worked together at Bulstrode at the time of the translation. It is therefore possible that an assistance with this species – and potentially others under Delany's "newly discovered species," such as the already mentioned Agaricus and Boletus that she and Lightfoot were studying – might have taken place under the vibrant environment that characterised the Bulstrode Estate.
11 It is worth mentioning that their English name is also different: While in Hudson's work it is called "upright Ground-Ivy," in Delany's manuscript the name is "Petty all heal."
12 An exception to this are the descriptions that have a Greek letter, starting with Beta ("β"), next to them. These can be found in the translation and were treated as notes, usually accompanied by the initialism "NB" (e.g., Delany, 1769: 57, 69, 156, 258, 270, 344, 393).
13 This is probably a reference to John Ray's *Synopsis methodica stirpium Britannicarum* (1690), or his *English Herbal*, translated from the Latin by James Petiver (1713).
14 Delany may have finished her translation around September 1770, which is the latest date we can find in the manuscript.

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6 *Tıbb-ı Cedid* (New Medicine) as a New Era in the Ottoman Medicine

Medical Texts Translated in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire

Semih Sarıgül

Introduction

Although Ottoman literature has been analysed by scholars from numerous points of view, much less attention has been paid to works in the field of science. Yet this is a potentially fruitful area for translational research, since, under the Ottoman regime, modern scientific knowledge of European origin was integrated into the Turkish-Islamic tradition through the systematic translation and compilation of works (İhsanoğlu, 2001: 582). Medical texts were no exception. In the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, there was a remarkable influx of medical knowledge from various European sources, both written and oral (Adıvar, 1982: 135; Günergun, 2013: 42) – a movement known as *Tıbb-ı Cedid* (new medicine). This chapter looks at the medical texts translated in the eighteenth century in order to understand the extent to which these translations transformed Ottoman medicine and determine how the traditional Ottoman medicine and translated European medicine were positioned in the Ottoman medical polysystem (Even-Zohar, 1990).

Although some of these translations have already been identified and studied by Turkish scholars specialised in the history of medicine (Acıduman, 2014; Acıduman and Arda, 2011a, 2011b; Acıduman and İlgili, 2012; Akkuş, 2017; Aydın, 2004; Boyar, 2018; Çetinkaya, 2019; Sarı, 1981; Uzel and Arda, 2000; Yerlioğlu, 2020; Zülfikar Aydın, 1998a, 1998b), their studies tend to focus on the importance of the texts from a medical perspective. Much less attention has been given to the translational aspect, which is an important omission since, as Paker (2002: 120–122, 2014: 38–43, 2015: 31–38) has pointed out, Ottoman conceptions of "translation" differed considerably from today's understanding. Thus, the translational and paratranslational practices in the Ottoman period need to be reconsidered within the framework of the *terceme* and *telif* traditions.

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Before looking at any translations in the Ottoman culture, let us look at the Ottoman concepts of *terceme* and *telif*, today understood to refer, respectively, to "translation" and "original writing". However, as Paker (2002: 120–122, 2015: 31–38) clearly demonstrates, the relationship between them is considerably more complex than this. *Terceme* is a culture-bound notion, particular to Ottoman translation practices from the thirteenth century, and is much broader than the modern conception of translation in Turkey (*çeviri* or "translation proper"), which only appeared after the mid-nineteenth century. *Terceme* derives from the methods of text production used when ancient Greek knowledge was systematically transferred into Arabic and Persian during the Islamic Golden Age (eighth to fourteenth centuries). Conceptualised as a form of "saying again" or "repeating after" (Paker, 2015: 34), the term was used in the Ottoman context for transferences from Persian and Arabic, and involved a great deal of latitude; translators could – and often did – add to or omit information from the source text and thus alter it to create a new text in the target language (Paker, 2014: 42).

Telif, on the other hand, is conceptualised as a new work based on other sources, but often includes translated passages alongside "original writing" by the author-translator.[1] In the *telif* tradition, it was common for an author to expand or shorten a text in accordance with the requirements of the social context of reception, while also integrating other sources into it or adding new parts of his own creation (Paker, 2014: 52–57, 2015: 31).

In short, both *terceme* and *telif* were both translation-based methods of text production but differed as to the way the process was conceptualised (Paker, 2015: 31–34). That is to say, in the first case, the process was understood as a transfer of information from a single or more source text(s) (usually from Persian or Arabic), while in the second, it was the creation of a new text based upon other sources as well as the translator himself. Both traditions were used for texts transferred from European sources: some were labelled *terceme* in their very titles while others were introduced as a *telif* by the translator (Paker, 2014: 53). Due to the limited scope of this chapter, I will draw attention to the most striking and representative examples in order to assess the position of these texts in the *terceme* and *telif* traditions.

As far as both *terceme* and *telif* are concerned, the language into which these medical works were translated (i.e. Ottoman Turkish) is also significant. The dominant scientific and literary language in the Ottoman capital Istanbul was called *Türki-i Rum*. This was a learned literary language in Ottoman culture, a "higher form" of Ottoman Turkish, enrichened by terms, phrases and collocations from Arabic and Persian (Fazlıoğlu, 2003: 159–161). The reason for its emergence was that *Türki-i Basit* (simple Turkish), which was the language used by the ordinary people in daily

life, was considered to be too "vulgar", "unsuitable" for use by prominent scientists and men of letters of the time. As a result, *Türki-i Basit* lost popularity in the scientific and literary communities in the Ottoman Empire around the early sixteenth century, and *Türki-i Rum* began to be used the leading scientists and men of letters, particularly those residing in the Ottoman capital of Istanbul. Some of these figures even argued that works that had been written in or translated into *Türki-i Basit* in previous periods needed to be rewritten or retranslated again into *Türki-i Rum* (Fazlıoğlu, 2003: 161–163). The medical works that form the subject of this chapter – considered to be valuable scientific works by the physician-translators of the eighteenth century, all of whom lived in the Ottoman capital and were integrated into the leading scientific communities there – were translated into *Türki-i Rum*.

In order to study the translational processes involved in the *Tıbb-ı Cedid* movement, a corpus was created of medical texts translated during the eighteenth century that contained the term *Tıbb-ı Cedid* or *Tıbb-ı Kimya*[2] in their titles or referred to it in their content. In addition, medical works that represented the traditional medicine of Galen and Avicenna and were translated from Arabic and Persian in the same period were also included in the corpus in order to shed light on the struggle between traditional Ottoman medicine and new medical movement introduced via European languages within the framework of Ottoman medical polysystem. The resulting corpus consists of 24 medical texts translated by 12 different translators, all of whom were physicians (see Appendix). As these works were all in Ottoman Turkish (i.e. *Türki-i Rum*), which was written in Arabic script, my linguistic competence has not allowed me to access primary sources directly. Hence, my methodology involved scrutinizing secondary sources (mostly by historians of science) for information about these texts. I was also interested in those authors' judgements about whether the texts could be labelled *terceme* or *telif*, even though they mostly did not have specialist knowledge of Ottoman translation theory.

In addition to considerations of how these translations affected the system as a whole, there are a couple of other questions to be addressed in this chapter. The first concerns the translators' identities. All of them were leading physicians in the Ottoman court and/or major hospitals, and pioneers of the *Tıbb-ı Cedid* movement, which makes it possible to analyse their roles as examples of "agents of change" (Toury, 2002). The second question concerns the notion of "patronage" (Lefevere, 1992), since the translations were often commissioned or incentivised by sultans and grand viziers, who also influenced the choice of texts.

Finally, this discussion will contribute to our understanding of Ottoman translation theory, more specifically the differences and overlaps between the concepts of *terceme* and *telif*.

A "New" Era in Ottoman Medicine: *Tıbb-ı Cedid*

Until the mid-seventeenth century, Ottoman medicine remained under the influence of Galen and Avicenna and was strictly impermeable to Western science (Adıvar, 1982: 125). However, from this time on, Ottoman physicians started to integrate Western medicine into their medical practices (İhsanoğlu, 2000: 325; Uludağ 2010: 120). This new tendency marked the beginning of the movement called *Tıbb-ı Cedid* which would prevail for more than a century. It was actually based on the medical reforms introduced by Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, the German-Swiss physician better known as Paracelsus (Uludağ, 2010: 118), whose primary concern was to transform the medical tradition of Galen and Avicenna that was dominant at the time (Adıvar, 1982: 122). He grounded his methods on observation and experience and argued that salt, sulphur and mercury were three main elements in the universe. Unlike Galenic medicine, which used the theory of humours and attempted to treat diseases using opposites, Paracelsus underlined the importance of dosage by drawing attention to the problems caused by a lack or excess of certain substances in the body. Paracelsian medicine also offered new ways of producing medicines through chemical methods (Yerlioğlu, 2020: 38); hence, this new trend was also called *Tıbb-ı Kimya* (chemical medicine) (Günergun, 2013: 42). At first, traditional physicians used to Galenic medicine were wary of Paracelsus and rejected his alchemic remedies (there had been a distinction between medicine and alchemy in traditional Islamic medicine). However, they were won round by its success in healing disease, and by the end of the seventeenth century, Paracelsian medicine was becoming a dominant force in Ottoman culture (Bachour, 2018: 83–86).

The movement seems to have been initiated by Salih b. Nasrullah who worked as a chief physician in the Ottoman court for 15 years during the reign of Mehmet IV (1648–1687) and translated works by Paracelsus from Latin into Arabic. The best known are *Tıbb-ül-Cedid ellezi ahtere'uhü Parakelsus* [New Medicine from Master Paracelsus] and *Tercemetu't-Tıbbi'l-Cedîdi'l-Kîmyâîli-Parakelsus* [Terceme of New Chemical Medicine by Paracelsus], produced in the 1660s (Adıvar, 1982: 132; Bayat, 1999: 69–74; Şehsuvaroğlu *et al.*, 1984: 95–100), though, according to Kazancıgil (2000: 192), he also wrote a third book based on Paracelsus' work called *Gâyetü'l-itkân fî Tedbîr-i Bedeni'l-İnsân*[3] [Measures for the Improvement of Human Body], the fourth chapter of which was actually entitled *Tıbb-ı Cedid*.[4]

Tıbb-ı Cedid was keenly espoused by younger Ottoman physicians, such as Ömer Şifai, Ali Münşi and Abbas Vesim Efendi, who went on to translate various works of European medicine in the eighteenth century (Acıduman and Arda, 2011b: 24; Tor, 2014: 82).[5] An important indication

of its impact was the imperial edict issued by Ahmed III (1703–1730) in 1727. Because the new medicine intrigued Ottoman physicians (some of whom misused its principles), the Sultan felt the need to issue an edict that banned "unqualified" and "unskilled" physicians from officially practicing medicine in their own medical offices and punished them if they continued their activities despite official warnings (Adıvar, 1982: 164; Bayat, 1996: 113). It was also stipulated that all physicians be examined by state officials before acquiring their professional titles (Kazancıgil, 2000: 196–197).

This impact does not mean that all Ottoman physicians were wholly committed to *Tıbb-ı Cedid*. It was still possible to see the traces of the traditional medicine, particularly in the books translated from Arabic and Persian. As I have pointed out, the traditional and new medicines coexisted during the eighteenth century. The texts selected for translation clearly reveal this complex atmosphere, as described in Sections "The Evaluation of the Translations in Terms of the *Terceme* and *Telif* Traditions" and "The Evaluation of the Translations in Terms of Polysystem Theory".

It can be inferred from the titles of the books found in Ottoman archives that *Tıbb-ı Cedid* remained a strong concept in the Ottoman medical polysystem until the beginning of the nineteenth century (Sarı, 2012: 110). Thereafter, books written by other Western physicians were translated, and the conception of new medicine gave way to a different understanding (Sarı and Zülfikar Aydın, 1992: 165).

Physician-Translators as "Agents of Change" in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Medicine

These physician-translators, particularly those who translated medical texts from European sources, can be considered "agents of change". An agent of change introduces new works into their respective culture by creating new elements or options in a given field among a certain group of people or society (Toury, 2002: 151). Translators can be considered as leading representatives of this group, as they "innovate" through the works that they select for translation.

In order to understand their role as physician-translators, it is necessary to understand something about the medical hierarchy in the Ottoman Empire. The chief physician occupied the most prestigious position as medical expert and was responsible for the sultan's health. In addition, he scrutinised public hospitals run by the state and private pharmacies owned by tradesmen (Sarı, 2012: 101). The chief physician worked as a minister of health and was the competent authority to organise exams for other physicians to be hired by the state and assign them to a suitable position (Bayat, 1996: 109). According to Adıvar (1982: 165), these physicians

usually learned medical practices within a longstanding tradition of master-apprentice, and a significant number of them learned Arabic, Persian, Latin and other European languages during their medical training. Thus, they were in a particular privileged position to become the translators of medical works.

Ömer Şifai[6] was the first chief physician of the eighteenth century associated with the *Tıbb-ı Cedid* movement (Kahya, 1993: 171).[7] Dissatisfied with the medical training he received at home, he went to Italy for further education and learned Latin there, which may account for his interest in Paracelsus and his works (Okumuş, 2007: 82). He later trained Ali Münşi and his son, Abbas Vesim Efendi, who went on to become important physicians using the medical practices of *Tıbb-ı Cedid* (Kazancıgil, 2000: 220).

Ali Münşi, for his part, is the second important name in the *Tıbb-ı Cedid* movement. After attending Ottoman medical schools in Bursa (Uzluk, 1949: 2), he taught medicine in some Ottoman medical schools and became famous for his skills in medical practices as well as his knowledge of Western and Eastern languages (Terzioğlu, 1989: 421).

The third generation of *Tıbb-ı Cedid* is represented by Ali Münşi's son Abbas Vesim Efendi,[8] Ebulfeyz Mustafa Efendi (who was chief physician in Sultanahmet Darüşşifası hospital),[9] Suphizade Abdülaziz Efendi (chief physician in the Ottoman court)[10] and Nuh bin Abdülmennan (a Greek convert, who was chief physician during the reign of Ahmed III (1703–1730)).[11]

Two other physician-translators are worthy of mention as representatives of traditional Ottoman medicine, who continued translating from classical Arabic and Persian medical texts and created an atmosphere in which such works could be used alongside translated *Tıbb-ı Cedid* texts. The first one is Tokatlı Mustafa Efendi,[12] who was famous for being the translator of Avicenna's "*El-Kânûn*" (The Laws of Medicine) (Tahir, 1975: 224). The other is his disciple, Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi,[13] the most prolific of our translators as he was responsible for six works, which comprises 25% of all works in the corpus. Though he mainly focussed on texts from traditional medicine, he did not entirely ignore *Tıbb-ı Cedid* and actually translated two of Salih b. Nasrullah's works from Arabic. In this regard, he set a striking example for the integration of European medicine into the Ottoman classical medicine through medical translations.

The Patrons of Translations and Translators

Of course, it would be naïve to assume that the decisions to translate medical texts were made individually by translators working in isolation. In this respect, I find it necessary to take a glance at the political patrons, such as Ottoman sultans, grand viziers and other statesmen or figures of authority. According to Lefevere (1992: 15), patronage may be exercised

by a single person or group of people, such as state or religious institutions, political parties, social classes, etc., and there are essentially two types of patronage: differentiated and undifferentiated. If a single patron controls the ideological, economic and status components, this represents "undifferentiated" patronage; it is differentiated when these components are controlled by different power holders (Lefevere, 1992: 17). Given the absolute authority enjoyed by the Ottoman sultans and the state officials appointed by them, this is clearly a case of undifferentiated patronage.

Between 1718 and 1730, during the reign of Ahmet III (1703–1730), a translation council was created in order to disseminate knowledge in history, geography, physics and zoology, as well as travel books. This was the first systematic translation council in Ottoman history and was initiated by Damat İbrahim Pasha, the grand vizier. He was known to pay the translators for their works from his own income (Aydüz, 1997: 144–165) and was supported in his pioneering initiative by the Sultan (İpşirli, 1987: 34).

Though numerically less expressive than history books, medicine was one of the fields in which translations were produced in this council. Under its auspices, *Tedbir-i Hıfzı's Sıhhat'ül Bedeniyye* [Measures for the Protection of Body and Health] was translated by Hayatizade Mehmet Emin Efendi for Damat İbrahim Pasha (Bayat, 1996: 114), and *Nüzhetü'l-Ebdân fî Tercemet-i Gâyeti'l-itkân* [The Well-Being of the Human Body in the Terceme of the Book "Gâyeti'l-itkân"] was commissioned of Kazasker Feyzullah Efendi (Aydüz, 1997: 163).

Mahmut I (1730–1754), the successor to Ahmet III (1703–1730), and his officials also continued to support medical translations. Although it is not clear whether the translations of some medical texts were actually ordered by the Sultan himself, it is known that officials of different ranks encouraged translators to select certain texts. For example, Ahmet Sani was commissioned to translate the *Tuhfet-ül Müminin* [Gifts of the Believers] from Persian by Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, who brought the book back from his military campaign in Iran (Adıvar, 1982: 196); the translation came out in 1733 under the title under the title of *Gunyet-ül-Muhassilin* [Richness of Medications]. Similarly, Ahmet Sani states that he was encouraged by Şeyhülislam Ahmet Efendi to translate *Ravend Risalesi* [The Booklet of Ravend] during this same period (Kazancıgil, 2000: 226).

Mustafa III (1757–1774) was the most active patron in the eighteenth century as regards medical translation. According to Uludağ (2010: 121), this resulted from the fact that he had been held captive for 27 years in the Ottoman palace and had narrowly escaped being assassinated by poisoning three times. Thereafter, he attached great importance to medicine and enthusiastically read medical texts, as well as commissioning translations of medical works. Tokatlı Mustafa Efendi's famous work, the translation of Avicenna's *El-Kânûn fî't-Tıbb* [The Laws of Medicine] under the title of

Tahbîzü'l-Mathûn [The Benefits of Ground Materials], was ordered by him (Tahir, 1975: 223–224), as was Suphizade Abdülaziz Efendi's translation of Boerhaave's *Aphorisma*.[14]

Another important patron of the eighteenth century was Selim III (1789–1807), who started the reformation and modernisation period through scientific translations that would continue into the Tanzimat period in the nineteenth century. A great deal of medical translation was done during his period in office, such as those by Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi, who had been his chief physician (Uslu, 1997: 317).

The Evaluation of the Translations in Terms of the *Terceme* and *Telif* Traditions

The list of medical books translated in this period (see Appendix) demonstrates that Latin and Arabic were the most dominant source languages. Latin comprised 33% of all translated texts, while the share of Arabic was 50%. However, it must be noted that Arabic was used as a mediating language for some indirect translations based on Latin originals; when these are included in the tally of texts translated from Latin, the role of Latin increases. Other source languages are Greek and Persian, from which two texts and one text were translated, respectively.

I will start with the texts overtly attributed to *Tıbb-ı Cedid*. In the preface of *Minhac-üş-Şifai fi Tıbb-ı Kimya* [Treatment Methods in Chemical Medicine], published in 1703, Ömer Şifai states that he "benefited" from various other works, particularly those by Paracelsus,[15] and that he "transferred" this knowledge from a foreign language (Kahya, 1993: 172–174). However, according to Adıvar (1982: 161–162), instead of translating directly from Paracelsus's Latin texts, Şifai drew on Salih b. Nasrullah's Arabic translations of Paracelsus, and reworked them fairly freely, omitting sections that were not directly relevant for his purposes and supplementing them with new information of his own, which he had acquired mostly from oral sources. This would seem, therefore, to be operating within the *telif* tradition, that is to say, he creates a new scientific work that draws on other authors as required. On the other hand, his work, *Cevher'ül-Ferid fi't Tıbbü'l Cedid* [Unique Gems of New Medicine], may fit better into the definition of *terceme*, since, in it, Şifai states that he selected "knowledge of chemistry" from various distinguished works in Latin and translated this into *Türki-i Rum* (İhsanoğlu, 2001: 583; Kazancıgil, 2000: 221), presumably without any additions of his own.

Likewise, the works of Şifai's disciple Ali Münşi seem to contain elements of both *terceme* and *telif*. His *Kurâdatü'l-Kimyâ* [Old Knowledge of Chemistry], translated from Micheal Ettmüller's work titled *Chemia Experimentalis atque Rationalis Curiosa* (Acıduman *et al.*, 2008: 6; Terzioğlu, 1989: 421), and *Terceme-i Akrabâdîn* [Terceme of Akrabâdîn],

also known as *Kitab-ı Mynsicht Tercemesi* [Terceme of Mynsicht's Book], translated from Adrian von Mynsicht, a German physician (Kahya and Erdemir, 2000: 217), seem to be closer to *terceme*, as the source text authors are known, and there is no indication of additions or omissions on the part of the translator. As for his work entitled *Bidâat el-Mübtedî* [Knowledge for Beginners], which contains passages translated from various European authors such as Corelius, Zulferius and Ettmüller, this is labelled as a *telif* by Aydın (2004: 80), who emphasises that it was not translated from a "single work" – though the fact that it was translated from a number of source texts should not in itself prevent it from being interpreted as an example of *terceme*, since, as we have seen, it is not clear whether Ali Münşi himself made any additions to the text on his own.

As for Abbas Vesim Efendi, he translated two works in 1724 and 1748. In the case of the first, *Vesiletü'l-Metalib fi İlmi't-Terakib* [Learning Methods in the Science of Pharmacology], he states explicitly in his preface that it was "partially" transferred from a Latin text written by a Hungarian author called Georgios and that he benefited from Ali Münşi's work too (Tuğluk, 2015: 779). He also adds that a Greek physician called Petro helped him during translation (Adıvar, 1982: 195). Thus, the text appears to be an example of a *terceme,* constructed of various source texts, but without any obvious additions by the translator. The second text, *Düsturül-Vesim fi Tıbb-ül-Cedid ve'l-Kadim* [Vesim's Principles in New and Old Medicine], was, by Abbas Vesim Efendi's own admission, created by "benefiting from various languages such as Latin, Greek and African" (Adıvar, 1982: 189). Adıvar (1982: 193) claims that as many as 12 different writers contributed to it, including Salih b. Nasrullah, although Abbas Vesim Efendi himself is not explicit about this. According to Sarı (2012: 110), he also added his own professional knowledge to the text, which suggests that it might fit the model of the *telif* more than the *terceme*, though once again it is not clear cut.

In 1728, Ebulfeyz Mustafa Efendi produced *Nüzhetü'l-Ebdân fî Tercemet-i Gâyeti'l-itkân* [The Well-Being of the Human Body in the Terceme of the Book "Gâyeti'l-itkân"] based on Salih b. Nasrullah's work *Gâyetû'l-itkân fî Tedbîr-i Bedeni'l-Însân* [Measures for the Improvement of the Human Body] in Arabic (Acıduman and İlgili, 2012: 112; Zülfikar Aydın, 1998a: 291). Although it is explicitly described as a *terceme* in the title, according to Adıvar (1982: 132), the translator made some additions himself regarding the benefits of various herbs, thus making the work bear the characteristics of a *telif*.

Nuh bin Abdülmennan's work, *Terceme-i Akrabadin-i Melikyu* [Terceme of Akrabadin by Melchios], is an important example of the "akrabadin", a kind of formulary associated with iatrochemistry as well as traditional medicine (Günergun, 2013: 41).[16] Adıvar (1982: 163) reports that although Nuh bin Abdülmennan claims to have translated this text from a Greek

author called Melchios, he drew on other Greek physicians too, as well as adding parts based on his own medical experiences. Therefore, although this work is explicitly labelled a *terceme* in its title, it also has characteristics of the *telif*.

In 1771, Suphizade Abdülaziz Efendi produced a version of Herman Boerhaave's Latin *Aphorisma* under the title *Kıtaat-i Nekave fi Tercemei Kelimat Boerhaave* [The Most Beneficial Verses from the Terceme of Boerhaave's Aphorisma] (Bayat, 2003: 273). In a paratext, he makes it clear that he considered himself to be an editor rather than a translator and that he used Van Swieten's explanations and was assisted by the dragoman of Austrian embassy (Adıvar, 1982: 197–198). Acıduman and Arda (2011b: 25) have also demonstrated that he added some explanations that did not exist in Boerhaave's text in order to clarify ambiguous points for his readers. Therefore, once again, though this is labelled a *terceme* in its title, it also has many characteristics typical of the *telif*.

Another important translation from European sources in the eighteenth century is Osman b. Abdurrahman's *Kitabü'n-Nebat* [The Book of Botanics], which he translated from the Italian work *De Materia Medica* by Pietro Andrea Matthioli in 1777 (Zülfikar Aydın, 1998b: 144). Ataç and Yıldırım (2004: 261) tell us that Osman b. Abdurrahman translated only four out of the five sections of Matthioli's work and that he did so "faithfully" – an evaluation that seems to have been influenced by contemporary western understandings of translation, since such qualities would have been irrelevant in the *terceme* tradition.

I will now turn to the physician-translators that translated from the traditional Ottoman medicine during the *Tıbb-ı Cedid* movement. The first example is Ahmet Sani's work titled *Gunyet-ül-Muhassilin* [Richness of Medications] of 1733, a book on pharmacology, based on a work originally written in Persian by Mehmet Mümin Hüseyin (Adıvar, 1982: 196). However, Sani also made a valuable contribution by adding Greek, Syrian, Arabic and Indian names of elements, as well as commentaries and criticism of Mümin Hüseyin's text (Sarı, 2012: 108), suggesting that this should best be considered within the framework of the *telif* tradition.

Tokatlı Mustafa Efendi is another translator who worked with texts belonging to traditional Ottoman medicine. In 1766, he completed a work entitled *Tahbîzü'l-Mathûn* [The Benefits of Ground Materials], which was based on Avicenna's *El-Kânûn fî't-Tıbb* [Laws of Medicine]. However, several scholars (Acıduman, 2014: 227–229; Adıvar, 1982: 188; Ünver, 1937: 15–24) have pointed out that this was actually a retranslation, since Tokatlı Mustafa Efendi actively refers to a previous version several times in his text,[17] as well as mentioning famous physicians and scholars' commentaries on Avicenna's work.[18] The fact that he added to content of his

own (as well as explanatory notes that explicitly referred to his role as translator) make this work more like a *telif*.

As for Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi, despite being regarded as a representative of traditional Ottoman medicine, he did not remain totally indifferent towards *Tıbb-ı Cedid*. His translation entitled *Gâyetü'l-Münteha fî Tedbirî'l-Merdâ* [Ultimate Measures for the Treatment of Patients] was based on Salih b. Nasrullah's work, which was itself a translation from Paracelsus (Sarı, 2012: 110; Uslu, 1997: 317). In his preface, Gevrekzade states that he had to "comment" on some parts which may be difficult for readers to understand (Sarı and Zülfikar Aydın, 1992: 165), which suggests it should be considered as an example of *telif*. His second translation from Salih b. Nasrullah, *Mürşidü't-Etibbâ fî Tercemet-i Sipagorya* [Pioneers of Medicine from Terceme of Sipagoria], also an indirect translation of a work by Paracelsus (Acıduman and İlgili, 2012: 112; Kazancıgil, 2000: 228), was not a "complete" translation and contained Gevrekzade's opinions about *Tıbb-ı Cedid* (Uludağ, 2010: 122), making it an example of *telif*. As for his *Aslü'l-Usûl Terceme-i Faşl al-Fuşl* [Various Procedures from the Terceme of Some Old Chapters], this was – according to Uslu (1997: 317) – an "enlarged translation" from Arabic into Turkish of *el-Fuşul fi Külliyyati't-Tıb* [A Chapter from the Complete Works of Medicine] by Yusuf-el-İlâki. However, it is unclear whether Gevrekzade added his own knowledge to the text; the expression "enlarged translation" (Uslu, 1997: 317) might imply that the translator enlarged the content of his translation by adding other translated passages to the text, which would mean the work may be taken as an example of *terceme* rather than *telif*.

In the case of his translation of *Gına ve Mena* [Abundance and Sources] by Ebu Mansur el-Hasan in 1794, entitled *Dürret-ül-Mansuriye fi Tercemet-il Mansuriye* [Invaluable Information from Terceme of Mansur's Book], Gevrekzade added some passages from two physicians called Senartos and Emiritius by saying "the physicians Senartos and Emiritius say as follows" (Sarı, 1981: 51). Given that translated passages from three different books were combined in this text, and that there do not seem to have been any new additions on the part of the translator, it is probably better classified as a *terceme*.

In his translation titled *Risâle-i Zübdetü'l-Kuhliyye fi Teflrihi'l-Basariyye* [A Booklet on the Treatment of Anatomical Eye Diseases] based on a work by İbrahim efl-Fiâzelî el-Mısrî, Gevrekzade seems to have added some illustrations regarding the anatomical structure of the eye (Sarı, 2012: 108), which might be enough to make the work a *telif*. As for his 1795 translation entitled *Mücennetü't-Tâûn ve'l-Vebâ* [Fighting against the Plague], of a work written by a Jewish physician, İlya bin Abram, in Arabic, Gevrekzade added knowledge from "old" and "new" physicians (Dinçer

Bahadır, 2016: 186). The addition of information from various source texts into a single target text makes this work a *terceme* because what was added to the translated texts was not Gevrekzade's own knowledge.

In short, the *terceme* and *telif* traditions clearly have many things in common and we can see from this analysis that there is no simple opposition between them. As Paker (2015: 36–37) has pointed out, *telif* did not simply signify an "original" work as opposed to *terceme* as translation (this, she suggests, is a misconception that arose under the influence of European concepts of originality). Instead, both were processes of creative appropriation and mediation that occupied different places in the Ottoman discourse on the transmission of knowledge.

The Evaluation of the Translations in Terms of Polysystem Theory

These medical works are interesting when viewed in terms of polysystem theory. According to Even-Zohar (1990: 14), each culture consists of a large polysystem in which one finds different sub-systems such as literary, translation or poetry and so forth. Each system is a dynamic structure in which different strata "struggle" permanently to occupy the "centre" of a system or continue remaining in the "periphery". Thus, an element tries to reach to the centre and occupy it, while those in the centre aim to defend and preserve their respective positions (Even-Zohar, 1990: 14).

The case of medical texts translated from Western and Eastern languages in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire offers a good example of such a pattern. As I have made clear in the previous sections, Ottoman medicine was under the influence of traditional medicine of Galen and Avicenna until the late seventeenth century, when Salih b. Nasrullah introduced *Tıbb-ı Cedid* through his translations. The translations carried out in the first three decades of the eighteenth century demonstrate that texts based on European sources started to proliferate and move towards the centre. However, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the number of texts translated from languages such as Arabic and Persian also increased in number. In other words, traditional Ottoman medicine, which had once had a central position in the Ottoman medical system, was now defending itself against a take-over by texts translated from European sources. This happened, of course, thanks to the efforts of translators and their patrons – the sultans and grand viziers – who followed the traditional or new medicine depending on their educational background, financial and collective interests and personal status. As such, there was effectively a "struggle", as Even-Zohar (1990) puts it, between the traditional Ottoman and the European approaches to medicine.

Sometimes we find a synthesis of both traditions in a single work in this period. For instance, Ebulfeyz Mustafa Efendi relied for his translation on

Salih b. Nasrullah's Arabic versions of Paracelsus' work (a representative of new medicine), though he added information of his own regarding the benefits of various herbs used in traditional Galenic medicine (Yerlioğlu, 2020: 38). In a similar vein, although Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi preferred to translate works of traditional medicine in Arabic and Persian, he nevertheless relied on Salih b. Nasrullah's pioneering works translated from Latin. It can be thus argued that in addition to the synchronous translation of works following the traditional and new medicine in the second half of the eighteenth century, traditional and new medical knowledge sometimes coexisted in the same work, indicating the complex influence of both traditions on the translation of medical texts in the given period.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that *Tıbb-ı Cedid* movement initiated by Salih b. Nasrullah in the 1660s with his translations of Paracelsus into Arabic paved the way for an increasing number of translations in the field of medicine in the eighteenth century. The pioneers of this movement were physicians who translated texts by European physicians associated with iatrochemistry. The most significant result of their attempts was the integration of European medicine into the Ottoman medical polysystem. However, the traditional Ottoman medicine based on Galen and Avicenna that dominated Ottoman scientific literature for centuries was not completely excluded. It is clear from the translations done in the second half of the eighteenth century that this traditional channel made attempts to preserve its central position with new translations from classic figures such as Avicenna and from major Eastern languages, such as Arabic and Persian. The role of sultans and other leading statesmen such as grand viziers and religious authorities in this transformation should not be underestimated because they acted as patrons in the selection of texts to be translated.

This chapter also indicated that although the medical movement of *Tıbb-ı Cedid* originated in the West, Ottoman physician-translators did not give up their longstanding translation traditions, and the new medicine coming in from Europe was translated within the traditional frameworks of *terceme* and *telif*. This meant that they did not need to display slavish fidelity to their source texts but would frequently omit parts of it, combine several works in a single target text or supplement it with their own professional knowledge and experiences. This was also valid for translations of traditional medicine from Arabic and Persian, which were produced alongside those from Western languages. Overall, it seems that these physician-translators reinterpreted both the new European medicine and the traditional eastern medicine through their culture-specific Ottoman translation practices.

Academic studies of technical translations in Ottoman culture are still lacking in number and depth to satisfactorily explicate historical cases in their respective contexts. This chapter has attempted to shed light on the role and nature of distinct translation practices in Ottoman culture and medicine during this limited historical period. Given that the *terceme* and *telif* traditions overlap in terms of the ways in which translators approached and handled their source text(s) and reworked them in Ottoman Turkish, further studies are needed to enable a more complete understanding of the role of technical translation in the development of other scientific fields in the Ottoman Empire.

Notes

1 Paker (2015: 36) points out that in Ottoman discourse, *telif etmek* (as a verb) "broadly signified 'composing', as in writing a book", a process that was understood to involve elements of blending and harmonising of material drawn from other sources. "The term is used to signify the composition of a book, a written work. The reason for this signification seems to derive from the authorial activity of blending or reconciling the various topics to be included in the book in which many kinds of information are given" (Tahir-ül Mevlevî, 1973: 156, quoted in Paker, 2015: 36).
2 i.e. "chemical medicine". This term was used interchangeably with *Tıbb-ı Cedid*.
3 Adıvar (1982: 132) states Salih b. Nasrullah's *Gâyetü'l-itkân* did not actually translate any parts from Paracelsus. It is likely that this was really a pseudo-translation attributed to Paracelsus to benefit from the popularity of new medicine at the time and to increase the book's credibility.
4 For a different account, see Uludağ (2010: 106–119), who argues that it was Jewish physicians who introduced *Tıbb-ı Cedid* into Ottoman scientific literature and that Ottoman physicians only became aware of the movement by the mid-eighteenth century. However, this version is rather undermined by the title of Salih b. Nasrullah's fourth chapter, and by the fact that, by the mid-eighteenth century, there were already four translated books in existence which included the terms *Tıbb-ı Cedid* or *Tıbb-ı Kimya* in their titles (Table 6.1).
5 The movement seems to have been transmitted from one generation to another in an almost "hereditary" manner. For instance, Abbas Vesim Efendi was the son of Ömer Şifai and started to learn medical practices from him in his youth (Baltacı, 1988: 29), just as Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi was Ahmedi Sani's son and trained by him (İhsanoğlu, 2006: 454). Similarly, Ali Münşi also specialised in medicine thanks to the training he received under Ömer Şifai (Uzluk, 1949: 2), and he later taught Abbas Vesim Efendi in his turn (Kazancıgil, 2000: 223–224).
6 Ömer Şifai also worked as a chief physician at Yıldırım Darüşşifası (hospital) under the reign of Mustafa II (1695–1703) and Ahmet III (1703–1730) (Adıvar, 1982: 161).
7 Uludağ (2010: 119–120) claims that the term *Tıbb-ı Cedid* was coined by him, given that it is used in the titles of two translations done by him in the first decade of the eighteenth century, though, as we have seen, the term seems to have already been used as the title of a chapter in an earlier work attributed to Salih b. Nasrullah (Kazancıgil, 2000: 192).

8 Abbas Vesim Efendi states, in the preface of one of his books, that he received his medical education from Ali Münşi and Ömer Şifai, and that he followed some European physicians after learning Latin and Greek (Baltacı, 1988: 29; Tuğluk, 2015: 773).
9 As revealed in the preface to *Düsturu't-Tabib fi Ameli Mizani't-Terkib* [Physicians' Code in the Formation of Medical Compositions] (Zülfikar Aydın, 1998a: 290).
10 Although there is limited information available about Suphizade Abdülaziz Efendi's life, we also know that lectured in medical schools and could speak Arabic, Persian, Latin and Italian (Bayat, 1999: 116–121; Şehsuvaroğlu *et al.*, 1984: 120–121).
11 Nuh bin Abdülmennan was specialised in surgery and could speak Greek and Latin (Adıvar, 1982: 163; Kazancıgil, 2000: 195).
12 Tokatlı Mustafa Efendi taught medicine in Süleymaniye Madrassa and was later promoted to the position of chief physician during the reign of Mustafa III (1757–1774) (Acıduman, 2014: 226; Şehsuvaroğlu *et al.*, 1984: 119).
13 Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi was a teacher in Süleymaniye Madrassa and worked as a chief physician in the Ottoman army during the reign of Mustafa III (1757–1774) and in the Ottoman court under Abdülhamid I (1774–1789) and Selim III (1789–1807). He could speak Arabic and Persian fluently (İhsanoğlu, 2006: 454; Nevşe, 2005: 305; Sarı, 1981: 48; Zülfikar Aydın, 1998b: 128).
14 In his preface, Suphizade tells how the book was brought to Istanbul and how Mustafa III (1757–1774) "assigned" him to translate the book because of his proficiency in Latin (Acıduman and Arda, 2011a: 121).
15 Kahya (1993: 172–174) confirms that Paracelsus was not his only source for this work.
16 Other examples include Salih b. Nasrullah's *Terceme-i Akrabadin-i Cedid* (1716) and Ali Münsi's *Terceme-i Akrabâdîn* (1731) (Table 6.1).
17 For example, Tokatlı Mustafa Efendi used the formula "this poor translator humbly wants to say that…" in order to disambiguate parts of the earlier translation (Ünver, 1937: 15–24).
18 He sometimes uses the formula "Allame states that…". According to Acıduman (2014: 227–229), the physician whom Tokatlı Mustafa Efendi refers to as "Allame" is Mesud Şirazi, a famous Arabic physician.

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Appendix

Translated medical texts in the eighteenth-century Ottoman empire

Table 6.1 Medical texts translated in the eighteenth-century Ottoman empire (Key: shaded = translations of European medicine; unshaded = translations of traditional medicine from Persian and Arabic sources)

	Title	*Author*	*Translator*	*Date of Publication*	*Source Language*
1	*Cevher'ül-Ferid fi't Tıbbü'l Cedid* (Unique Gems of New Medicine)	Multiple authors	Ömer Şifai	1703	Latin
2	*Minhac-üş-Şifai fi Tıbb-ı Kimya* (Treatment Methods in Chemical Medicine)	Salih b. Nasrullah (from Paracelsus)	Ömer Şifai	1703	Arabic (mediating language)
3	*Ravzat'ün Necat* (Garden of Salvation)	Unknown	Ömer Şifai	1710	Latin
4	*Terceme-i Akrabadin-i Cedid li Nikola* (Terceme of New Akrabadin by Nicholas)	Salih b. Nasrullah (from Paracelsus)	Süleyman Efendi	1716	Arabic (mediating language)
5	*Vesiletü'l-Metalib fi İlmi't-Terakib* (Learning Methods in the Science of Pharmacology)	Georgios	Abbas Vesim Efendi	1724	Greek and Latin
6	*Nüzhetü'l-Ebdân fi Tercemet-i Gâyeti'l-itkân* (The Well-Being of the Human Body in the Terceme of the Book 'Gâyetû'l-itkân')	Salih b. Nasrullah (possibly pseudo translation from Paracelsus)	Ebulfeyz Mustafa Efendi	1728	Arabic

(*Continued*)

Table 6.1 (Continued)

	Title	*Author*	*Translator*	*Date of Publication*	*Source Language*
7	*Kurâdatü'l-Kimyâ* (Old Knowledge of Chemistry)	Micheal Ettmüller	Ali Münşi	Ahmed III (1703-1730)	Latin
8	*Tedbir-i Hıfzı's Sıhhat'ül Bedeniyye* (Measures for the Protection of Body and Health)	Reşid İbrahim Ebil Hasan	Hayatizade Mehmet Emin Efendi	Ahmed III (1703-1730)	Arabic
9	*Terceme-i Akrabadini Melikyu* (Terceme of Akrabadin by Melchios)	Melchios	Nuh bin Abdülmennan	Ahmed III (1703-1730)	Greek
10	*Bidâat el-Mübtedî* (Knowledge for Beginners)	Multiple authors	Ali Münşi	1731	Latin
11	*Terceme-i Akrabâdîn* (Terceme of Akrabadin)	Adrian von Mynsicht	Ali Münşi	1731	Latin
12	*İpecacuanha Risalesi* (Booklet of Ipecacuanha)	Adrien Helvetius	Ali Münşi	1733	Latin
13	*Gunyet-ül-Muhassilin* (Richness of Medications)	Mehmet Mümin Hüseyin	Ahmet Sani	1733	Persian
14	*Ravend Risalesi* (Booklet of Ravend)	İbn Cemi	Ahmet Sani	Mahmut I (1730-1754)	Arabic
15	*Düstur-ül-Vesim fi Tıbb-ül-Cedid ve'l-Kadim* (Vesim's Principles in New and Old Medicine)	Multiple authors	Abbas Vesim Efendi	1748	Latin, Greek and African

(*Continued*)

Table 6.1 (Continued)

	Title	*Author*	*Translator*	*Date of Publication*	*Source Language*
16	*Tahbîzü'l-Mathûn* (The Benefits of Ground Materials)	Avicenna	Tokatlı Mustafa Efendi	1766	Arabic
17	*Kıtaat-i Nekave fi Terceme-i Kelimat Boerhaave* (The Most Beneficial Verses from Terceme of Boerhaave's Aphorisma)	Herman Boerhaave	Suphizade Abdülaziz Efendi	1771	Latin
18	*Kitabü'n Nebat* (The Book of Botanics)	Pietro Andrea Mathioli	Osman b. Abdurrahman	1777	Italian
19	*Gâyetü'l-Münteha fî Tedbirî'l-Merdâ* (Ultimate Measures for the Treatment of Patients)	Salih b. Nasrullah (from Paracelsus)	Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi	1750-1800	Arabic (mediating language)
20	*Dürret-ül-Mansuriye fi Tercemet-il Mansuriye* (Invaluable Information from Terceme of Mansur's Book)	Ebu Mansur Hasan b. Nuh	Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi	1794	Arabic
21	*Mücennetü't-Tâûn ve'l-Vebâ* (Fighting against the Plague)	İlya b. Abram	Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi	1795	Arabic

(*Continued*)

Table 6.1 (Continued)

	Title	*Author*	*Translator*	*Date of Publication*	*Source Language*
22	*Aslü'l-Usûl Terceme-i Faşl al-Fuşl* (Various Procedures from Terceme of Some Old Chapters)	Yusuf el-İlâki	Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi	1796	Arabic
23	*Risâle-i Zübdetü'l-Kuhliyye fi Teflrihi'l-Basariyye* (A Booklet on the Treatment of Anatomical Eye Diseases)	Sadaka b. İbrahim efl-Fiâzelî el-Mısrî'	Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi	1797	Arabic
24	*Mürşidü't-Etibbâ fî Tercemet-i Sipagorya* (Pioneers of Medicine from Terceme of Sipagoria)	Salih b. Nasrullah (from Paracelsus)	Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi	Selim III (1789-1807)	Arabic (mediating language)

Part III

Literary Transfigurations

7 Translation as Migration

Traveling Literary Classics into and from Arabic

Ferial Ghazoul

In this chapter, I will look at the translational trajectory of two canonical texts that originated outside the continent of Europe – more precisely in the region known as the Middle East – in order to shed light on the way that translation was conceptualized in this geographic space. The study is transcontinental in scope but will focus on the four centuries known in European cultural history as the Early Modern period (1400–1800). In Asia, this period is better known as the Late Middle Ages or the Post-Classical period (Allen, 2006: 1–21), considered to be an age of decline after the remarkable flowering of the Classical Age under the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties (al-Baghdadi, 2008: 453).

My endeavor in referring to translation as migration – with a focus on the transformative changes that moving across borders entails – is partly to introduce a conceptual framework that goes beyond the established dichotomies in Translation Studies of source and target, fidelity, and treason. These dichotomies were, of course, conceived in a predominantly Western context with reference to fixed written texts rather than to those that were orally transmitted (Fawcett and Munday, 2009: 140). In expanding our horizon beyond this provincial framework, I endeavor to highlight alternative human practices of communication and translation that have been marginalized and somehow relegated to Area Studies rather than translation theory (Houben, 2017: 195–211).

In this chapter – inspired by Edward Said's two essays, "Traveling Theory" (1983: 226–247) and "Traveling Theory Reconsidered" (2000: 436–452) – I want to emphasize how travelling classics settle in an alien context making themselves "at home" in the new cultural environment while at the same time maintaining the aura of the "homeland." The most appropriate way of grasping such a transposition is through the metaphor of migration (Bandia, 2014: 274), since migrants often rewrite and re-tell stories they have inherited and that are part of their narrative legacy, making them relevant in new circumstances. I will be focusing on two literary works that have become classics of World Literature – *The Arabian Nights*

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and *Majnun Layla*. My study revolves around how these works have been reshaped to fit new cultural *milieu*s in the way that migrants settle in a new land and produce a hybrid culture.

The terminology of translation and criticism in a cultural *milieu* often incorporates notions of mimesis and differences. One relevant term in Arabic rhetoric, *mu'aradah* (which literally means "opposition," but also has the rhetorical force of an imitation that surpasses the imitated) defines how one poet takes up the verse of another and imitates its pattern while upgrading its eloquence or re-orienting its meaning. The term can be extended to indicate how a new version can echo and yet challenge, repeat contrapuntally, copy while undermining or radicalizing, and ultimately integrate the work into a different literary and cultural context.

With oral traditions, which remained a component of Medieval Arab culture, there is a continuum between translation, adaptation, and retelling, which makes it difficult to pin down exactly when a new feature makes its appearance in a text. Even in the Golden Age of Translation, between the seventh and thirteenth centuries,[1] when philosophical tracts from Greece and regions further to the East were systematically translated into Arabic, the works were adjusted to the new *milieu*, establishing a pattern of translation that was not bound by enslavement to a hallowed *original*.

In Arabic and other Middle Eastern languages, the very term for translation carries different meanings and nuances to those that have predominated in the West. There are commonly two verbs that denote the act of translation in Arabic – *tarjama* (to translate, clarify, or write a biography) and *naqala* (to relocate or transfer or transport or transpose). The noun *tarjamah*, like its cognate in Persian and Turkish,[2] is a broad concept that goes beyond the strict transfer from one verbal language to another. It implies a crossing from one mode to another – an articulation using words, the formation of a narrative based on a personal lived experience, or/and the transformation of a message or a text from one language to another.[3] As for *naqala*, this can mean not only transposing (from one place to another)[4] but also copying (from one medium to another), as well as translating *strictu sensu* (i.e. from one language to another).

What is more, the process of translation was not confined to a unique written text but tended to deal with fluid flexible narratives – texts that have more than one variant whether written or oral. What we have in each of these cases are *sources* in the plural, or variants, where the Urtext is either nonexistent or lost. This textual instability clearly renders absurd the whole notion of fidelity to a single source.

The Thousand and One Nights

The story of the migration and translation of the work commonly known as *The Arabian Nights* constitutes a twisted labyrinth that has bewildered

generations of scholars. It is commonly agreed that the origin of the work known in Arabic as *Kitab Alf Layla wa-Layla* (The Book of the Thousand and One Nights) is India, and that it probably had some affinity to, if not actual descent from, *The Panchatantra* (literally "The Five Lessons," a narrative with a frame story, that circulated in the Indian subcontinent more than 2,000 years ago in various languages and dialects).[5] However, the absence of any textual evidence testifying to the Indian origin, combined with the presence of different variations of the work, has led some to speculate about other possible sources in Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc.[6] It is most likely that the work migrated from India to Persia, where there was a version, no longer extant, referred to by Arab critics as *Hazar Afsanah* [Thousand Tales] (Ibrahim, 1992: 84–87). This is believed by some to have been the prototype upon which the Arabic versions were based. Even though the Persian text is lost, the title indicates that there was a change from Persian to Arabic. *Thousand Tales* implies a complete collection or an anthology of fantastic tales. In comparison, the Arabic title, *One Thousand and One Nights*, indicates time rather than content and points to the new cycle by adding one to the number thousand, echoing the popular belief that a new millennium means a new beginning. On the other hand, since "thousand" stands for "all," then "thousand and one" stands for "all plus one" which in turn stands mathematically for the "infinite" (Ghazoul, 1996: 37–41).

Thereafter, the work migrated to Iraq in the early Abbasid period (late eighth century) and from there to Syria, Egypt, and the rest of the Arab world. There are two main manuscript traditions: the Syrian, dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and the Egyptian, which is later.

Considering the role of orality in transmission, it is not surprising that some stories were dropped or lost, and others changed beyond recognition, or painted with an Islamic veneer. As the traditional *hakawati* (professional storyteller) narrates the tales, he improvises as he tells them, whether in the dialogue, characterization, or by adding episodes. Thus, this translation exercise was an act of free re-scripting on a skeletal frame.

The changes and transformations were encouraged by the fluid type of narrative. The frame story permits the deletion and addition of stories without deforming the main plot. Hence, some of the best-known tales, such as Ali Baba and the voyages of Sindbad the Sailor, do not feature in all editions and variants of the *Nights*. The one story that figures in all the works is that of the frame narrative of Shahrazad and Shahrayar, even if wording of its events may vary.

However, it is not any story that can be added; only tales that partake thematically or structurally of the four segments of the frame story can be appended to the stories narrated by Shahrazad. With its four episodes – adultery, quest journey, instructive fable, and narrative salvation – the frame story functions like a matrix or narrative machine that can generate further related stories.[7] Just as a conventional Western

translator chooses a word from a range of possible alternatives, deemed the most appropriate for the source, so the re-writer of the *Nights* has to take into consideration the poetic logic of the narrative and abide by its implied strictures.

The mode used is that of *mise-en-abyme*, in which the characters within a tale recount other tales in what has been called "les hommes-récits" (Todorov, 1971: 78–91). The point of telling the tales is to gain time; thus, the emphasis is on creatively spinning stories rather than reproducing faithfully what has been recited earlier. The raison d'être of telling the story in the *Nights* is to amuse and thus postpone the predicament imposed by the cruel Shahrayar, intent on marrying a virgin every night and beheading her at dawn.

The earliest fragment, which is part of a ninth-century manuscript discovered by Nabia Abbott in 1949, presents only part of the frame story; in it, Shahrazad narrates her stories to a nurse, rather than to her sister as is common in the later manuscripts (Abbott, 1949: 129–164). Apart from this, the earliest extant version of the *Nights* dates from the fourteenth/fifteenth century and is of the Syrian branch. This is the manuscript that formed the basis of Antoine Galland's somewhat free translation into French, the first rendering of the *Nights* in a European language.[8] It was also used for Muhsin Mahdi's definitive critical edition of the work (Mahdi, 1984).

As for the Egyptian branch, texts continued to emerge into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and contain many more tales than the so-called Galland manuscript of the Syrian branch. Unlike Mahdi's scholarly redaction, editors and copiers of the manuscript in the Arabic popular tradition did not always sign their names, though they occasionally described their strategies, including their editorial interpolations. Some took liberties in changing incidents, modifying the locations of stories, or deleting episodes that were lacking in decorum, as well as correcting the grammar of this partly vernacular, partly literary text. Such interventions not only change the work stylistically but also bring other semantic and ideological implications.

An example of changes introduced in the passage from source to target language suffices to make the point. Liberties taken in translation can be clearly seen if we compare an excerpt of the earliest extant variant (circa late fourteenth century/early fifteenth century) with Antoine Galland's version of 1704. Here is how Hussein Haddawy has translated that same excerpt in a rendering that sticks very closely to the Arabic source:

> At midnight he returned to his palace in the city, to bid his wife goodbye. But when he entered the palace, he found his wife lying in the arms of one of the kitchen boys. When he saw them, the world turned dark

> before his eyes and, shaking his head, he said to himself, "I am still here, and this is what she has done when I was barely outside the city. How will it be and what will happen behind my back when I go to visit my brother in India? No. Women are not to be trusted." He got exceedingly angry, adding, "By God, I am king and sovereign in Samarkand, yet my wife has betrayed me and has inflicted this on me."
>
> (Haddawy, 1990: 3–4)

This crucial episode of Shahzaman discovering his own beloved wife in an indecent act is rendered by Galland as follows (while giving the collection a title and a subtitle, *Les Mille et une Nuits: Contes Arabes*):

> Alors voulant, encore une fois embrasser la reine, qu'il aimait beaucoup, il retourna seul dans son palais. Il alla droit à l'appartement de cette princesse, qui, ne s'attendant pas à le revoir, avait reçu dans son lit un des derniers officiers de sa maison. Il y a avait déjà longtemps qu'il couchés, et ils dormaient tous deux d'un profonde sommeil. Le roi entra sans bruit, se faisant un plaisir de surprendre par son retour une épouse dont il se croyait tendrement aimé. Mais quelle fut sa surprise lorsque, à la clarté des flambeaux, qui ne s'éteignent jamais la nuit dans les appartements des princes et des princesses, il aperçut un homme dans ses bras ! Il demeura immobile durant quelques moments, ne sachant s'il devait croire ce qu'il voyait. Mais, n'en pouvant douter : "Quoi ! dit-il en lui-même, je suis à peine hors de mon palais, je suis encore sous les murs de Samarcande, et l'on ose m'outrager ! Ah ! Perfide !"
>
> (Galland, 1965: 24–25)

While this rendering of the same episode describes in the pen of Galland the conjugal betrayal as his Arabic source depicts, the class component underlined in the Arabic variant where the lover is a worker in the kitchen is absent. It is replaced simply by *un homme*, eliminating the double insult of replacing the King in the conjugal bed not only by another man but also by a servant of lower status in the social hierarchy (*un des derniers officiers de sa maison*).

This example shows how a migrating text changes some of its features to suit its new *milieu*. These changes, I argue, are partly a function of the absence of a definitive original and the existence of several variants, which in turn result from the text's oral characteristics. The fluidity of the source, along with the dominant view of translation in early eighteenth-century France – summed up in the expression, *belles infidèles* (Mounin, 1955) – overdetermined the manipulation of a variant when translating.

However, what is most intriguing about the dissemination and translation of the *Arabian Nights* is that, despite the many manuscripts of the

Nights in Arabic, there are none in Persian or in any Indian language – the languages of the (presumed) earliest sources. There are analogues, such as the *Mahabharata*'s Drapaudi and her infinitely long sari that stretched on and on, making it impossible to undress her and violate her (Ghazoul, 2005: 57–72), which resembles Shahrazad's infinite narrative that forestalled her execution. But why are there no manuscripts, not even a partial manuscript, of the Indian or Persian *Nights*?

I venture to claim that the *Nights* achieved such prominence and circulation in Arabic because it articulates an important aspect of the Arab cultural unconscious, namely, the importance of the Word. In Islam, the great miracle is the Word of God – the Qur'an with its inimitable style – rather than God's intervention in the world through miracles. Hence, a narrative that highlights the power of the spoken or revealed word is privileged. Likewise, there are many accounts of condemned rogues in Arab history who managed to save their lives with witticisms that appealed to the ruler. The predicament of Shahrazad and her way of seeking salvation through words and narratives touches the sensibility of Arabs; and so the work was recited, read, embellished, re-worded, intra-translated, and committed to writing, and eventually to print. Its reception – attested by its circulation – shows how it struck a chord.

Layla and Majnun

Another travelling world literary text is that of the love story of Majnun and Layla, which had its origins in the desert of Arabia and was translated first to Persian[9] before migrating on to other parts of the Middle East and then to Europe. As with the *Nights*, in its many editions and translations, redactors and translators have taken liberties with the source text. The text of *Layla and Majnun* seems not to have been definitive, which in turn allows license in rendering it into other languages.

As with *The Arabian Nights*, there is no single source that can be counted as the proto-text of the legendary lovers, Majnun and Layla. I will focus here on three translations: *Leyli u Majnun* in Persian couplets by Jami (1414–1492); *Dastan-i Leyli vu Mecnun* in Turkish by Fuzuli (1483–1556); and finally, its rendering into English by Isaac D'Israeli in 1797 as *Mejnoun and Leila: The Arabian Petrarch and Laura*. However, we must also mention the work of Nizami (1141–1209) whose translation of the unrequited love story into Persian set the frame of reference for both Jami and Fuzuli. In the centuries between 1400 and 1800, Persian literature became very influential, not only in the Persian-speaking world but also among Turkish and Urdu-speaking communities, and so Nizami's version of the legend of Layla and Majnun came to be viewed as an *original*, the source for the various versions that followed.

Layla and Majnun is the story of star-crossed lovers: Majnun's love for Layla is an unfulfilled passion and he ends up mad (*majnun*) roaming the desert. Even in Arabic, there are many different versions of what happened to the two lovers depending on the source – many of which date from considerably later than the late seventh and early eighth century when the events are presumed to have taken place in Najd in northern Arabia. In some sources, the character of Majnun is identified with the seventh-century Najdi Bedouin poet Qays ibn al-Mulawwah, the author of a collection of verse about unrequited love. However, there is no consensus as to the authenticity of these poems. Were they composed by the lover Qays (Majnun of the legend) or were they simply attributed to him? The question is complicated by the fact that poets wrote in the lyrical vein of Majnun and often borrowed the name Layla in their poems, partly to hide the identity of their beloved and partly because the name of Layla had become emblematic of the beloved.

The first reference to Majnun Layla comes more than a century after the presumed historical presence of Majnun, in a ninth-century work by Ibn Qutayba (828–889) entitled *Kitab al-Shi'r wal-Shu'ara'* [*The Book of Poetry and Poets*] (1977), which gives glimpses of Majnun's life and poetry. A more elaborate source concerning Majnun's life and poetry – Abu al-Faraj al-Asfahani's (897–967) *Kitab al-Aghani* [The Book of Songs] (1963)– comes from even a later period, the tenth century. Other versions existed, such as one by al-Walibian enigmatic figure whose very existence has been questioned, making it difficult to anchor him historically. How much of this story of tragic love can be documented historically and how much has been fabricated by storytellers and poets is difficult to ascertain. However, independent of authenticity, the story of the two lovers became emblematic of an infatuation that culminates in intoxication and distracts to the point of madness.

As the story migrated from its setting in the desert of Arabia to urban centers in Persia, certain details changed but not the general plot. It was the Persian poet Nizami (1141–1209) who, in the twelfth century, strung together the various dispersed anecdotes about Majnun and Layla and turned them into an epic in the grand style of Medieval Persian literature (see Nizami, *Layla va Majnun* in Persian and its English translation by Gelpke). This was effectively the first coherent narrative of the lovers and would become the model for what followed. As the Lebanese scholar As'ad Khairallah puts it:

> It was Nizami's achievement to transform the structure of the legend from an arabesque of anecdotes and poetic fragments into an organically conceived, poetic romance. The effect of the new form . . . invested the legend with temporal extension, thus allowing its events to go

> beyond the mosaic . . . juxtaposition of anecdotes. This new temporal sequence helped create a more believable protagonist, possessing a life that has a discernable curve.
>
> (Khairallah, 1980: 103)

Apart from adding local color, there is an essential shift in Nizami's version of the story: it hints at a spiritual dimension by referring to the body as a veil. The order of the names in the title is also reversed, with Layla coming before Majnun. This is not haphazard: Layla is prioritized over Majnun as she is rendered into a divine symbol.[10]

In the fifteenth century, Jami (1414–1492) not only keeps Nizami's order of names but also makes manifest the spiritual dimension that was latent in his version. In Jami's narrative, Majnun's longings for Layla are explicitly seen as yearning for union with God. Jami compares the ravings of Majnun with those of dervishes; his association with wild animals and shunning of human patterns are related to Sufi hermits. In the concluding chapter of the work, Jami explains the allegorical meaning of the story, leaving no doubt as what it stands for. This re-telling of the legend has moved their love from the profane and sensuous to the chaste and platonic, resembling the love of mystics for the divine. As Khairallah puts it, Jami's re-working of Nizami's tale has brought about "the transmutation of the legend into an allegory of mystic love" (1980: 106).

Jami's style in this work is literary middle Persian, replete with analogies and metaphors such as comparing the night to a crow, or the redness of poppies to the fire of love. Despite the introduction and continuous allusions to Majnun's love as being a love for the divine, Jami moves in the finale to more explicit statements. He explains Majnun's repetition of the name Layla as standing for the repetition of the name of the divine. Layla becomes a metaphor, standing for God, and the love of Majnun is sacred. Jami simplifies his hermeneutic lesson by giving the example of the lover using the term "moon" metaphorically to refer to the beloved, thus orienting his audience to the use of imagery and iconic language. It should be noted that although Jami incorporates the Arabic sources, he acknowledges his debt to Nizami, and also to Dehlavi [the Sufi mystic (1253–1325), also known as Amir Khusraow, who wrote in 1299 about Majnun and Layla in the mode of Nizami] rather than to al-Asfahani and Ibn Qutayba. Thus, the Persian versions of this love story have become the frame of reference rather than the dispersed episodes of Arabic lore.

Towards the end of Jami's translation, when Layla is dying, following the death of Majnun, she refers to herself as a martyr of love (Jami, 1979: 238). Martyrdom is associated with religious quests, thus adding

a spiritual dimension to her love. She asks her mother to bury her next to Majnun so that the palm of his feet would be the crown on her head until the day of judgment where she expects to be resurrected from the dust of his feet (Jami, 1979: 239). In the narrative, the grave of these two lovers becomes a shrine sought after by lovers from all over the world (Jami, 1979: 240). Jami explains near the end how it was not the physical Layla that Majnun sought but the creator of Layla. He compares Layla to a goblet and the divine to the wine in the goblet. It is not the goblet that the lover is after but the wine in it, so Layla becomes herself a metonym, a container of the divine. To make the lesson clear, Jami refers to a Sufi who in a nocturnal vision saw Majnun and asked him what happened when he died and met his creator after 30 years of suffering. Majnun responds: "He [God] called me and made me sit on a couch next to Him and said to me that you were calling on Me [God] but using Layla as a name" (Jami, 1979: 228–289).

Fuzuli was Azerbaijani, a Turcoman, who was born in Najaf and lived in Iraq. His epic poem about Layla and Majnun was completed in 1536. He re-arranged the story of Majnun Layla, basing it essentially on two sources, Nizami's version and another by Hatifi (1454–1521), the nephew of Jami. It is not clear if he knew of Jami's *Layla wal-majnun* (1979), but the mystic portrayal of the character Majnun Layla was already inscribed in the works of Sufis. The figure of Majnun appears regularly in the writing of Islamic mystics in the thirteenth century, and there are references to him in Farid al-Din al-Attar's *Conference of the Birds* (*Mantiq al-tayr*, 1177), as well as in Jalal al-Din Rumi's *Spiritual Couplets* (*Masnavi*, 1258–1273). In other words, Majnun became emblematic of divine love as his figure migrated from Arabia to Western and Central Asia.

What Fuzuli was undertaking in his retelling of Nizami's Persian translation of this Arabic legend was – to use the language of the time – a reply, *jevab* (Bombaci, 1970: 84). The term itself (*jevab* in Turkish, *jawab* in Arabic) suggests a double, a mirror or a counterpoint. In aesthetics, it indicates a reaction to something said, a response that corresponds to or balances a given enunciation. In other words, it is a repetition with modification that recalls the earlier enunciation or pattern. It is used in poetry, architecture, and music throughout the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East.

The author of a *reply* would keep close to the *original* but this was not viewed as a shortcoming; "rather he felt that the nearer he kept to it the more successful he was" (Bombaci, 1970: 85). If we look carefully at Fuzuli's poetic narrative, we can see that it is like a translation of Nizami's text but with slight variations. Using the *jevab* technique, Fuzuli selected words derived from Persian or Persianized Arabic and added Turkish suffixes to them and Turkish words.[11]

Fuzuli unlike his predecessors, Nizami and Jami, opens with the mystic element in the beginning and does not wait to conclude with it in the finale

> And O, that now my sentences I deck
> With fine conceit, and still escape the wreck
> Of Truth distorted, pouring forth my heart
> Upon excuse of using feeble art
> To tell a tale: here now I speak Thy praise
> By Leyla's reason, and my voice upraise
> In Mejnun's language, setting forth my plea
> (Fuzuli, 1970: 122).[12]

The longish religious prologue seems to some as a ceremonial and formal beginning. What is striking about this work is the use of speeches by different characters that amount to half the narrative. It reads at times like a play interspersed by a narrator linking the scenes and the dialogues.

While the setting is Arabia and the characters are the same as in the Arabic sources, as in Nizami's version, Qays and Layla meet at school rather than in the Arabian desert herding sheep. This is more than an urbanization of the Bedouin narrative; it also points to the transformation from an oral to a written culture. The metaphors themselves have become *writerly* as in:

> When Leyla cast her books beside her, Qays became her textbook dear,
> When Qays essayed the art of writing, Leyla's brow was his design
> O'er their writing, o'er their reading, artistry to love lent aid;
> (Fuzuli, 1970: 158)

Communication between the lovers also takes the form of letters. Qays sends Leyla a long letter of complaint (Fuzuli, 1970: 244–249), and her response is presented not as impromptu or extempore, but written down: "Now flew the reed pen in fair Leyla's hand,/ And on the waiting parchment writ her thoughts" (Fuzuli, 1970: 250). Later on, Leyla wonders why Qays is not corresponding with her:

> O, why his pen still refuse
> On the white waxen block to diffuse
> The thoughts that his mind now withholds?
> Why send her now never a line,
> Why must I in loneliness pine,
> While he every kindness withholds?
> (Fuzuli, 1970: 277)

With an almost postmodern twist, Leyla, the protagonist, addresses the author of her story, saying as she waxes lyrical:

> O wind, that blowest freely by thy art
> Bring tidings sweet of him I yearn to see.
> 'Tis thou alone Fuzuli, know'st my heart,
> 'Tis thou, alone of poets, know'st the ill
> That is my portion: choose what words ye will,
> But with thy verses set my spirit free.
> (Fuzuli, 1970: 165)

Thus, Fuzuli's *Leyla and Mejnun* demonstrates not only a migration from tribal and nomadic Arabia to cosmopolitan cities of Iraq but also migration from an oral discourse to a written discourse with its vocabulary of pen and script.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, an English version of *Mejnoun and Leila* was published, subtitled *The Arabian Petrarch and Laura, based on Islamic sources*. The British scholar Isaac D'Israeli had first encountered the legend via an illuminated Persian manuscript, before coming across Nizami's version in partial translation and references by academic Orientalists.[13] He went on to read the whole work in a French translation by M. de Cardonne (1778), as he recounts in his introductory "Advertisement" to the volume of *Romances* (1783) in which the translation was published in 1799.

Isaac D'Israeli's *Mejnoun and Leila* is a 200-page prose narrative in four parts interspersed with poetry. D'Israeli starts his narrative with the pastoral Arabs in the Arabian desert, announcing that "Ahmed Kais was a distinguished Schieck" (D'Israeli, 1799: 1), whose son Kais studied under the scholar poet Lebid, alongside Leila, "the only daughter of an Emir" (D'Israeli, 1799: 6). The two fell in love as they were reading Persian tales. However, Leila's father, who was a descendant of the Prophet, thought Kais below her in rank, even though he was of noble blood and tried (in vain) to persuade his daughter to give up her attachment. The lovelorn Kais composed poetry that was recited by the Bedouins (such as "A Passion Ode to Spring" in which a nightingale in love with a rose personifies the poet and his beloved) and tried everything to meet Leila. Unable to do so, he gradually loses his mind. The story ends à la Romeo and Juliet where the lovers meet in death, leading to the reconciliation of the two families.

While Nizami turned the Arabic lore about the two lovers into an epic, D'Israeli made it a romance, keeping both the anecdotal aspect of the Arabic *akhbar* (chronicles) and the poetry, as in the Arabic tradition. In fact, D'Israeli's translation is closer in spirit to the Arabic variants as encountered in works of Ibn Qutayba and al-Asfahani; and although he

became familiar with other versions of the lovers, he was particularly interested in presenting Majnun and Layla as mirror images of Petrarch and Laura:

> The learned M. de Cardonne, the late king of France's oriental interpreter, discovered in the Royal Library a copy of this Romance, and has given a skeleton of the story. It was meant perhaps but to gratify the curiosity of the learned; it has no exhibition of character, no description of scenery, no conduct of the passions. But I could perceive in the simplicity of analysis . . . something which might be made to delight the imagination—a Maniac and a Lover! /…/ In a word, I discovered a new Petrarch and Laura; but two fervid Orientalists [Orientals], capable of more passion, more grief, and more terror. Instead of the petty solitude of the Valclusa of Petrarch, an Arabian desert opened its numerous horrors; instead of the cold prudery of the Italian Laura, I have the resolute ardour of the Arabian Leila; and instead of a poet, so elegant and delicate, that his passion some suspect to have been only a fine chimera, I have a Lover whose sincerity everyone acknowledges, since he is distracted with his passion!
>
> (D'Israeli, 1799: n.p.)

Clearly, the liberties Isaac D'Israeli takes in rendering Layla and Majnun can be viewed as adaptation, recreation, or rewriting. It can also be considered a *translation* yet another version of the legend, ushering the spirit of Romanticism.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to show how the conventional Western way of assessing and defining translation with regards to its fidelity to a source text is not necessarily appropriate for translational practices in this different spatiotemporal context. The very terminology of literal versus free, or source versus target, becomes irrelevant when the text itself is fluid, even protean. Such works migrate and evolve, preserving the structural and skeletal identity of the classic but adding cultural and ideological flesh. Travelling and migrating texts are thus engaged in continuity and rupture. They reinforce while offering a counterpoint.

The very terms used to describe these textual relations in Arabic, Persian, or Turkish offer us a glimpse of the very different ways in which the whole process is conceptualized. *Tarjama*, *naqala*, *mu'aradah*, *jevab*: all suggest that texts are not understood as finite bounded entities, the property of some hallowed author, whose genius will inevitably be betrayed by attempts to render the work in another tongue. Instead, they are construed

as open-ended communal documents, destined to change shape as they voyage from place to place.

My point is that the text that is migrating allows such changes and adaptations precisely by not being definitive. The two cases studied here show how the very mode of existence of the source in question permits, in fact invites, such departures from it. Fluid texts permit the reworking of the source(s).

Yet there is a difference between the fluidity of the *Nights* and the fluidity of Layla and Majnun. In the case of the *Nights*, there are many variants in Arabic and the translations have varied too, picking up on passages and tales from different sources and modifying them as they migrate to new settings. The fact that the source is multiple suggests a rhizomatic dissemination (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) rather than a vertical genealogy from a single-parent text. It is somewhat different with the tale of Layla and Majnun, which is based on episodes that were not laced together until much later. It is precisely this loose structure and lack of synthesis that make it possible to modify and experiment with the work in what is a form of bricolage.

Notes

1 This activity started during the reign of the Umayyads (661–750) and reached its zenith under the Abbasids (750–1258), particularly during the reign of Al-Ma'mun (813–833). The centre of this institutionalized activity was Baghdad and involved a wide range of languages and topics (Baker and Hanna, 2009: 330).
2 On Turkish, see Sarigül's chapter in this volume.
3 What is striking is that the three associated meanings of *tarjama* (to translate) encompass the three types of translation identified by Roman Jakobson – interlinguistic, intralinguistic, and intersemiotic – in his famous article "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation" (Jakobson, 1992: 144–151).
4 For elaborations on the concept of translation as transposition, see Ghazoul (2014: 375–387) and Burke (in this volume).
5 The *Panchatantra*, a form of subtle didactic literature aimed at young princes, is an example of the 'sea of stories', a concept common in Indian lore and religious rituals. It involves a frame story which includes other stories and is sometimes narrated as a story-play genre with dances.
6 For an overview of the different perspectives on this matter, see Ibrahim (1992: 91) and Ghazoul (2005: 57–72).
7 See Ghazoul (1996: 17–28) on the relation between the frame narrative and the embedded narratives in the *Nights*.
8 *Les mille et une nuits, contes arabes traduits en français*, published in 1704–1717. It is not clear whether Galland's source was complete at the time of his translation or not, since today, one of the four volumes of the so-called Galland manuscript is lost. There are a number of tales in Galland's French version, including such famous ones as Ali Baba and Ala' al-Din, that are not found in other Arabic manuscripts (the so-called *orphan tales*) but we do not know whether Galland fabricated these stories, translated them from the

lost volume, or complemented the work by using tales narrated by his Syrian informant, Hanna Diyab of Aleppo. For more on Galland's and other European translations, see Borges (2000).

9 Before the formation of the nation-state, languages were not bound by a specific country (Mallette, 2017: 25). Both Arabic and Persian were important lingua francas in the Late Medieval period in Western and Central Asia, the former primarily as the language of theology, and the latter as a language of high culture and poetry. This naturally had an important effect on the dissemination of works such as this.

10 In the Arabic tradition, the name Majnun comes first followed by Layla. Majnun Layla in Arabic is read as the Madman of Layla. It is significant that D'Israeli, in his English version shifts his title away from the Persian rendering by again putting Majnun's name first, thus making Layla a woman rather than a goddess.

11 Bombaci (1970: 85) gives as an example of this the line *Kim khayl-i 'Arabda bir jevanmerd/Jem'iyyet ü 'izz ü jah ile ferd* ["Among the Arabs cavaliers a generous man was unique in his following, honour and dignity"] in which one can detect an echo of the Arabic words '*izz, jah,* etc ["honour and dignity"].

12 All extracts from Fuzuli's *Leyla and Mejnun* are taken from the translation by Sofi Huri (1970). This is the only complete English translation and has been described by a reviewer as "artistic and mellifluous" (Skilliter, 1972: 156).

13 In 1785, the work was translated by William Kirkpatrick as part of *Asiatick Miscellany* and was later reprinted as a book with the title, *Mujnoon; or, the Distracted Lover: A Tale from the Persian* (Nilchian, 2016: 43).

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8 "Too Learned and Poetical for Our Audience"

Translation, (Self-)canonisation and Satire in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*[1]

Rui Carvalho Homem

Authorship and translation have often entered a paradoxical rapport for which the English playwright and poet Ben Jonson (1572–1637) would appear to provide an intriguing model. Jonson is rightly credited with spearheading the construction of modern authorship by insisting on the singularity of his *Works*, as he proudly called what came to be known as his First Folio of 1616, over which he asserted control and ownership with (what was in the context) uncommon vehemence (Lowenstein, 2002). This key aspect of his authorial makeup would seem to contribute to the notorious binary, original vs derivative, that was historically to sentence translation to its protracted subaltern status. And yet, as a staunch Classicist, Jonson's rationale for writing and authorship was grounded in *imitatio*, a characteristically derivative model for creation that he endorsed in passages of *Timber*, *or Discoveries*, his book of maxims and received wisdom, in which, citing the Ancients, he described a poet as "a maker", but promptly added: "his art, an art of imitation or feigning" (2346–2348).[2] No less strikingly, the canonical status that Jonson enjoyed as de facto inaugural holder of the royally appointed position of Poet Laureate was to be consolidated for posterity by a translation, *Horace His Art of Poetrie, made English by Ben Iohnson* (posthumously published in 1640). This scholarly version of the *Ars Poetica* would have appeared to his contemporaries as a final confirmation of Jonson's long-standing reputation as "the English Horace" (Donaldson, 2011: 16–19).

Translation thus figures as a crowning achievement in the largely self-managed canonisation of this pillar of English letters, who never appeared to doubt an authority that he saw confirmed when royal patronage singled him out as "the King's Poet" (Donaldson, 2011: 322), and never refrained from noting his contemporaries' scholarly shortcomings with an abrasiveness that meant "no other dramatist of the period ruffled as many feathers as he did" (Dutton, 2000: 59). This chapter will probe the place held by translation in Jonson's poetics by considering his provocative

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representation of deferred authorship and rewriting in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), one of his best-known (and, today, most-valued) comedies. Doing so will highlight the place held by translation – both conceptually taken, and as a set of cultural and linguistic practices – in Early Modern textual cultures, and its role in the making of literary reputations. The discussion will not escape a reminder that Jonson's hard-earned and proudly worn erudition would occasionally become a liability, especially when combined with the tradition of a clichéd and always disadvantageous comparison with Shakespeare.[3] A major authorial asset in his lifetime, Jonson's solid scholarship could be construed as the perceived token of the ponderous and lumbering Classicist – and an object of (in Eliot's famous boutade of nearly a century ago) "the praise that quenches all desire to read the book" (Eliot, 1932: 147). Against this, my reading of translation and satire in *Bartholomew Fair* will offer insights into those traits of his writing that have sustained the more recent critical reclamation of "a twenty-first-century Jonson" (Butler, 1999: 1), "a new Jonson", "a pluralist Jonson" (Sanders *et al.*, 1998: 4–5).

This balancing act will be supported by two complementary arguments, both with translational implications: that in *Bartholomew Fair* the satirical purpose is guided by Jonson's assumption of the Classics as reference and yardstick – an inevitably reflectionist understanding of that "making" which is poetry; and that he construes the verbal and social behaviour he exposes (as characteristic of his Early Modern world) in such a way that it becomes a case in point for present-day critical mores – a critical view of imaginative production as ultimately fulfilled and justified by an ulterior design. Such arguments, as noted below, share the notion that creative activity is fundamentally re-productive – indeed, that all writing is at some level rewriting – and entail a heightened interest in translation.

The comedy I will be privileging could seem, however, the unlikeliest place in Jonson's *oeuvre* to look for a consequence of his veneration of classical standards: after all, non-classical, vernacular values have provided a basis for a reassessment of Jonson's dramatic vitality that, since the final quarter of the twentieth century, has found its textual centre in (precisely) *Bartholomew Fair*. The play has been noted for its risible dramatisation of the attractions of riotousness over order, and profusion and dispersion over economy and discipline – traits that are fully in evidence in the puppet-play-within-the-play that will be the core textual object of this chapter as a case of intralingual translation[4]: a burlesque of Christopher Marlowe's narrative poem *Hero and Leander* (1598). This version of the poem and its Ancient narrative, as shown in detail below, relates equivocally to Jonson's perceived reconciliation with popular culture, the basis for the predominantly Bakhtinian reappraisal that in recent years his work has undergone, with a focus on *Bartholomew Fair*[5]; and this reappraisal

has significantly overlapped with a view of the play as allowing Jonson's later work to mitigate his earlier satirical intransigence and move closer to Shakespeare and romantic comedy.[6] Both by challenging classical values and querying the neatness of the Shakespeare vs Jonson critical topos, *Bartholomew Fair* has been found to epitomise that yearning for reading Jonson against the grain (or against himself) that at the turn of the millennium resonated in collections appearing under such titles as *Refashioning Ben Jonson*: "A new Jonson emerges who is alert to the socio-political contingencies of his age(s)" (Sanders *et al.*, 1998: 4–5).

From the outset, Jonson pointedly places *Bartholomew Fair* within the compass of a balanced consideration of the learned and the popular – and the manner in which he does so is a clear case of trying to draw the line by drawing up a formal compromise. Indeed, the play opens with a dramatic prelude that ponders matters of knowledge and taste, supposedly to be settled by means of a contract. Jonson's "Induction on the Stage" acknowledges the inevitability of staging the play in a venue that doubles as a theatre and a bear pit – and is hence redolent of both human and animal presences, their echoes and physiologies; but it also suppresses the impertinence of a "Stage-Keeper" who would like the comedy to pander to the less demanding aspects of popular taste and the easiest strategies to prompt laughter from an audience. It will be up to the "Book-Holder" to represent the author in the formal proposal of a "covenant", or rather "articles of agreement", that will commit each member of the audience to respect the theatrical event, and to have the humility not to get "above [their] wit" (Induction 50, 68).[7] Such a contract, however, has a *quid pro quo*: in exchange for the audience's good behaviour, it promises entertainment – the acknowledged forms of which, in the envisaged characters and situations, reflect a willingness to compromise that one could hardly find in most of Jonson's previous plays and critical statements. The terms of the "covenant" reveal a Jonson concerned with setting clear limits to his capitulation – or, in the words of Jonathan Haynes, feeling that "[his] art envelops the fair, but the Fair must not envelop his art" (Haynes, 1992: 135). And those clauses validate the perception of an unusually intense focus on authorship – the perception that, in *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson "inserts himself and his authorial practices more explicitly than in any previous play" (Mardock, 2008: 95).

For my purposes in this chapter, it has particular relevance that, in the terms of that covenant, the author's most extreme concession should refer to "puppets" – and this at the end of a passage more often quoted for its dismissive allusions to Shakespeare's romances:

> [the author] is loath to make nature afraid in his plays, like those that beget *Tales, Tempests*, and such-like drolleries, to mix his head with

> other men's heels – let the concupiscence of jigs and dances reign as strong as it will amongst you. Yet if the puppets will please anybody, they shall be entreated to come in.
>
> (Induction 96–100)

And the puppets will indeed come in, by the hand of a character who, to the extent that he is an author of sorts (and very much proud of that quality), and that he is by profession a "proctor" (i.e., someone who acts on behalf of others), could be an on-stage surrogate for the dramatist – or indeed a relayed writer, ultimately a translator. Pointedly, the character in question is allowed to be an author only in the diminutive and demeaning sense conferred by his name, Littlewit. The name becomes a first and immediately evident feature of a characterisation that extends from the character's intellect to the kind of entertainment – puppet plays – that propels him to the Fair and extends further to the judgment the play will gradually provide on the role to be played by writing, learning and morality in an environment of popular amusement and transgression.

Littlewit is first mentioned right at the beginning of the play, when the Stage-Keeper comes forward to apologise for a delay since "he that should begin the play, Master Littlewit, the proctor, has a stitch new fall'n in his black silk stocking" (Induction 2–4); this associates him with a fastidiousness with clothing, later to be confirmed as an obsession with fashion, that is often the sign of a fool in Jonsonian comedy. And when Littlewit finally does come on stage, his first words take up again the image of the silk thread to voice a delighted self-assessment in the use of language that, together with his risible personal vanity, will contribute decisively to his satirical exposure as would-be author: "A pretty conceit, and worth the finding! I ha' such luck to spin out these fine things still, and, like a silkeworm, out of my self" (1.1.1–3).

Littlewit takes an obvious and repeated pleasure in a mode of creation that rests, as is the case here, on a "witty" discovery of verbal coincidences; and this, from Jonson's cultural perspective, is a clear sign of a diseased use of language and a diseased imagination, guided by "Opinion" – the consequence of which is that words are generated by other words rather than by "sense" or "substance", as Jonson was to put it in several passages of *Timber, or Discoveries*, his collection of maxims and reflections (31–35, 502–512, 1335–1337). Littlewit's self-congratulatory delight in the "pretty conceit" he has pulled out of himself can be read also as a satirical indictment of an attitude to creation that sees an author delude himself with originality, rather than find himself while dutifully cultivating *imitatio* – that proudly derivative writing Jonson recommended in *Discoveries*, in a passage that many readers

today might construe as a gloss on translation as a form of authorial congeniality:

> The third requisite in our poet, or maker, is imitation, to be able to convert the substance, or riches of another poet, to his own use. To make choice of one excellent man above the rest, and so to follow him, till he grow very he; or so like him, as the copy may be mistaken for the principal.
>
> (1752–1755)

Quite unlike this, Littlewit delights in his own wordplay, easily seduced by surfaces – of language, as of things – and unable to see beyond them. It is the same limitation, and his penchant for fashion, that leads Littlewit to parade his wife and her new clothes before the gallants who come to his house, and prevents him from seeing any harm in their familiarities with her (1.2.1ff); combined with his obsession over the success of his puppet play, it will also make him later abandon her to the pimps in the Fair, mistaken for "good company", "honest gentlemen" (4.5.3, 8).

This unwitting assumption of the role of a pimp will ultimately converge with Littlewit's abdication of responsibility when, already in the puppet booth, he declares: "I would not have any notice taken that I am the author till we see how it passes" (5.3.18–194). And the faults of this puppet playwright will be fully confirmed in his play and in the diminutive theatre where it comes to be performed. The puppet theatre is a booth where pretensions to learning expose themselves in a promiscuous mingling of historical and cultural references, and in the puppet master's utter inability to discriminate between different sources and times. The biblical and the contemporary, the remote and the familiar, moral exempla and instances of misrule all are muddled up in Leatherhead's personal and theatrical memory, and all prostituted for an easy, though petty, profit:

> Oh, the motions, that I Lantern Leatherhead have given light to i' my time (…)! Jerusalem was a stately thing; and so was Nineveh, and The City of Norwich, and Sodom and Gomorrah, with the rising o' the prentices and pulling down the bawdy-houses there upon Shrove Tuesday. But The Gunpowder Plot: there was a get-penny!
>
> (5.1.5–10)

It is true that Jonson's dramatic practice seldom matches, point by point, his critical pronouncements; and that *Bartholomew Fair*, its plot culminating in a public naming and shaming of all those who claim authority, has been described as the apex in the mollification of Jonson as dramatic satirist (Bevington, 2000: 88). Further, Jonson was educated in "the pervasive

rhetorical culture of the sixteenth century in which minds were trained to argue *in utramque partem*, on both sides of any question" (Creaser, 1994: 115). Leatherhead's description of his theatrical experience, which could hardly offer a clearer denial of all literary decorum, is fashioned, rhetorically and dramatically, to obtain a sympathetic response from the play's envisaged audiences; but this does not cancel the judgment that derives from the puppet booth's neighbourhood of thieves, pimps and prostitutes. The diminutive nature of this theatre is another implicit judgment passed on the moral, aesthetic and cultural quality of everything about it – the playwright-within-the-play, the play itself, and ultimately the audience whose tastes and expectations it caters for, an audience that embodies the world as the Fair allegorically (re)presents it. Amid these, Jonson finds a choice satirical target in that cultural self-confidence for which he makes Leatherhead a spokesperson, his assuredness equated (in both text and plot) with overweening ignorance.

A revealing passage comes immediately after the one quoted above, when Leatherhead claims: "Your home-born projects prove ever the best, they are so easy and familiar. They put too much learning i' their things nowadays, and that, I fear, will be the spoil o'this" (5.1.11–13). It is as if, by putting this defence of native cultural production in the voice of Leatherhead, Jonson were questioning that whole momentous project of promoting the dignity of vernacular literary culture which pervades a great deal of Early Modern English writing. The issue is complex, since Jonson himself was to prove his personal commitment precisely to the ambition to redeem vernacular dramatic literature from a menial position by steadfastly preparing his 1616 Folio, his *Works*, and seeing it through the press – an authorial assertion at the time seen by many as weirdly pretentious (Dutton, 1983; Lowenstein, 2002). Leatherhead's rejection of "too much learning" is equally damning, but Littlewit's play will be ultimately denounced not so much for an aversion to learning, but rather for an incompetent handling of the literary riches that it inherits and processes – a case of corrupt, incompetent *imitatio*; or, indeed, of translation negativised as cultural debasement.

The puppet play's title, with its incongruities and weird conflations, promptly reveals Jonson's burlesque strategy: "The Ancient Modern History of *Hero and Leander*, otherwise called *The Touchstone of true Love*, with as true a trial of friendship between Damon and Pythias, two faithful friends o' the Bankside" (5.3.5–8). After reading it out, Bartholomew Cokes, a character whose shortcomings will make him the ideal spectator in the puppet booth, asks the crucial question: "But do you play it according to the printed book? I have read that" (5.3.81). The "printed book" would in this case be Christopher Marlowe's narrative poem *Hero and Leander* (1598), which, together with George Chapman's additions

to it (1598–1613), had proved a key exemplar of the Elizabethan taste for Ovidian-style brief epics of erotic and mythological content – here probably conflated with Richard Edwards's *The Excellent Comedie of two of the most faithfullest Freendes, Damon and Pithias*.[8] While it is uncertain whether Jonson would find such works congenial, his satirical target is rather, in this case, a disrespect for them which might reflect a broader and more blatant affront to the integrity of the written word, of the inviolable source. Leatherhead's answer to Cokes's query is unequivocal – also in its direct quotation of passages from the opening lines of Marlowe's poem:

> By no means, sir. (…) A better way, sir – that is too learned and poetical for our audience: what do they know what Hellespont is, 'guilty of true love's blood'? Or what Abydos is, or 'the other, Sestos hight? (…) No, I have entreated Master Littlewit to take a little pains to reduce it to a more familiar strain for our people.
>
> (5.3.82, 84–86, 88–89)

Their approach will be made even clearer by Littlewit himself:

> I have only made it a little easy and modern for the times, sir, that's all: as, for the Hellespont I imagine our Thames here; and then Leander, I make a dyer's son about Puddle Wharf and Hero a wench o' the Bankside, who, going over one morning to Old Fish Street, Leander spies her land at Trig Stairs, and falls in love with her. Now do I introduce Cupid, having metamorphosed himself into a drawer, and he strikes Hero in love with a pint of sherry – and other pretty passages there are o' the friendship that will delight you, sir, and please you of judgement.
>
> (5.3.92–99)

What is here satirically exposed is, in the broadest but also most revealing of terms, a mistrust of rewriting. As André Lefevere once put it, "rewriting manipulates, and it is effective", and works have often been "rewritten to bring [them] in line with the 'new' dominant poetics" (Lefevere, 1992a: 9, 19) – in this case, the doubtful poetics of the Fair, or rather a pattern of taste for which Jonson's scorn, in the context of all the characteristic pronouncements that delineate his views on literary cultures, is only to be expected.

Lefevere also pointedly reminds us that "translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting" (Lefevere, 1992a: 9) – and so it should come as no surprise that the issues raised by Littlewit's description of his refashioning of Marlowe's poem should easily lend themselves to consideration in the light of some of the most persistent *topoi* in Translation Studies. One such *topos*, which since the 1990s has gained a renewed

relevance, after having been available since at least the early nineteenth century, concerns the opposition between foreignizing and nativizing strategies of translation.

The argument, for which the German philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher provided one of the earliest and most memorable formulations in his 1813 essay "On the Different Methods of Translating",[9] has enjoyed such currency that invoking it may sound commonplace, if not trite; I will argue, nonetheless, that the dichotomy retains its heuristic value in shedding light on a range of textual and imaginative transits, such as the one that eventuates in the puppet play in *Bartholomew Fair*. As famously noted by Schleiermacher, only two possibilities are available for the "genuine translator" to further his/her concern with bringing author and reader together: "Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader toward him. Or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward him".[10] Schleiermacher further argues that the two methods are mutually exclusive, requiring the translator to opt for one or the other, and that they are an all-embracing alternative, to the extent that other, ostensibly different methods are mere variants of those two basic strategies. On the first, or "foreignizing" method, and insofar as it involves keeping the tone of the text "strange" or "foreign" (*fremd, ausländisch*), Schleiermacher notes how "humiliating" it can be for writers to give up the best forms of their mother tongue for a discourse patterned after the foreign language – the very literalness of the rendering inviting charges of clumsiness (Schleiermacher, 1973/1813: 54–55). He adds that "this method of translating cannot thrive equally well in all languages, but only in those which are not the captives of too strict a bond of classical expression outside of which all is reprehensible".[11] And, as another *sine qua non* for this method, Schleiermacher postulates the need for a nation to appreciate the opportunity to access and understand foreign works (Schleiermacher, 1973/1813: 58). As for the opposite, nativising method, it is described as expecting no effort on the part of readers, since the foreign work is brought over to them "as it would have been if the author himself had originally written it in the reader's language".[12] Nativising is credited with allowing for an adequate cultivation of the beauties of the translator's mother tongue, and it is found to work ideally when the level of sophistication of the source and target languages is similar. But Schleiermacher's misgivings about this reader-friendly strategy become clear when he considers the reply an imaginary reader might give on being offered a text translated in such a way that it could have been originally produced in the target language: "I am so much obliged to you, just as I would have been if you had brought me a picture of the author just as he would have looked if his mother had conceived him by another father".[13] Nativising is thus equated with bastardy, and Schleiermacher's negativising of the method is further

evident in considerations on how one can thus "disfigure" or "deface" the original work (Schleiermacher, 1973/1813: 67).

The inspiring reach of Schleiermacher's argument became evident when, in the 1990s, Lawrence Venuti used it as a starting point and foundation for *The Translator's Invisibility*, an aggiornamento and re-elaboration of the foreignising vs nativising opposition in light of postmodern discourses on language and/as power. Venuti underlines how "the ethnocentric violence of translation" becomes most obvious in "a domesticating method, an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values", explicitly arguing for the need to counter the hegemonic, centripetal drive of "Anglo-American culture (…) [which] has long been dominated by domesticating theories"; and he sponsors the notion that, out of a respect for "the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text", for its otherness, "foreignizing translation (…) is highly desirable today" (Venuti ,1995: 19–20).

Around the same years, Wolfgang Iser's 1994 lecture "On Translatability: Variables of Interpretation" articulated a similar concern with the respect for otherness, and with the role to be played in furthering that respect by the culturally predicated "notion of translatability", as also by "translation" in a sense broader than the inter-lingual one. For Iser, the plurality of intercultural contacts, perceived as characteristic of "a rapidly shrinking world", requires constant alterations in one's frame of reference; "the various modes in which otherness manifests itself are already modes of translation"; and the many changes of viewpoint entailed by cultural encounters "run counter to the idea of one culture being superior to another (…) hence translatability emerges as a counter-concept to cultural hegemony", "to the otherwise prevailing idea of cultural hierarchy" (Iser, 1995: 30, 32).

The insights and valuations, both ethical and intellectual, that underprop the alertness to cultural plurality here so vocally associated with translation are bound to be construed by most of Iser's readers as proper to the moment in the history of thought within which we recognise ourselves: a supposedly more enlightened later age ready for setting off such segments of our cultural past as were ostensibly less willing to celebrate diversity – segments of the past such as the one addressed in this chapter. The ease with which we may assume that historically aware readings cannot but gratify us by setting us up against a starkly contrasting past has also been challenged, however, by arguments that involve (precisely) cultural plurality. For Karlheinze Stierle, cited in the opening essay of a volume on *The Translatability of Cultures*, "the experience of the copresence of cultures is perhaps the most important aspect of what we call Renaissance. It is the fundamental plurality (…) of a new dimension of dialogue" (quoted in Budick, 1996: 12) – a remark that jolts us into an awareness of greater complexities, by balancing a sense of homology against a perception of historical difference.

And this is indeed the point at which the question may legitimately arise: how can these characteristic late twentieth-century and millennial concerns, some of which inspired by early nineteenth-century German philosophy of language, be found to bear on a play-within-the play, written for a puppet theatre, embedded in an Early Modern English comedy? I have argued above for Jonson's satirical representation of what happens when a text is transposed from a learned cultural register with Classical antecedents into the language of popular culture to be recognised and discussed as an instance of translation. To the extent that such a translation is coincidental with the production of a burlesque – i.e., a degraded and risible version of the original text – translation will mean, in this case, debasement, disfigurement, and bastardisation (to use a few of the tropes I have already invoked or cited). The remarks above on an opposition famous in Translation Studies, when juxtaposed with a few passages from *Bartholomew Fair* descriptive of the puppet play in its appropriation of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, will also have strongly insinuated that what Jonson satirises in his comedy can be construed as analogous to a domesticating, assimilative and homogenising strategy.

Jonson's satirical targeting of a vernacular rendering – across languages, time and space – of a great narrative from Antiquity reflects his wish to see the source literature and culture respected. However, seductive analogies between Littlewit's efforts and one of the major alternatives propounded by translation scholars over the past two centuries should not obscure the glaring difference, the huge historical and cultural gap between the assumptions on which Jonson bases his attack and the present-day critique of a "domesticating" translation method. The latter is carried out in the name of a denial of the superiority of any one culture over another, whereas Jonson would hardly entertain doubts, conceptually, as to the superiority or inferiority of some cultures (and/or cultural levels) vis-à-vis others – nor was he likely to be in two minds as to which, specifically, could be deemed superior and which inferior. True, we cannot take for granted that Jonson's stance would be at all times coherent throughout the different genres he cultivated. Nonetheless, a fairly sustained view can be inferred from the close affinities between (on the one hand) the satirical or lamenting treatment that several of Jonson's plays, poems and epigrams give to a perceived popularisation of taste and of the authority to pass judgment on poetry, and (on the other) his endorsement, in passages of *Discoveries*, of a cultural deteriorationism supposedly borne out by the vulgarity of the crowds and the ignorance of pretenders to learning – with "puppets", as debased replicas of "players", helping moralise the issue:

> The time was, when men would learn and study good things, not envy those that had them. Then men were had in price for learning; now, letters only make men vile. (…)

> He shall not have a reader now unless he jeer and lie. It is the food of men's natures, the diet of the times! (…)
>
> Nothing in our age (…) is more preposterous than the running judgements upon poetry and poets (…)
>
> The puppets are seen now in despite of the players
>
> (*Discoveries*, 200–202, 205–206, 424–425, 442)

And how does this bear on the assimilative argument, with its limits and complexities? The present-day critique of the nativising method in translation (as articulated by Venuti in his landmark 1995 study, now a mainstream notion in Translation Studies) sets out the "ethnocentric violence" of nativisation, and denounces, from within an imperialistic language (English), the hegemonic designs it supposedly has on the texts from peripheral languages that it "domesticates". In Jonson's case, on the other hand, the perceived violence of a misappropriation is attributed by the satirist to low-culture English arrivistes, aspirers to a power and learning that the play represents as petty and laughable – but who nonetheless debase a cultural legacy (the Classics or their learned reception) the cultural power of which Jonson would like to see unchallenged and expanded.

As construed and dramatised by Jonson, the debasement involved in translating *Hero and Leander* to the Fair is apparent in Leatherhead's and Littlewit's descriptions of the puppet play even before the show begins as a case of "reduc[ing] it [the poem] to a more familiar strain for our people", "[making] it a little easy and modern for the times" (5.3.89, 92); and this is confirmed in performance by the effectiveness of a burlesque in which the subtle rhetoric of sensual titillation proper to Marlowe's poem is translated into low-life situations and language. Cokes, a mockery of the ideal spectator, promptly salutes the effectiveness of the translation strategy by declaring, in the midst of an exchange of insults involving some of the puppet characters: "He says he is no pander. 'Tis a fine language; I understand it now" (5.4.131). That no character or reference can escape degradation is made clear when Hero is translated from priestess to prostitute – "Mistress Hero's a whore" (5.4.262) – and a Cupid turned publican takes on a momentary oracular function and declares, amidst generalised insults and aggressions: "*Whoremasters all*" (5.4.275).

This general indictment could, of course, be the ultimate utterance of the satirist who, despairing of the possibility of reforming mankind, abandons the curative purpose and turns misanthrope – a change that satirists have often been suspected of undergoing, Jonson being no exception. This is, after all, the same playwright who, when dedicating Volpone "To the most Noble and most Equal Sisters, The two Famous Universities" (Oxford and Cambridge), as sites of authority, had defended his brand of punitive, satirical comedy by literally assimilating its verbal and theatrical exposure of folly to a vitriolic attack: "she [poetry] shall out of just rage incite her

servants (who are *genus irritabile*) to spout ink in their faces, that shall eat farther than their marrow, into their fames" (105–107).[14] The trope of corrosive defacement was inflected to corrosive healing in a passage of *Discoveries* that insisted on the vitriolic simile: "If men may by no means write freely or speak truth but when it offends not, why doe physicians cure with sharp medicines or corrosives? Is not the same equally lawful in the cure of the minds that is in the cure of the body?" (*Discoveries*, 1642–1644).

Cure and improvement appear to be absent from the range of effects claimed by *Bartholomew Fair* – and a perception of this shift is relayed by a translation. In the context of the final scenes of the play, their broader significance highlighted by the puppet theatre's debased version of a great Classical tale, Cupid-the-publican's sweeping judgment on the world (the Fair) around him – "*whoremasters all*" – is indeed a global denial of authority. Rather than signalling despair and misanthropy, however, the dictum heralds a shoulder-shrugging acknowledgment of an inescapable and flawed humanity on the part of the austere Classicist submerged by the Fair. As noted above, this comedy is now broadly recognised as the textual location (amid his major works) where Jonson surrenders his satiric acerbity, and hence a play that "in some way marked the start of a new phase in his career" (Donaldson, 2011: 334). It is tempting to find the satirist dramatising his own capitulation in a *finale* that centres on the discomfiture of Judge Overdo. In his inflexibility, his willingness to pass judgment on others, and his proneness to invoke grand Classical precedents, Overdo could be the clearest alter ego for his creator, Jonson himself – sometimes described as a larger-than-life anticipation of the modern scholar, indeed "the mirror in which modem academics can see themselves mirrored at twice their size" (McLuskie, 1998: 136). Memorably, in the denouement Overdo has to let go of his previous stance and engage in forgiveness, drunken forgetfulness and conviviality:

> remember you are but Adam, flesh and blood! – you have your frailty. Forget your other name of Overdo, and invite us all to supper. There you and I will compare our 'discoveries', and drown the memory of all enormity in your bigg'st bowl at home.
>
> (5.6:80–83)

From this final injunction, "discoveries" is a word that is bound to stand out – for any among Jonson's audience or readership who happen to know that this was to be the title of Jonson's great commonplace book, his compilation of what for him was the best that the best authorities (from Classics to Moderns) had thought, interspersed with his own musings. At the point in Jonson's *oeuvre* that *Bartholomew Fair* landmarks, that was a prospective title – and yet surely a long-contemplated label for textualised

knowledge, here qualified and put into perspective by a comic anagnorisis (indeed a moment of discovery or recognition) that involves relinquishing any intellectual or cognitive pretensions and diluting one's individual salience in a shared humanity.

The dramatic process that allows for this disauthorisation crucially hinges on translation – the epitome of textual relay, of authorial vicariousness. The transit that brings *Hero and Leander* from the Hellespont to the Thames, and from Antiquity to the day and age of the playwright and his audience, acquires a revelatory role as regards the stance of an author that has been all the more prized in our era for being less than "consistent" in his management of the comic genre and the mode of satire, and this "for reasons that are deeply inflected in the insecurity of his own position as an author" (Dutton, 2000: 59). Defined by instability and in-betweenness, translation, by shaking up the play's decorum through an embedded playlet, brings out Jonson's creative contradictions "as an author whose texts are animated by the very indecorous energies they disavow" (Sanders *et al.*, 1998: 9). As a key element in the conditions that have sustained the critical revaluation of the play and its author from the late twentieth century, translation is here found, as in so many of its manifestations across a broad disciplinary range, to contribute decisively to the shifting delineation of the canon, in its central locations as in its textual elsewheres.

Notes

1 This chapter revisits, updates and extends a study that, in a shorter and more incipient version, was originally published in the Spanish academic annual *SEDERI* (Homem, 1996).
2 All quotations from *Discoveries* refer to the Cambridge edition (Bevington *et al.*, 2012, vol. 7), cited by line numbers.
3 Gerald Eades Bentley's groundbreaking study *Shakespeare and Jonson: Their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared* provided, by the middle of the twentieth century, the conditions for a current awareness of the complexities of the topic – including the realisation that Jonson was more widely recognised than Shakespeare among their contemporaries and in the three generations following their deaths, contrasting with later segments of their posterity (Bentley, 1945).
4 As famously glossed by Roman Jakobson, "intralingual translation or rewording is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language" (Jakobson, 2012/1959: 127).
5 The key reference is Bakhtin's notion of "grotesque realism" as expounded in his study of Rabelais, festivity and popular culture (Bakhtin, 1968). As part of a growing interest in the study of festive traditions, and for readings of Jonson in that light, see Bristol, 1985; Hayes, 1985; Hutton, 1994; Laroque, 1991; Marcus, 1986; and the final chapter in Haynes, 1992: 119–138. For an argument that *Bartholomew Fair* is a central text for understanding the creative tension in Jonson between high-minded poetic rigour and boisterous theatrical entertainment, see Sanders *et al.*, 1998: 9–14; and, for the constraints imposed

on this by the market forces that framed theatrical activity, see McLuskie, 1998: 136–138 and 143–149.

6 For David Bevington, "Jonson's last great comedy is also his most accepting and generous", since "the satire is tempered by humanity" (Bevington, 2000: 88). An argument for reading late Jonson as closer to Shakespeare was decisively consolidated by Anne Barton's 1984 *Ben Jonson, Dramatist*. More recently, James Mardock has acknowledged *Bartholomew Fair* as "essentially an attempt at Shakespearean romance in theme and structure, despite the artful realism of its London setting" and Jonson's mocking allusions in the "Induction" to *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*; but Mardock reads the relationship as a clear case of parody, rather than convergence or tribute (Mardock, 2008: 96).

7 All quotations from *Bartholomew Fair* refer to the Cambridge edition (Bevington *et al.*, 2012, vol. 4), cited by act, scene (or, as in this first occurrence, section) and line numbers.

8 See the notes on the relevant passages in Bevington *et al.*, 2012; and also in Orgel, 1971: 219–220.

9 "Über die Verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens". Passages in English quoted below from the translation provided by Lefevere, 1992a: 141–166.

10 "Entweder der Uebersezer läßt den Schriftsteller möglichst in Ruhe, und bewegt den Leser ihm entgegen; oder er läßt den Leser möglichst in Ruhe und bewegt den Schriftsteller ihm entgegen" (Schleiermacher, 1973/1813: 47; Lefevere, 1992b: 149;).

11 "diese Methode des Uebersezens nicht in allen Sprachen gleich gut gedeihen kann, sondern nur in solchen die nicht in zu engen Banden eines klassischen Ausdrukks gefangen liegen, außerhalb dessen alles verwerflich ist" (Schleiermacher, 1973/1813: 56; Lefevere, 1992b: 157).

12 "wie es sein würde, wenn der Verfasser selbst es ursprünglich in des Lesers Sprache geschrieben hätte' (Schleiermacher, 1973/1813: 58–59; Lefevere, 1992b: 159).

13 "Ich bin dir eben so verbunden, als ob du mir des Mannes Bild gebracht hättest, wie er aussehen würde, wenn seine Mutter ihn mit einem andern Vater erzeugt hätte" (Schleiermacher, 1973/1813: 65; Lefevere, 1992b: 160).

14 This quotation from the dedication of *Volpone* refers to the Cambridge edition (Bevington *et al.*, 2012, vol. 3), cited by line numbers.

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9 "A Fantasticall Rapsody of Dialogisme"

John Eliot and the Translational Grotesque

Joseph Hankinson

Inkhorn Style and the Limits of Language

John Eliot's *Ortho-Epia Gallica* (1968/1593) promises to divulge to its reader "the maner how to learne and teach strange languages" (Eliot, 1968: Dr). Containing no instruction in syntax or grammar, the manual teaches by means of dialogue, demonstrating the "true pronounciation of euery word", and imparting to the reader the "swift roling of the speech" (Eliot, 1968: Bv). It presents French and English in parallel columns on the printed page, at times with the intermediary of an "enterlaced" phonetic rendering of the French text, and nearly always with extensive "demonstration in the margin" of the finer points of pronunciation (Eliot, 1968: Bv, B2v). Furthermore, in order to keep the learner's mind pleasantly alert and stimulated, Eliot (1968: Bv, B3r) claims to have written "the whole booke in a merrie phantasticall vaine", "diuersified" with a "varietie of stories" and "pleasant cõceits" many of which are translated from "that merrie Grig" Rabelais.

As Anne Lake Prescott (1998: 45) notes, Eliot's "world inscribes cuckolds, crooks, and con artists with more humor than consternation, offering a bustle of shops, churches, schools, bookstalls, the exchange, partying, gambling, and cheating; of travelers, traders, talkers, topers, tennis". A multitude of languages and commodities, Prescott (1998: 45) continues, "from all over the globe pour into this marketplace of words and matter". This "microcosme" (Eliot, 1968: c4v) embraces a range of locations and professions. The text's many voices argue, gamble, and drink together and are presented in a variety of strange encounters with a curious collection of characters, including a Falconer, a Barber, a Bookseller, a Mercer, a Painter, an Armorer, even a Thief, among many others.

The manual's combination of extensive translation and a delight in diversity is representative of a period (1570–1620) characterised, as Warren Boutcher (2000: 53) states, by "copiously varied and multiply applied translation". Indeed, before the "general methode of learning"

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is revealed, the reader is confronted with Eliot's own "copiously varied" language use (Eliot, 1968: B2r). In the first English preface, an epistle "To the learned professors of the French tongue", Eliot (1968: A3r–A3v) claims to "haue dezinkhornifistibulated a fanstasticall Rapsody of dialogisme" for the edification and amusement of his readers, to "shew an easie entrance and introduction" to the French tongue. A borrowing from the Middle French "rhapsodie", "Rapsody" here connotes, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a "literary work consisting of miscellaneous or disconnected pieces". Eliot's (1968: B3r) description of his use of French sources emphasises the centrality of disconnection and miscellany to his project, as he pulls "here a wing from one, there an arme from another, from this a leg, from that a buttock". This hodge-podge of a "satiric language guide" (Mazzio, 2009: 156), both dialogical and fantastical – the result of an almost alchemical process of "dezinkhornifistibulation" – is quick to foreground the kind of "dragging together of incongruous verbal elements", and the "driving of language from the mental to the physical", which, as Neil Rhodes (1980: 25, 105) argues, characterises the Elizabethan grotesque.

Liam Semler's (2019: 2, 12) "philological map" of Early Modern references to the "grotesque" identifies the decades between 1510 and 1540 as the "critical period" for the "arrival of the grotesque style in England". Subsequently, "and generally from the 1550s onwards", English writing attests to a "tide of fantastical invention", influenced in part by the arrival of grotesque visual and theatrical aesthetics from continental Europe (Semler, 2019: 13). Eliot's *Ortho-Epia Gallica* evidences the "stylistic transformation" brought about by this influx of material (Semler, 2019: 15). The image of anatomising the body of French texts, and reconstructing a composite out of the several limbs, itself echoes early seventeenth-century descriptions of grotesque (and the related "anticke") art. For example, Henry Peacham's *The Art of Drawing with the Pen* (1606) stresses the importance of the combination of disparate animal parts to "Antique" work, which is characterised by "vnnaturall or vnorderly composition for delight sake, of men, beasts, birds, fishes, flowers, &c without (as wee say) Rime or reason" (1606: 35). Similarly, John Florio's (1603: 90) translation of Montaigne's *Of Friendship* describes "Crotesko works", as "monstrous bodies, patched and hudled-vp together of divers members, without any certaine or well ordered figure". In addition to the clear parallel in his description of his compositional process, Eliot also seems to have been familiar with Florio's work. *Ortho-Epia Gallica*'s subtitle, *Frvits for the French*, is borrowed from Florio's Italian language manuals, the first and second "Fruits", which had been printed in 1578 and 1591, respectively.

Indeed, Eliot's text anticipates the "broadening of the scope of meanings for 'grotesque' in the later seventeenth century" identified by Semler

(2019: 23). Bernard Lamy's *The Art of Speaking* (1676), printed over 80 years after *Ortho-Epia Gallica*, describes the grotesque "Stile" as like a "Picture, patch'd up of Shells of a thousand several colours, and other whimsies, that have not the least natural relation to the Figure represented" (1676: 61). Eliot's text is "patch'd up" with scraps of other writers' words, dismembered, translated, and repositioned in strange contexts. He gladly, as Huntington Brown (1967: 44), notes, "manipulates Rabelais's text and translates the result with freedom". *Ortho-Epia Gallica* is as linguistically hybrid as its content is heterogeneous. Its grotesque assemblage of text, its radically multilingual structure, and its tendency to amplify as it translates, all characterise the developing grotesque aesthetic of the period.

Eliot's indulgent incorporation of foreign words – and inkhorn terms – into his English is particularly relevant to this aesthetic. It serves to draw attention to the ways in which translation and incorporation can alter the appearance of the English text. Indeed, from the oration of Master Janotus de Bragmardo in Rabelais's *Gargantua* (1534) to the learned speech of Amado and Holofernes in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598), representations of inkhorn style attest to anxieties regarding what precisely constitutes the definitional limit of vernacular speech. Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* (Vickers, 1999: 120), for example, first printed in 1553, warns against the use of "strange inkhorn terms", "outlandish English", and "over-seas language", advocating instead speaking "as is commonly received". The narrator of Thomas Nashe's *The Vnfortunate Traueller* (1594) goes further, associating the use of such "over-seas language" with grotesque bodily features. Vanderhulke, the "inkhorne orator", has a "sulpherous big swolne large face", a "mouth that opened as wide euery time he spake, as one of those old knit trap doors", and "a beard as though it had ben made of a birds neast pluckt in peeces" (McKerrow, 1958, vol. 2: 247). His speech, a tangle of malapropisms ("orificial rethorike, wipe thy euerlasting mouth"), Latin quotations, and incorporated words across diverse registers ("a diminitiue oblation meritorious to your high pusillanimity" and "why should I goe gadding and fisgigging after firking flantado amfibologies"), parodies to excess the paradoxically "outlandish" English Wilson warns against (McKerrow, 1958, vol. 2: 248).

However, inkhorn style – produced, Nashe complains (McKerrow, 1958, vol. 3: 312), by authors that "feed on nought but the crums that fall frõ the Translators trencher" – was, despite the hostility of many writers, changing the shape and variety of English as a language. It is often remarked that the period between 1530 and 1660 "exhibits", in Manfred Görlach's words (1991: 136), "the fastest growth of the vocabulary in the history of the English language, in absolute figures as well as in proportion to the total". Historians of the language tend to note how, as Paula Blank argues (2006: 212), "an influx of foreign words and a habit of creating new

English words out of foreign elements made the early modern vernacular lexicon a 'hotch-pot' of native and alien forms".

Translation and incorporation, as Nashe suggests, are implicated in this "growth of vocabulary", generating a seemingly infinite expansion of the English lexicon. This proliferative and copious enlargement itself echoes Bakhtin's (1984: 24, 303) notion of the "grotesque body", particularly its "principle of growth", and the "exaggeration, hyperbolism, [and] excessiveness" that are "fundamental attributes of the grotesque style". According to Bakhtin (1984: 320), modern conceptualisations of physicality present an "entirely finished, completed, strictly limited body, which is shown from the outside as something individual". To maintain this "strictly limited body", that "which protrudes, bulges, sprouts, or branches off […] is eliminated, hidden, or moderated" (Bakhtin, 1984: 320). Recalling Rhodes's (1980: 105) characterisation of the Elizabethan grotesque as a "driving of language from the mental to the physical", it becomes clear that grotesque textuality also destabilises any attempt to present a text, and individual languages themselves, as "finished, completed" and "strictly limited". Indeed, grotesque writing frequently emphasises that "which protrudes, bulges, sprouts, or branches off" (Bakhtin, 1984: 320), particularly in the context of translation and incorporation, which often foregrounds copiousness and paratextual protrusions, together with branching networks of intertextuality.

The connection between translation and a developing grotesque aesthetic is rarely commented upon. This is in part due to the fact that Early Modern theories of translation tend, as is often stated, to utilise a specific range of metaphors for translational practice. As Rhodes (2013: 44) argues, the

> financial metaphor, which is encountered most frequently in the ideas of verbal coinage and of language as a treasury or thesaurus, is one of a range of images for translation. In addition to economics, these tend to work in the figurative fields either of the body (clothing, digestion) or of international relations (immigration, conquest).

Yet, the linking together of inkhorn incorporation of foreign words into English with grotesque imagery suggests another way of thinking about literary heteroglossia, language contact, and the cultures of Early Modern translation in England. Consequently, this chapter explores the various points of intersection between Early Modern practices and conceptualisations of translation and the grotesque. Taking John Eliot's *Ortho-Epia Gallica* as a case study, it not only hopes to demonstrate the importance of translation to Early Modern grotesque aesthetics but also to suggest ways in which contemporary translation theory could benefit from examining the entangled histories of translation and the grotesque. Eliot's

dramatisation of language contact and linguistic interaction, paratextual excess and intertextual translation, exemplifies both grotesque practices of translation, and the translational nature of the grotesque. It disrupts any conceptualisation of languages as "homogenous or closed systems" and accentuates those moments in which French and English overlap (Lambert, 2018: 131). Ultimately, it constitutes a statement on the nature and interaction of languages that, in light of recent contributions to the study of translation, seem of vital relevance.

Grotesque Translation, Translational Grotesque

The use of grotesque imagery is a commonplace in recent criticism of Early Modern cultures of translation, even if the link between the two is rarely mentioned explicitly. Ann Lake Prescott (2015: 175–176), for example, has noted the "lexical carnival", the "gushes of printed logorrhoea", in Sir Thomas Urquhart's translations of Rabelais, first printed in 1653. For Prescott (2015: 183, 187), Urquhart's text is characterised by a "taste for an inflationary linguistics", an "urge to expand and invent", and an "ear-bending mix of polysyllabic imports and native English". Responding to Terrence Cave's (1979: 187) claim that Rabelais's language is characterised by a "movement towards emptiness or absence", Prescott (2015: 188) posits that Urquhart's tendency to favour an "inflationary linguistics" entails "seeing words not just as something with which to inflate an empty codpiece but potentially as the means to fill up an infinite one".

Similarly, Christopher Johnson (2003: 16), with reference to John Florio's 1603 translation of Montaigne, links this sort of "inflationary linguistics" to the aesthetic that would come to characterise the Baroque. He suggests that Florio's translational "deformations" create

> exactly that fortuitous excess, that rhetorical and conceptual *copia*, that dangerous *supplement*, which the age could greedily mine. The ornamental, almost asiatic, foldings of Florio's language convey that surging surfeit of wit and invention evidenced in the best painting and music of the Baroque, as well as its literature. Yet these folds also contain the exaggerated artificiality that would eventually confer on the Baroque the more negative connotations of grotesque excess and whimsicality.

Grotesque images of infinite expansion are also present in criticism of less explicitly translational texts. For example, notions of "excess" and "*copia*" are central to Kathryn Murphy's (2014: 295) analysis of Robert Burton's incorporative "polymathic style". Oscillating "between the anxiety and the pleasures of learned variety", Burton, throughout the various

editions of his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, grapples with the "*auction ad absurdum* of infinite expansion" (Murphy, 2014: 281, 291).

If these examples serve to demonstrate the ways in which Early Modern practices of translation and incorporation often cohabit critical discourse with grotesque images, then Eliot's *Ortho-Epia Gallica* evidences the way in which Early Modern texts themselves can combine these processes. Indeed, intertwining grotesque aesthetics with several kinds of translation, Eliot's text could profitably be understood in terms of what Waïl S. Hassan (2006: 754) terms "translational literature" – or literature that "straddle[s]" multiple "languages, at once foregrounding, performing, and problematizing the act of translation". There is, throughout the text, an extensive presentation of translation in its usual interlingual sense of the discovery of semantic equivalences between French and English. There is also the translation involved in cutting and pasting (in new contexts) a variety of material from French authors. Famously, the word "dezinkhornifistibulated" itself translates – and inflates, to recall Prescott's word – Rabelais's (1955: 581) coinage (in chapter fifteen of *Le Quart Livre*) "desincornifistibulé", constituting, in Emily Butterworth and Hugh Roberts's (2016: 9) words, "an ink-horn term for ink-hornizing". In addition to these, the book's use of phonetic spelling constitutes another form of translation, attesting, as Carla Mazzio (2009: 157) has argued, to "the genuine difficulty of transferring foreign words on the page to the domain of oral utterance". And, furthermore, there is an "extended joke" about untranslatability, about "words that may resist communal coherence and communal intelligibility at the crossroads of oral and textual cultures as well as the crossroads of languages" (Mazzio, 2009: 167).

These multiple "crossroads of languages" criss-cross Eliot's pages: those between French and English being only the most common. Quotations in Latin and Italian, scraps of "Castilian" and "Portugois", are frequently intermingled with English and French (Eliot, 1968: dv), while the second dialogue, entitled "Les Langues. The Tongues" and treating of "the dignitie of Orators, and the excellencie of tongues", passes opinion on a vast range of languages, with those indigenous to Mexico praised as the most graceful (Eliot, 1968: E4v, H3r). However, amid this maelstrom of multilingualism, each of the prefaces appears uncharacteristically monolingual. One of these, a dedicatory epistle to "Roberto Dudleio", is composed in Italian (Eliot, 1968: A2r). The other two, written almost entirely in English, both advertise the volume's utility as a language-learning resource and reveal the extent to which Eliot laboured over its compilation. "I assure you", he writes (1968: B2v), "I had some paine to make our English hybber-gybber iump iust with the Iargon of France".

If, as Meaghan J. Brown (2019: 86) argues, addresses to the reader during the Early Modern period "attempted to guide responses to a text",

then Eliot's English prefaces could profitably be considered initiations into the text's logic of linguistic inflation. In the first of these, Eliot (1968: A3v) compares himself to Diogenes and recounts a story involving the philosopher's barrel – included in the prologue of Rabelais's *Le Tiers Livre*, and based on a story from Lucian – to serve as a metaphor for his own position "among so many famous teachers and professors of noble languages, who are very busie dayly in deuising and setting forth new books". The ensuing litany of Diogenes' actions serves to foreground what Brown (1967: 44), utilising a particularly grotesque image, terms the "monstrous eruptiveness" of Eliot's language use:

> In great vehemencie of spirit he tucketh vp this sleeues, girdeth close his gowne, chargeth on his shoulders his tunne, the imperiall pallace, and runneth vp to the toppe of a high mountaine nere the citie, where in all diligence hee begins to belabour his roling citie, to set it going, to turne it, ouerturne it, spurne it, bind it, wind it, twind it, throw it, ouerthrow it, tumble it, rũble it, iumble it, did ring it, swing it, fling it, ding it, made it leape, skip, hip, trip, thumpe, iumpe, shake, crake, quake, washt it, swasht it, dasht it, flasht it, naild it, traild it, tipt it, tapt it, rapt it, temperd it, tamperd it, hammerd it, hoopt it, knockt it, rockt it, rubd it, tugd it, lugd it, stopt it, vnstopt it, tied it fast, then losed it againe, rusht it, crusht it, brusht it, pusht it, charmd it, armd it, farmd it, set it an end, laid it along, harnest it, varnest it, burnish it, furnish it, stickte it full of feathers, caparrossond it, & rold it amaine from the steepe rocke to the low bottome, ouertakes it, takes it on his shoulder, mounts the hill, and turles it downe agayne with violence, staies it, plaies with it, and fetcheth it a mile from him.
>
> (Eliot, 1968: A3v–A4r)

Eliot, here, imbues his prefatory matter with what Cave (1979: 184) terms "the cornucopian movement" of Rabelais's texts – an "open-ended movement" dependent on "lexical productivity". Rabelais's lists, like Eliot's, proceed "by synonymy and by associative devices of a phonological kind (alliteration and assonance)" (Cave, 1979: 184). These sequences, like "charmd it, armd it, farmd it", or "harnest it, varnest it, burnish it, furnish it", pursue lexical similarities often to the point of nonsense. If Matthew Reynolds's (2019: 2–3) recent conceptualisation of "prismatic" translation stresses "translation's proliferative energies", and the way it can open up "the plural signifying potential of the source text", Eliot's prefaces stress the "proliferative energies" inherent to language itself.

Cave (1979: 184), however, continues to argue that, in Rabelais's case, this sort of "lexical productivity" represents a "partially concealed repetition" – an endless production of "flowers and fruits; and flowers and

fruits; and flowers and fruits; *ad infinitum*". Indeed, Eliot's list appears to exemplify the "duplication, redundancy, [and] reiteration" that John R. Clark (1991: 90) associates with grotesque writing. However, for Bakhtin (1984: 308), Rabelais's grotesque hinges upon the combination "in one image [of] both the positive and the negative poles". This "repetition" is therefore implicated, together with movement and variety, in the representation of an irreducibly hybrid dynamic – one that embraces life and death, movement and stillness, infinite variety, and endless repetition. This sort of conceptual and linguistic hybridity characterises much of *Ortho-Epia Gallica*. As Mazzio (2009: 280) suggests, "phrases in Eliot's text such as 'hybber-gybber,' 'prittle-prattle,' and 'ortho-epia' parody a tongue enriched by compounds while foregrounding the inarticulate speech that forms at the intersection of languages". Enrichment and eloquence coexist with clumsiness and inarticulacy; "the positive and the negative poles" of language use coincide on the printed page.

It is, however, clear that Eliot himself deems such expansionary litanies worthy of repetition. Later in the first English preface, he tells his reader

> do not blame me, if because I would not be found a loyterer in min own coũtrie, amõg so many vertuously occupied, I haue put my pen to paper: if I haue bene busie, laboured, sweat, dropt, studied, deuised, sought, bought, borrowed, turnd, translated, mined, fined, refined, enterlined, glosed, composed, and taken intollerable toile to shew an easie entrance and introduction to my deare countrimen, in your curious and courtesan French tongue.
>
> (Eliot, 1968: A4r)

Eliot here describes, mirroring his description of Diogenes' actions, his multifaceted process of translation and compilation – how he "sought, bought, borrowed, turnd, translated, mined, fined, refined, enterlined", and "glosed", a variety of sources to produce the distinctive heteroglossia of *Ortho-Epia Gallica*. Once again, "associative devices of a phonological kind" determine some of the diction ("sought, bought", and "mined, fined, refined, enterlined", for example). But, more than this, the list represents an understanding of translation and composition as physical labour analogous to Diogenes' manipulation of his barrel. Eliot's book is, he would have his reader believe, the product of a complicated process, one in which the materiality of text and its endless organic growth is continually foregrounded.

Physicality is itself an important element of the text's patterns of imagery. Eliot's emphasis on "inflationary linguistics", and the proliferative energy inherent to language itself, is combined throughout *Ortho-Epia Gallica* with grotesque images of mouths and tongues, drinking and eating, abuse

and sickness. The dialogue of "Le Malade", for example, lists a range of diseases and bodily evacuations, from "the squirt" and "the bloodie flux", to "the itch" and "the great or small pockes" (Eliot, 1968: o4r). Physicality is also accentuated in relation to the challenges of pronunciation. In one instance, Eliot (1968: C2r) instructs the reader to make "the tongue to hang in the midst of the mouth", and elsewhere describes "s" sounds in "the middest of a word" as "a monster in the French tongue".

Closely "interwoven" with images of "the grotesque body", as Bakhtin (1984: 279) posits, are images of banquets, eating, and drinking, which emphasise the porous boundaries of the human form. Eliot's chapter "Le Banquet des Yvrongnes", or "drunken mens Banket", features the preparation and consumption of a lavish feast, conveyed by means of a dialogue replete with injunctions to "dismember", "cut up", "eate", and "help your selues" to an enormous variety of food, including "Hens, Partridges, Conies, Cranes, Feasants, Larkes, and Wood-cockes", together with "Hare", "wilde boare", "beefe", "Pigeonpie", "mutton", among others, and complete with a sauce made of "Orenges, Citrons, and Oliues kept in pickle" (Eliot, 1968: c3r). The French text interweaves these inflationary lists with quotations from Rabelais. Eliot's (1968: f3v–f4r) "Mouïllez vous pour seicher, ou seichez vous pour mouïller? Par ma foy, ie n'entends pas la Rhetorique. De la prattique ie m'en aide quelque peu", for example, is adapted from "Les Propos Des Bien Yvres" in *Gargantua*, a chapter whose patch-work juxtaposition of a range of voices may well have inspired Eliot's use of dialogue (Rabelais, 1955: 16–17).

Other images associated with the developing aesthetic of the Early Modern grotesque feature in the text. Silenus boxes, described by Francis Bacon (1605: 16r), in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), as the "Gallypots of Apothecaries, which on the outside had Apes and Owles, and Antiques, but contained with in soueraigne and precious liquors", are frequently linked with the "anticke" and "grotesque" visual arts during the period (Semler, 2019: 1). Erasmus and Rabelais both employ the motif; and consequently Eliot's (1968: l4r) description of apothecary's boxes "bepainted with shapes of Harpies, of hares, of flying horses and flying harts" situates his text within a network of images increasingly representative of a growing grotesque aesthetic.

However, having finished their meal, the "pratlers" opt to "haue cards and dice" brought out for their amusement (Eliot, 1968: gv). The ensuing scene is characterised by its use of railing language, abuses, and profanities – all associated, by Bakhtin (1984: 187), with "unofficial" festive speech – most commonly in the context of cheating and other breaches of fair play (Table 9.1).

The juxtaposition of French, its phonetic rendering, and an English translation on the page is immediately suggestive of lexical variety and

Table 9.1 Eliot, 1968: g2r

Vous estes vn homme prompt à courroux, rioteux, criard, calumniateur, & qui pour peu de casfaites de grandes noyses. Vous reniez, vous iurez: vous par-iurez, Vous estes vn Iaseur, & mentez par la gorge, en disant cela	Voo-zetté-zewn-nom-meh pronta coorrooz, ree-ottewz, creé-art, calewmnee-atewr, é kée poor pew de cá feteh de gran-deh noe'zes Voo renee-ez, voo ᶻiewréz: voo par-ᶻiewrezm Voo-ze-te-zewn ᶻiazewr, é manté par la gorᶻian deezan cela	You are a fret-ter, a wrangler, a brangler, a foulemouthed villain, and for nothing you will take exceptions, and quarrell. You teare, you sweare, you forsweare. Thou art a prating rascall, and liest in thy throat in saying so.

appears coherent with Eliot's pedagogical intentions. If the reader is to learn to speak French in a variety of social settings, then the language manual should provide an exhaustive vocabulary (complete with a guide for pronunciation) suitable for a plenitude of such settings. However, the juxtaposition also serves to demonstrate the radically arbitrary nature of linguistic representation. For example, the text proffers both "voo-zetté-zewn-nom-meh pronta coorrooz", and "you are a fretter", as translations of "vous estes vn homme prompt à courroux". Semantic content slips free of linguistic and writing systems, as alternative modes of representation – all purporting to represent the same semantic content – compete on the printed page. To borrow Reynolds's (2019: 3) image, the text serves the function of a prism, scattering meaning into a spectrum of potential ways of writing. Such scattering even occurs within the phonetic spelling. To a modern reader, "é manté" looks more Iberian than French, while "poor pew" appears in English. Indeed, throughout *Ortho-Epia Gallica*, translation and transcription suggest an understanding of language analogous to Bakhtin's "grotesque body": one that emphasises the radically incomplete, generative, porous, and unbounded nature of language communities.

Pedagogy and Perversion

In attempting to teach French while simultaneously challenging conceptualisations of languages as separate entities, Eliot endangers the efficacy of his method. This is compounded by the nature of the very language he teaches. Many of the dialogues feature extensive use of abuses (such as "prating rascall", and "foulemouthed villain" in the passage just quoted). As Maria Teresa Micaela Prendergast (2012: 2) suggests, such railing language often foregrounds what she terms "verbal pyrotechnics" at the expense of "content". Abusive terms and insults such as "Que le Chancre te demange vilain / *The Canker claw thee villaine*" (Eliot, 1968: q3v–q4r),

"Ie croy que tu as plus des couillons que des escuz / *I thinke thou hast more callibisters then Crownes*" (1968: q3v–q4r), "Tonnez Diables, pettez, rottez, fientez / *Thunder Diuels, fart, fist, fissell*" (1968: o3v–o4r), and "Vous souspirez comme vn porceau amoureux d'vne truye / *You grone like a Hog in loue with a Sow*" (1968: o3v–o4r) have the effect of distracting the reader from the text's pedagogical purpose. Translating "vn homme prompt à courroux, rioteux, criard, calumniateur" as "*a fretter, a wrangler, a brangler, a foulemouthed villain*", Eliot forgoes accuracy in favour of "verbal pyrotechnics": if the reader assumes that the English words "fretter", "wrangler", "brangler", and "foulemouthed villain" correspond to the meanings of "courroux, rioteux, criard, calumniateur", respectively, then they will, inevitably, be disappointed. Indeed, the fact that "wrangler" and "brangler" are considered synonymous by the *Oxford English Dictionary* presents the language learner with significant obstacles.

However, while Emily Butterworth and Hugh Roberts (2016: 9) claim that Eliot's dialogues "continually undermine the book's supposed pedagogic purpose", it is frequently the more complex tension produced by the coexistence of this purpose with an "inflationary linguistics" that characterises *Ortho-Epia Gallica*'s presentation of language contact and translation. The dialogue in which some mariners contend with a ship threatening to sink exemplifies this tension:

> Bou, bou, bous, bous: paisch, bo-bo-bous: Be-be-be-bous: ho-ho-ho-zalas-helas! Dieu nous soit en ayde & la vierge Marie. Paisch, be-be-bous, bou-bou-bous, bo-bo-bous. Zalas-Zalas, Hu-hu-hu-bou-bou-bous-bous-bous / *Dish, dash, plash, crack, rick-rack, thwack, bounce, flounce, rounce, hizze, pizze, whizze, sowze, O God helpe vs and the Virgine Marie. Paish, flish, flash, rowze, rittle, rattle, battle, rish, rash, clash, swish, swash, robble, hobble, bobble*
>
> (1968: o2v–o3r)

Recalling the litany of Diogenes' actions from the preface, Eliot's English once again demonstrates its "fertility" (Brown, 1967: 44), multiplying words by pursuing associations prompted by rhyme. Yet, this inflation purports to translate a French text – once again borrowed from Rabelais (1955: 595) – characterised by a surprising homogeneity. The 16 occurrences within the passage of the French phoneme "ou" (which, Eliot's marginal notes suggest, ought to be pronounced "oo") find no obvious equivalent in English. Indeed, the English text, excepting the parenthetical appeal to the "Virgine Marie", only conspicuously translates one word: the onomatopoeic "Paisch", as "Paish". However, this clear mismatch between the two languages indicates one of the central tensions of *Ortho-Epia Gallica*: the development of a language learning tool in a continual

struggle with translation's tendency to inflate. This is clear in the example cited above. The French text provides the reader with a series of vowel sounds to practice pronunciation; the English text "dezinkhornifistibulates" this series into a demonstration of lexical variety. The French serves the pedagogical intent of the book; the English threatens to overswarm this intent in "verbal pyrotechnics".

As such, Eliot's text continually foregrounds forms of perversion – using the word as Prendergast (2012: 1) does, to connote "not only (…) 'depravity' but also its Latin meaning of 'reversal of the normal order of words in a sentence,' along with its early modern meaning of 'turning aside from the correct meaning or intent of a text'". Throughout the text, the various forms of translation are, often, practically synonymous with perversion. For example, Rabelais's (1955: 13) description of Gargamelle and Grandgousier's sexual activity in chapter three of *Gargantua* – "joyeusement se frotans leur lard" – is used by Eliot to provide the learner of French with phrases to employ during armed quarrels and duels. One of the duelling combatants asks his opponent to check that the competition is fair:

> Auise que mon verdun ne soit plus long que ton espade: ie haïs pis que la mort celuy qui combatte sur l'aduantage de cousteaux. Sus, sus, boutons, battons nous gaillards & bien au point frottons nostre lard / *See that my rapier be no longer than thy sword, I hate worse then death him that fighteth vpon the aduantage of kniues. Come, come, push, let vs fight gallant, and lustily rub our bacon*
>
> (1968: rv–r2r)

Eliot's "frottons nostre lard" not only alters Rabelais's phrase grammatically but also translates it into the context of combat. The intertextual connection between Eliot's dialogue and *Gargantua*, once noticed, introduces an associative confusion: the language appears to bear sexual connotations, an association encouraged further by Eliot's use of "lustily" – a word, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, suggestive of carnality since the early fifteenth century.

The translation of "joyeusement se frotans leur lard" into English, as "lustily rub our bacon", scatters prismatically, to recall Reynolds's image, the myriad connective and connotative possibilities inherent in the French phrase. Translation subjects the source text to a grotesque mutation, one that paradoxically emphasises disparity as much as parity, commensurability between languages as much as radical difference. Indeed, Eliot's grotesque translations simultaneously exemplify the proliferative energy of translation, and parody its pretence to have discovered meaningful equivalences.

This parodic quality, integral to much of Eliot's translations, draws attention to the interactional space between languages – a space in which languages themselves "joyeusement se frotans leur lard". If, for Rabelais's (1955: 132) Friar John, "seulement l'ombre du clochier d'une abbaye est féconde", then for Eliot, the shadow cast by a source text is equally fertile. For example, when, in "Les Langues. The Tongues", one of the speakers raises Goropius's suggestion that Flemish is the most ancient language, Eliot's language teacher responds with a quick dismissal. He states, in retaliation against such unimpressive scholarship, that

> On leur remonstrera bien, que leur langue n'est point de l'antiquité qu'ils pretendent, mais estre née en Babel, & n'estre autre chose qu'vn iargon corrompu, effeminé & inconstant au regarde de l'Hebraicque, quoy qu'ils osent cracher au contraire / *We shall shew them that their flambumbarkin is not of the antiquitie that they pretend, but was ingendered in Babel, and to be nothing but a barbarous hibber-Iybber, corrupted, effeminat, and variable in comparison of the Hebrew, whatsoeuer they dare spit to the contrarie*.
>
> (1968: F2v)

Translation, here, rather than positing for the reader's edification a series of clear equivalences, instead takes pleasure in grotesque amplification. The French terms "langue" and "iargon" – both proximate to the English words "language" and "jargon" – become "flambumbarkin" and "barbarous hibber-Iybber", respectively. Individual, simple, bisyllabic nouns, suggestive of intelligibility, generate composite and polysyllabic translations, suggestive of the opposite. The term "flambumbarkin" appears constructed with references to "flimflam" (nonsense), "bum" (the physical body), and "barking" (aggressive and non-communicative sound), while "barbarous hibber-Iybber" makes use of two onomatopoeic (and derogatory) representations of unintelligible speech. Consequently, the register of the language teacher's French response is perverted by the English translation.

However, rather than just inflating and perverting the source text, Eliot's English is itself often modified as it translates. Creating, as Reynolds (2003: 99–100) suggests, "an English identity" for foreign words "which is perhaps spurious", translation is liable to prompt an "oscillation between recognition and abolition of foreignness". These oscillations can be seen in dialogues such as "The sick man", in which the French "Courage, courage, vous serez gueri bien tost" becomes "*Couragio, couragio, you shall be well quickly*" (Eliot, 1968: pv–p2r). Foregoing the cognate English word "courage" – itself a borrowing from Old French – Eliot opts instead for the Italianate "couragio". The word "coragio" is used as a token of Italianism by Stephano in Act 5 Scene 1 of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, which

is suggestive of the extent to which the word was (comically) associated with parodies of foreignness. Yet, the foreignness of "couragio" serves to emphasise the familiarity to English readers of the French word "courage". The source text is itself closer to English than the "English" target text – an unexpected proximity that calls the linguistic limits of English into question.

Elsewhere, in "The Theefe", "spurious" translation again makes English appear strange to itself. The highwayman shouts:

> Qvi va la? Demeurez la. Ventre Dieu, sang Dieu, çà la bourse, viste, viste, depeschez, rendez vous, descendez, ou ie vous tireray vn boulet au ventre / *Kiuala? Stand. Sblood! Swoundes! Yeeld thy purse: quicke, quicke, dispatch, yield, alight, or I will shoote this bullet into thy belly*
> (1968: n4v–or)

Here, translation and the phonetic representation of French are confused. "Kiuala", masquerading as an English translation of "Qvi va la", exemplifies the way translation can prompt the sort of oscillation Reynolds describes. At once representing a foreign obstruction to the flow of English, and positing the language's ability to incorporate foreign words into its systems of meaning and pronunciation, "Kiuala" demonstrates – even as it parodies – both the flexibility and the porous boundaries of linguistic communities.

Conclusion: Eliot, Early Modern Translation and Translation Theory

As such, Eliot's (1968: B3r) "fantasticall Comedie" demonstrates the manifold ways in which English and French can overlap, or even change places. In this sense, it confirms Massimiliano Morini's (2006: 24) suggestion that sixteenth-century translation in England is characterised by "instability: with original writing, imitation, paraphrase, and exegesis, it still made pairs which could be seen as conflicting as well as harmonic; and the borders between different literary discourses had not been clearly defined". Indeed, borders between languages themselves are not permitted clear definition in *Ortho-Epia Gallica*. However, Morini's (2006: 21–22) claim that the "persistence of medieval habits in Tudor translation" – particularly the habit of amplifying, rewriting, and altering the source text – reflects what he terms the "sixteenth-century attitude", sits uneasily next to the various comparisons between Eliot's translational practice and recent theory.

Indeed, the fact that twentieth- and twenty-first-century theorisations of language and translation also make use of grotesque images of growth, generation, and inflation may suggest that the "attitude" of sixteenth-century translators is not always so dissimilar from our own. George

Steiner (1998: 40), for example, draws attention to the manifold similarities between corporeal evacuations and linguistic communication, and declares that "semen, excreta, and words are communicative products". Barbara Cassin's (2004: xvii) definition of "untranslatable" words as "ce qu'on ne cesse pas de (ne pas) traduire", and Matthew Reynolds's (2019: 1) suggestion that "translation" in general "breeds more translation", both seek to understand acts of translation by employing concepts familiar to conceptualisations of the grotesque. Indeed, the act of translating Cassin's dictionary of "untranslatables" provokes Emily Apter (2015: 166) to meditate upon what she terms "lexilalia", or the (very Burtonian) "vertigo of translational infinitude".

Eliot's text exemplifies these conceptualisations of language and translation. Whether approached in terms of "prismatic" translation, "untranslatability", "lexilalia", or, indeed, a developing sixteenth-century grotesque aesthetic, *Ortho-Epia Gallica* enriches our understanding of cultures of translation. It presents languages as grotesque bodies that are endlessly "mobile and multi-directional" – qualities that Fiona Doloughan (2016: 21) associates with "postmodern views on language". It presents translation as the prismatic generation of a seemingly infinite lexical variety. Yet, rather than using these similarities to emphasise the "modernity" of Eliot's text, its radically translational nature ought to encourage contemporary theorists to examine the cultures of translation to which Eliot belonged, and to borrow, turn, translate, mine, fine, and refine its manifold insights.

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Part IV

Travel and Translation

10 Indirect Translation and Discursive Identity in John Florio's *Two Navigations*

Donatella Montini

Introduction: Deliver'd at Third-Hand[1]

The first English translation by the celebrated Elizabethan Anglo-Italian linguist and lexicographer John Florio (1553–1625) was a short and decidedly undemanding text, an account of a voyage of exploration supposedly written by the French captain Jacques Cartier (1491–1557), who, under a commission of King Francis I, had captained the French explorations of Canada in 1534 and in 1535–1536. The accounts of the two voyages circulated in print as *Voiage de Jacques Cartier (Relation originale du voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada)* and *Brief Recit, & succincte narration, de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada, Hochelage & Saguenay & autres, avec particulieres meurs, langaige, & cerimonies des habitans d'icelles: fort delectable à veoir* (1545).

As the titles make explicit, both are typical travel narratives similar to many others that appeared between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries about encounters with exotic places, the natural world, animals and aboriginal peoples whose customs and language were exposed to European eyes for the first time.

In the mid-1570s, Florio had returned to England from the continent and made a living teaching Italian at Magdalene College in Oxford.[2] It was at this early stage of his career that he produced the first of his Anglo-Italian teaching manuals (*Firste Fruites*, 1578) and made the acquaintance of the English geographer Richard Hakluyt (1553–1616) (*Divers Voyages*, 1582; *Principall Navigations*, 2018/1598–1600), who was himself a translator and a key figure in the culture of colonial and commercial expansion in Early Modern England.[3] Relying on external evidence, Frances Yates claims that Hakluyt commissioned and paid for Florio's translation of Cartier's travels directly from the Italian translation by the humanist Giovan Battista Ramusio (1485–1557) (Yates, 1934: 55–60); and indeed, Florio himself seems to confirm this when he writes in his dedicatory letter

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that he made the translation "at the requests and earneste solicitations of diuers my very good friends heere in Oxforde" (Florio, 1580: A.j.).[4]

Florio's English version was printed and published in 1580 by H. Bynneman under the following title: *A Shorte and briefe narration of the two navigations and discoveries to the northweast partes called Newe Fraunce: first translated out of French into Italian by that famous learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and now turned into English by John Florio; worthy the reading of all venturers, travellers, and discoverers. Imprinted at London, by H.Bynneman, dwelling in Thames streate, neere unto Baynardes Castell. Anno Domini.1580.* This chapter takes its cue precisely from the explicit declaration in the title that this is a translation delivered at third hand. In fact, in both the title and introductory paratext, Florio dutifully mentions the translation from French into Italian by Ramusio, before introducing his own work from Italian into English, thus explicitly distancing it from Cartier's original. This then makes the work into an example of what would be called an indirect or mediated translation in contemporary translation terminology.

In Renaissance England, the dissemination and circulation of European texts was a way of linguistically and culturally enriching the vernacular, which was seeking to establish itself in the emerging process of national identity building. Translations, especially of classical Greek and Latin authors, were of paramount importance, whether rendered directly from the original or via an intermediary version in a second European vernacular (Montini *et al*., 2019; Morini, 2006). *Two Navigations*, as an example of indirect translation, may therefore offer significant insights into a phenomenon that was as common as it is undertheorised, and which raises interesting questions about both the translator's motivations, and the stylistic and cultural consequences of this decision. The practice of indirect translation has been explored from a cultural perspective (Burke, 2005; Von Stackelberg, 1984), but has only recently been subject to systematic analysis in an attempt to provide a theoretical, methodological and terminological framework (Assis Rosa *et al*., 2019; Ringmar, 2007; Toury, 1995/2012).

After a general overview of the editorial history of Florio's *Two Navigations*, this essay will try to engage with recent scholarship in order to give an insight into Early Modern forms of indirect translation, placing John Florio's *Two Navigations* into that context. Special attention will be given to the paratexts, both as an instance of the kind of dialogue and inter-exchange encoded within the liminal spaces of Early Modern printed translations, and as the textual space where Florio affirms his debt to the Italian translator. I propose to adopt the communications-circuit model posited by Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda Hosington (2017) to accommodate Florio's first translation within the perspective of the author-translator

relationship, permitting us to visualise the interconnections of languages, agents and cultures. This will allow a few considerations on John Florio's discursive identity at this early stage of his career.

Florio's *Two Navigations:* Travel Writing and Translational 'Intertraffique'

Over the course of the sixteenth century, geographic mobility encouraged multilingual practices and polyglossia; travel reports reveal that multilingual exchanges regularly took place between explorers, mariners, and learned scholars of the time (Das and Youngs, 2019; Speake, 2003). Research into Early Modern travel writing has also shed light on the importance of translation for this form of knowledge dissemination (Di Biase, 2006; Hackett, 2016; Pincombe, 2004; Schaff, 2010; Sherman, 2004; Yarrington *et al.*, 2013), particularly on the mediating role played by translators and printers (Barker and Hosington, 2013; Höfele and von Koppenfels, 2005). As Gerard Maclean has shown, such works, which involved extensive networks of writers, compilers and printers, aimed to satisfy "a number of contemporary agendas – national, political, religious, commercial, intellectual, scientific – on a scale and in a format that would have been impossible to imagine (…) without the medium of print" (Das, 2019; MacLean, 2019: 66).

In this context, the editorial story behind *Two Navigations* is a typical example of transit and translation in Early Modern Europe, showcasing a series of spatial and cultural trajectories that linked France, Italy and England. The Venetian humanist and diplomat Ramusio was the first to translate Cartier's two accounts into Italian, entitling them, respectively, *Prima relazione di Iacques Carthier della Terra Nuova detta la Nuova Francia, trovata nell'anno 1534* and *Breve e succinta relazione della navigazione fatta per ordine della Maestà cristianissima all'isole di Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenai e altre, al presente dette la Nuova Francia, con particolari costume e cerimonie degli abitanti*. They were included in the third volume of his monumental multi-volume work *Della Navigatione et Viaggi*,[5] published "per la stamperia de' Giunti" in Venice between 1550 and 1559. Ramusio's collection incorporated different travel narratives to Africa, the Americas and Asia and created a geography of the newly discovered regions of the world, supplementing the work of classical writers (Das, 2019). Until 1867, when a handwritten copy of the Cartier's original was found at the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris (ms franc. 84, coll. Moreau), Ramusio's *Prima Relazione* (1565) was thought to be the only surviving report of Cartier's first voyage, and every printed version of the sixteenth century was based on it. As for the *Breve e succinta narrazione* of Cartier's second expedition (1535–1536), this is

a translation of a printed text found in 1863 at the British Museum (*Brief recit et succincte narration…*, 1545).

Cartier's accounts as a whole describe the voyage, exploration of the land with its animals and plants and the encounter with the aboriginal people of so-called New France. It also depicts the Iroquoi capital of Stadacona ruled by Chief Donnacona, and Hochelaga (now Montreal). A dramatic chapter is the scurvy epidemic, which breaks out first among the Iroquois and then among the French, eventually killing about 50 Iroquois. Two characters are particularly important throughout the reports: Taignoagny and Domagaia, Donnacona's two sons, who acted as linguistic interpreters and generally mediated between the Frenchmen and the natives. In his translation, Ramusio reproduces the content of his source text, but makes some changes in the structure of the original narrative of the first voyage, dividing it into chapters and adding a glossary of the language of New France on the final page. As for the second voyage, Cartier's original (*Brief récit*) already contained a glossary, which Ramusio translated into Italian.

As Diego Pirillo points out, the introduction of geographical texts into sixteenth-century England, and in particular the circulation of *Navigationi et viaggi* – certainly the most influential collection of travel narratives in Italian of the time – "helped Elizabethan culture to enlarge its horizons and to reconsider its place in a world expanded by the Atlantic navigations" (Pirillo, 2013: 42). Michael Wyatt has persuasively illustrated the impact of Italian culture on Tudor England and highlighted the role played by the small community of Italian Protestant refugees in London in the formation of English national identity (Wyatt, 2005: 138). The emerging English nation seemed to be negotiating its nascent image with a precarious group of intermediaries who transmitted their cultural heritage through essentially textual means. The issues at stake were not only cultural and aesthetic: during the reign of Elizabeth (and for some time after that), consciousness of the British Empire was largely a textual affair, and it was through translations of foreign travel literature that Elizabethan audiences became aware of the expanding world and the new Atlantic trade routes.

This interest in Ramusio's text, and in Italian travel writing more generally, probably explains why, a couple of decades later, Florio's English version appeared, published by H. Bynneman. Following Ramusio's structure, his translation consists of two books, the first with 24 chapters and the second 20. Each chapter has a heading that informs the reader of the chapter's general topic. At the end of each book, the glossaries of the language of New France are reproduced, translated into English. However, this was not the end of the journey of this text. Significantly, Florio's *Two Navigations* found its final destination in Richard Hakluyt's monumental *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*

(1589 and 2018/1598–1600) – a work that was mostly devoted to English travellers and explorers as a way to encourage English travel and trade and to get into step with continental enterprises. Hakluyt added some typical explanatory glosses in the margins, but otherwise Florio's text was incorporated virtually intact into the third volume of the 1600 expanded edition.[6] However, the reader finds no written record of Florio as a translator: Hakluyt removed any explicit traces of his presence and his responsibility for the translation, including the title and the signature at the end of each narrative. As is known, both *Divers Voyages* and *Principal Navigations* were mostly collections of texts written by others (Sacks, 2006), but this does not diminish the interest in the anonymisation of Florio's translation and the ideological and cultural effects this entails, as we shall see in the following paragraphs.

Two Navigations as Indirect or Mediated Translation

Indirect translation was a common cultural and literary phenomenon in Early Modern Europe, with French and Italian frequently serving as intermediary languages, due to their cultural prestige. For example, North's Plutarch was famously translated from Amyot's French, while the English translation of Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1620), attributed precisely to Florio, relied on both the French version by Antoine Le Macon and the censored Italian version by Leonardo Salviati (Armstrong, 2013, Montini, 2014). A study carried out through the authoritative *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1641* (Hosington, 2011) has shown that 11% of the approximately 6,500 translations examined fall into the category of indirect translations.[7]

Recent research into indirect translation (Assis Rosa *et al.*, 2019; Pieta, 2012, 2014) has raised awareness of the lack of systematic knowledge about the subject, and generated interesting questions that are central to an analysis of the phenomenon in the Early Modern period, such as the degree of indirectness, the way in which indirectness is represented, whether explicit or covert, and also how this affects the rapport between the receiving culture and that of the source text.

The most quoted definition of indirect translation is that it is a translation "based on a source (or sources) which is itself a translation into a language other than the language of the original, or the target language" (Kittel and Frank, 1991: 3). However, the alternative term '*mediated* translation' is also useful, since it highlights an aspect that is particularly relevant for the Early Modern period, namely, the importance of process over product. Focusing on the conflation of hands, cultures and materials, as well as the various languages which intervene in the process, it draws attention to the fact that indirectness involves cultural and material aspects

in addition to the purely linguistic, ranging from intercultural relations between countries to paratextual features and editorial formats.

This process will now be examined in the context of *Two Navigations,* a case study that is worth considering especially since it features the hand of one of the most famous translators of the seventeenth century.

Mapping the Trajectory

As mentioned above, the phenomenon of indirect translation draws attention to the whole mediation procedure, starting with the transfer through different languages and geographical locations, and expanding to the various editorial formats and printers, which produce further changes and exchanges on the cultural, material and visual level, in addition to the purely linguistic.

A versatile model elaborated by Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda Hosington in 2017 for the study of printed translations in Early Modern England can also provide valuable insights into the relations between actors and contexts in indirect translational exchanges, and as such is a useful way of visualising the transitions involved in the production of *Two Navigations*. The heuristic as well as representational function of the model makes it possible to illustrate the interactions between the various actors involved into the process and to capture reciprocal cultural and intellectual influences that would be less visible if the text was examined only in its linguistic rendering.

Translation is located within the communications circuit, and centres on translators as key historical and cultural agents; "rather than inserting translation activities within the cycle of the original work", the model grafts them onto it, "as an overlapping structure that mirrors, and sometimes actually merges with, the circuit of the original. Similarly, instead of having the translator function as an intermediary figure, the model situates him/her at the interface between both circuits, in which he/she is actively involved in his/her various capacities" (Belle and Hosington, 2017: 11) (Figure 10.1).

In the case of indirect translations, however, the original model needs to be expanded to allow for the fact that both the communication circuit and the mediating networks multiply and closely intermesh. The most obvious change will be a duplication/multiplication of agents on account of the multilingual chain of languages and cultures involved in the process. The overlapping roles of *author* and translator are visibly represented and extended to an overlap of *reader* and translator. Thus, in our case study, Cartier starts off as author, whose network of players is presumably located in France: among the agents involved, we may identify a printing house for *Brief Recit,* and Ramusio, who appears as recipient and reader at

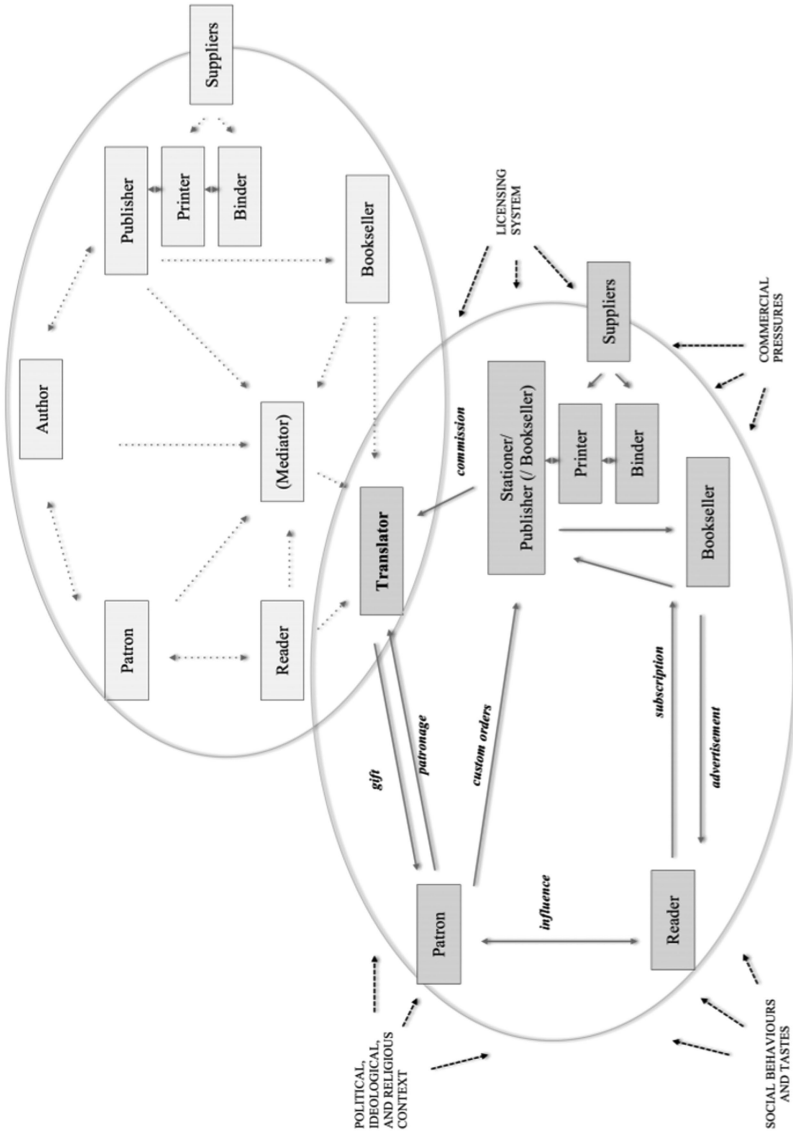

Figure 10.1 Early Modern English translations in the communications circuit (Belle and Hosington, 2017: 12).

the first level, when he enters Cartier's circuit, becomes a translator, and is in turn accompanied by his own network (i.e. the Duke of Venice as client). Then, Florio enters the model, which is only completed by the final intertraffic with Hakluyt's *Navigations*, in a concatenated model that visualises the interlocking relationships which translations produce, physically and culturally[8] (Figure 10.2).

What the model visually succeeds in conceptualising is not only the communication and reciprocal influence that, in a phenomenon of indirect translation, the various agents produce towards each other, across time, space and cultures, but it also allows us to hypothesise two further effects. On the one hand, each text progressively encapsulates the traces of the preceding one; on the other, considering the process as a whole, it is also possible to assume a circularity of those same effects that allow us to reread them with different eyes. Thus, Hakluyt's use of Florio's translation may provide elements that enable us to understand the role of Ramusio in the English culture of the time. Nor should the change in the social and political typology of the clients and printers be overlooked: the comparison between the Duke of Venice, Ramusio's client, and Hakluyt, a client of both Florio and himself, or the fact that it was Henry Bynneman who printed Florio's *Two Navigations,* may suggest the promotional investment in the publication (as well as give hints as to Florio's position in Oxford) (Figure 10.3). Significantly, the representation of these connections helps to

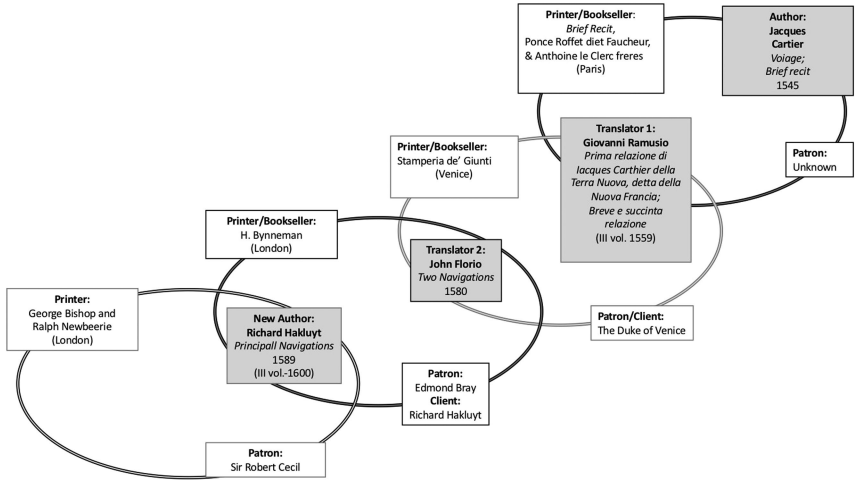

Figure 10.2 From Cartier's *Voiage* to Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*: Indirect translations in their communication circuits.

Source: © Donatella Montini.

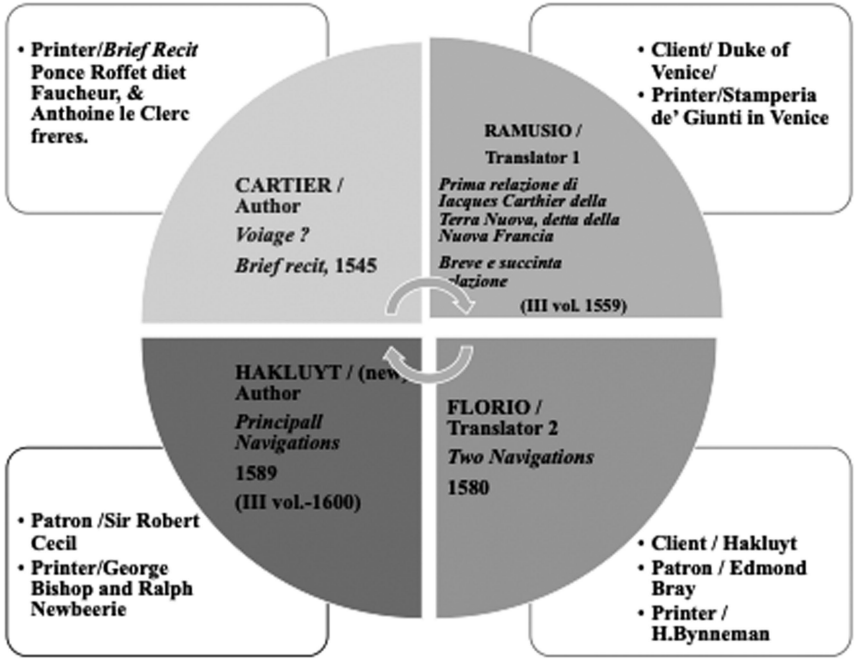

Figure 10.3 Two Navigations in its communications circuit.
Source: © Donatella Montini.

change the perspective as a further confirmation of the differences between the Italian and English versions in terms of function, readership and ideological charge of the text.

This overall view of the trajectory of the texts will now allow us to narrow our focus on Florio's translation and editorial strategies.

Paratextual and Textual Strategies

Within Early Modern printed translations, paratextual elements played a key role in signalling the importance of translation as an instrument of cultural importation and nation-building (Belle and Hosington, 2018; Coldiron, 2015; Smith and Wilson, 2011). In particular, such marginal material was used as "a space of self-fashioning and strategic 'visibility' for translators, a place where gestures of linguistic, social and cultural negotiation were advertised and problematized in a highly self-conscious manner" (Belle, 2017: 65). In the absence of a defined and stable theoretical apparatus, prefaces and dedicatory letters were almost the only spaces in which a discussion on the principles and aims of the translation process

took place.[9] Contemporary analysis of indirect translation has devoted attention to the role played by the so-called 'thresholds of the text', confirming purposes typical of Renaissance paratexts. Marin-Lacarta (2019) lists the following:

> 1) to identify or rectify the type of translation (…); 2) to examine attitudes towards indirect translation; 3) to provide information about the reasons for indirect translation; 4) to help study the image and reception of foreign literature, and, more importantly, the role played by mediation in creating that image; and 5) to provide information about the translator's views on translation.
>
> (Marin-Lacarta, 2019: 26)

In *Two Navigations*, the paratextual material consists of a Dedicatory epistle, dated Oxford, 25 June 1580, and an address "to all Gentlemen, Merchants and Pilots". Florio also ends each of the two relations with a signature and a proverb, reminding the reader once again of the chain of transmission that led to its version

> Heere endeth the first relation of *Iames Carthiers* discouery of the new land called *New France*, translated into English out of Italian by I.F. *Assai ben balla a chi fortuna suona*;
>
> (Florio, 1580: 27)

> "Heere endeth the second Relation of *Iames Carthiers* discouverie & navigation to the newe founde Lande, by him named called *New Fraunce*, translated out of *Italian* into English by I.F. *Patisco il male sperando il bene*". *FINIS*.
>
> (Florio, 1580: 80)

The first Dedication is addressed to the patron, Edmond Bray Esquire, High Sheriff of the County of Oxford, a gentleman Florio apparently did not know well, but whom he dared to approach "vppon the request and warrant of my deare and welbeloued friend Maister H. Leigh" (Florio, 1580: A.j.). It is a short text that opens with a typical Florian rhetorical move and a proverb to emphasise the *humility* topos

> THe olde saying is: None so bolde as blynd Bayard: nor anye so readye to vndertake, as the leaste able to performe. Euen so (right Worshipfull) it nowe fareth with me, who (at the requests and earneste solicitations of diuers my very good frends heere in Oxforde) haue vndertaken this translation, wher | in I holde my selfe farre inferiour to many
>
> (Florio, 1580: A.ij)

The *excusatio propter infirmitatem* trope was part and parcel of the rhetoric of apology typical of the Early Modern translator, who suffered from the 'anxiety of status' deriving from the perception that texts 'deliver'd at second hand' rank second in the order of merit. Indeed, Florio himself later testifies to the defensive attitude typical of the genre when he opens his greatest translational undertaking, Montaigne's *Essays*, with the famous "Shall I apologize translation?" (Morini, 2006).[10] As observed by Neil Rhodes about indirectness and status anxiety, "[w]hat we have in these cases is a kind of textual genealogy and inevitably (even with two texts) a hierarchy – which brings us back to the question of status, and with it status anxiety.(…) One obvious consequence of status anxiety, is apology, and apology is a characteristic feature of the translator's preface" (Rhodes, 2011: 110–111).

Conversely, the translator's 'boldness' in attempting the translation is presented here as a zealous contribution to the political welfare of English readers: Florio appeals to the evangelical parable of the talents, which allows him to establish an identification with and a distance from the lazy servant, thus declaring the ideological motivation for the accomplishment of his translation:

> Howbeeit, forasmuch as that seruaunt was of his Lord and Maister most highly discommen | ded, whiche hiding his Talent in the grounde, had thereby profited nothing*: my selfe being very loath to incurre the same faulte, and so to become worthy the like reprehension, haue the rather aduentured to translate this parte of Nauigation, whiche* (I assure myself with other mens truel and diligence) *may be an occasion of no smal com | moditie and benefite to this our Countrie of Englande.* And heerein the more to animate and encourage the Englishe Marchants, I doe onely (for breuitie sake) propose vnto them the infinite treasures (not hidden to themselues) whiche both the Spaniardes, the Portugales, and the Venetians haue seuerally gained by their suche nauigations and trauailes.
>
> (Florio, 1580: Aij, my emphasis)

Similarly, in the second dedicatory epistle addressed to 'all Gentlemen, Merchants, and Pilots', Florio defines his purpose as being "for the benefite and behoofe of those that shall attempt any newe disco | uerie in the Northweast partes of *America*" (Florio, 1580: B.j) and identifies his recipients as "*the Marchant Venturer, or skilfull Pilot, or whosoeuer de | sirous of newe Discoueries"* (Florio, 1580: B.j, my emphasis). These rhetorical strategies "allowed translators to present themselves as benevolent mediators, through translation and print diffusion, for the 'common good' of an expanding readership — while at the same time branding their works as

valuable cultural products, worthy of the attention of patrons, and of the 'gentle reader's' purchase" (Belle, 2017: 82). Again, Florio combines the desire for new discoveries with political and colonial opportunity and with the idea that foreign possessions are a means of defining national identity "to induce oure Englishemen, not onely to fall to some traffique wyth the Inhabitants, but also to plant a Colonie in some conueni | ent place, and so to possesse the Countrey without the gain | saying of any man" (Florio, 1580: B.j).

The second letter also offers interesting leads as to the perceived textual hierarchy in the chain of transmission. Florio mentions Jacques Cartier's name only twice, without any further reference or comment. That is to say, the original author of the two travel accounts is almost invisible, and instead, Florio guides his audience towards the translator of the intermediary version, the Italian Ramusio, who is mentioned from the very beginning, in the title, and repeatedly thereafter. Moreover, the Anglo-Italian translator not only declares his debt to Ramusio in the attribution of the source text but throughout his preface insistently lets the reader think that he is also reproducing the Italian cosmographer's viewpoint and wise judgement

> *Iohn Baptista Ramusius,* a learned and excellent Cosmogra | pher, & Secretary to the famous state of *Venice,* whose words, bicause they are not impertinēt to this purpose, I haue here set downe. Why doe not the Princes
>
> (saieth he) (B.j.)

> And thus much oute of the third Volume of Voyages and Naui | gations, gathered into the Italian tongue by *Ramusius:* whi | che Bookes, if they were translated into English by the libe | ralitie of some noble Personage, ou Sea-men of *England,* and others, studious of Geographie, shoulde know many worthy secrets, whiche hitherto haue beene concealed.
>
> (B.ij)

In keeping with Cardozo's (2011) claim that openly declared indirect translations should be assessed against their immediate mediating texts and not against the ultimate source texts, my comparison here, as regards the internal linguistic aspects of translation, will be between Florio and Ramusio.

Florio's stylistic choices reproduce the Italian version almost literally: on a lexical and syntactical level, he does not resort to the arsenal of euphuistic devices that he would later employ extensively (such as additions, the doubling of nouns or adjectives or expansion through amplification), and which inevitably open up a space for the translator's interpretation. *Two Navigations* lacks the re-fashioning of the source text that is so pervasive

in Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays* and *Decameron* (Armstrong, 2013; Iamartino, 1992; Montini, 2014). On the micro-linguistic level, he does not introduce any new cohesive markers, signs of textual deixis or epistemic modality that were not already present in Ramusio's version; ultimately, any indication of authorship and responsibility for the text is only included when it is present in Ramusio's translation. Possibly here, the textual genre dictates the conditions, and the lexicon and culture of sailors and explorers prove to be transnational and easily transmitted.

However, Florio's recipients – English 'Gentlemen, Merchants, and Pilots' – require adaptation and transformation in a few significant issues: thus, some typical culture-specific references having to do with religious and theological aspects are eliminated, such as prayers to the Virgin, signs of the cross, or 'paternosters', and others are translated through transposition, such as *messa* becoming *service*. The most manipulative intervention in the text is perhaps the elimination of emotional and semantic aspects related to 'marvelous possessions', which were a common feature of travel narratives, designed to arouse awe and wonder in the reader (Greenblatt, 1991; Todorov, 1982). In the second account, Ramusio reports fantastic tales and Florio erases them, without mediation or adaptation of any kind:

> (…) perciocché egli n'aveva detto e certificate esser stato nel paese di Saguenay, nel quale sono infiniti rubini, oro e altre ricchezze, e vi sono uomini bianchi come in Francia e vestonsi di panni di lana. *Più dice aver veduto ed esser stato in altro paese dove le persone non mangiano punto né digeriscono, né hanno quella parte d'andar del corpo, ma solamente rendono acqua per la verga; più dice esser stato in un altro paese di Picquemyans e altri luoghi dove le persone non hanno salvo che una gamba, e simili altre maraviglie e favole lunghe da scrivere*. Il detto signor è uomo vecchio, e cominciando da tenera età non ha cessato d'andar per paesi, sì per acqua e fiumi come eziandio per terra.
>
> (Ramusio, 1978–1988: 997, my emphasis for the deleted section)

> Donnacona had told us, that hée hadde beene in the Countrey of *Saguenay*, in which are infinite Rubies, Golde and other riches, and that there are white menne, who clothe themslues wyth wollen cloth euen as we doe in *France*. The sayde Lorde was and olde manne, and even from hys chyldehoode hadde neuer lefte off nor ceased from trauayling into straunge Countreys, as well by Seas and Ryuers, as by Lande.
>
> (Florio, 1580: 71)

All in all, if we accept Brenda Hosington's distinction between "englishing" the text (in order to "make foreign works accessible to an English audience") and "englishifying" it (to produce "an ethno-centric translation,

geared towards the target text and audience") (Hosington, 2006: 150), it is evident that in *Two Navigations* Florio plays on two tables: in the paratext, he insistently reminds the reader of the foreign origin of the text and indeed of the prestige of Italian culture, whereas in the translation he constructs a domesticated text that aims to convey fascinating stories of exploration, and ultimately to motivate English pilots and merchants towards discovery and navigation.

In this perspective, Florio's attitude seems to produce what Clem Robyns's discursive identity spectrum would define as the translator's *defensive stand* (Hadley, 2019; Robyns, 1994), through which texts' foreign origins are acknowledged but without retaining any foreign elements: in point of fact, the source text is culturally downplayed in favour of the enhancement of the target cultural system.

Concluding Remarks: Florio Italus Ore, Anglus Pectore

The description and visualisation of the long journey taken by Jacques Cartier's travel accounts, with special focus on the role played by Florio, induces a series of considerations on the linguistic and ideological dimension of this case study, and challenges accepted classifications and expectations.

Florio openly and repeatedly declares he is translating Ramusio's *Prima* and S*econda Relazione*, marking a clear distance from Cartier's source text. "In a culture in which literary excellence is as likely to be defined by successful assimilation as by originality", and in which "all texts have to be understood as a dialogue with their source" (Rhodes *et al.*, 2013: 1), this move, which in many contexts would reduce the prestige of both translator and translation, in fact has the opposite effect here, since it serves to enhance the role of an author that is a champion of Italian humanism. So it is, if anything, an operation designed to increase the prestige of Florio's work.

In the face of an unconcealed declaration of dependence on a model, however, Florio does not seem to produce a real promotion of the other's culture and of its original linguistic-cultural system: his manipulation of the source text proceeds by regularly removing those aspects not functional to the target culture, as he does with the account of "marvelous possessions" which Ramusio had included in his translation.

This brings us to a final step that involves the translator's relationship with the target text and his discursive identity. Florio performs a linguistic manoeuvre which in this case does not seem to be concerned with the improvement of the English language, something that will prove of fundamental importance in many of his future works, such as his second didactic manual (*Second Frutes*, 1591), his translations and above all his

dictionaries (*A World of Wordes*, 1598; *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, 1611). The linguistic project of enrichment and refinement of the English language through the comparison with the culture and language of the Italian humanism that Florio had just inaugurated with *Firste Fruites* seems to stall in this translation, in which none of his future strategies are applied, no *copia verborum* rhetoric, no amplification.

Does this reflect the tyranny of the textual genre, the drive to produce a plain and matter-of-fact travel narrative? I would say that Florio may here be more focused on the cultural and ideological project pursued by Hakluyt to support and encourage English expeditions and an imperial political agenda. Throughout his whole life Florio boasted of his double identity, *Italus ore, Anglus pectore*, "Italian in tongue, English in heart", as inscribed in the famous epitaph to his portrait that opens *Queen Anna's New World of Words*; however, at this point in his career, in relation to this two-faced identity, Florio seems to favour the second element of the pair, thus establishing an ideological hierarchy in which linguistic prestige and identity are immediately reabsorbed and placed at the service of English culture, and of a host nation, which ultimately gives him the bread to live on.

One further step that would deserve further investigation would bring us from Florio to Hakluyt: in his primarily nationalistic and imperial aims to support English overseas expansions (Carey and Jowitt, 2012; Cheyfitz, 1997; Das, 2019; Quinn, 2017), Hakluyt, as described above, retained Florio's linguistic version but cleaned up any authorial traces; only Cartier's name is mentioned, "put it in English clothes" (Florio, 1603: A2), while Ramusio and Florio as translators vanish. Throughout his career, Hakluyt was constantly concerned with questions of translation and authority: he could translate from at least six languages and promoted the publication of multiple translated texts, in particular in *Principal Navigations*. The perception of this crucial work in the history of English travel is of an essentially English text, whereas in reality multilingual histories have been obscured in order to serve the English purpose and it would be worth extending the research to bring to light this veritable history of textual piracy and translation invisibility.

Notes

1 I am grateful to Nandini Das and Ladan Niayesh, as organisers of *Polyglot Encounters in Early Modern English Travel Narratives and Distant Travels* (9 and 11 November 2020) (TIDE, University of Oxford, ERC, and LARCA University of Paris, CNRS), an online event where I was able to present and discuss some preliminary reflections on *Two Navigations*.

2 John Florio was the son of Michelangelo Florio, a Tuscan of Protestant faith, who fled from Italy to avoid religious persecution and took refuge in England

during the reign of Edward VI. There he married an Englishwoman and became pastor of the Italian Protestant community based in London. However, when the Catholic Mary Tudor ascended the throne in 1553, the year of John's birth, the Florio family was forced to flee again, this time to the continent, first to Strasbourg and then to Soglio in Val Bregaglia, Switzerland. John returned to England around 1573 without ever having lived on Italian soil, and died in London in 1625 (O'Connor, 2004; Yates, 1934).

3 The close connection between Florio and Hakluyt is confirmed by the inclusion of Hakluyt's commendatory verses in the paratextual pages of *Firste Fruites*.

4 "It was Hakluyt who set Florio on to translate Ramusio and paid him for doing it. Hakluyt himself is the authority for this statement, for in the epistle to Sir Philip Sidney at the beginning of his *Divers Yoyages*, published in 1582, he says, 'the last yeere, at my charges and other of friendes, by my exhortation, I caused Iaques Cartiers two voyages of discouering the grand Bay, and Canada, Saguinay, and Hochelaga, to be translated out of my Volumes'. Hakluyt, then, lent Florio the copy of Ramusio out of which the translation was to be made, and paid him for making it" (Yates, 1934: 56).

5 The full title on the title page of the third volume offers an accurate description of the accounts contained therein: *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi raccolte da Mo. Gio. Battista Ramusio, Volume Terzo. Nel quale si contiene le nauigationi al mondo nuouo, à gli antichi incognito, fatte da don Christoforo Colombo Genouese, che fù il primo à scoprirlo à i re catholici, detto hora l'Indie occidentali, Gli acquisti fatti da lui, accresciuti poi da Fernando Cortese, da Francesco Pizarro, & e da altri valorosi Capitani, in diverse parti delle dette Indie, in nome di Carlo Quinto imperatore: Lo scoprimento della gran città di Temistitan nel Mexico, dove hora è detto la Nuova Spagna, & della gran Provincia del Perù, col grandissimo fiume Maragnon, Et Altre Città, Regni, et Provincie. Le nauigationi fatte dipoi alle dette Indie, poste nella parte verso Maestro Tramontana, dette hora la Nuova Francia, scoperte al Rè Christianissimo. La prima volta da Bertoni & Normandi: Et dipoi da Gio. da Verrazzano Fiorentino & dal Capitano Iacques Carthier, Si come si legge nelle diuerse relationi, tradotte dal Ramusio di lingua Spagnuola & Francese nella nostra Italiana, & raccolte in questo volume. Con tauole di Geographia,che dimostrano il sito di diverse Isole, Città, & Paesi. Et Figure diverse di Piante, & altre cose a noi incognite. Et con l'Indice copiosissimo di tutte le cose più notabili in esso contenute* (Ramusio, 1565). See also the facsimile edition edited by R. A. Skelton and G. B. Parks (Ramusio, 1967–1970).

6 Hakluyt translated Cartier's third voyage in his own hand (Hakluyt, 2018/1598–1600: 263–272; Yates, 1934: 60).

7 In April 2021 at the virtual congress of *The Renaissance Society of America*, the research group chaired by Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda Hosington devoted a roundtable and two panel sessions to the topic of indirect translation in the early modern age, entitled: "'Deliver'd at Second Hand'? Mediated Translations in Early Modern Europe".

8 In 2015, a variation of the diagram was presented at the annual conference of the Society of the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publication (SHARP) by Marie-Alice Belle, but the paper has not been published so far. A special issue of *Philological Quarterly*, 'Indirect Translation in Early Modern Britain: Languages, Mediations, Contexts' edited by Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda Hosington will be published in 2024. I am grateful to Marie-Alice Belle, because she made up for my poor graphic skills and suggested the final visualisation of indirect translations in their communications circuit (Figure 10.2).

9 Florio himself used the preface and the dedicatory letter to his translation of Montaigne's *Essays* precisely to discuss the vicarious nature of translation, 'delivered at second hand' (Morini, 2006).
10 It was not only used by translators, however. Revealingly, in the initial paratextual pages of *Firste Fruites* (a dedication to the earl of Leicester both in Italian and in English, and letters to Italian and English readers), Florio, now in the role of author, also deploys typical rhetorical strategies to protect himself against possible detractors.

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11 Samuel Purchas Translates China via Iberia

Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* (1614) in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625)

Rogério Miguel Puga

Introduction

Some years after Richard Hakluyt published his famous anthology *The Principal Navigations (1589, expanded 1598–1600)* on the model of Ramusio's *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550–1559), his disciple, the English cleric Samuel Purchas (1577?–1626),[1] published a second anthology of travel texts in four volumes entitled *Hakluytus Posthumus* or *Purchas his Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells, by Englishmen and others* (henceforth *Pilgrimes*) (1625). The first section of the collection contains accounts of voyages to the "Elder World" (the Mediterranean, Africa and Far East), while China and Japan are included in the "New World" because "the Ancients knew not [of them]" (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 1: xlvi).

Many of these texts are translations of accounts by Portuguese travellers, who of course led the way in the European exploration of the East. Indeed, the image of the Portuguese as maritime pioneers is recurrent throughout the anthology,[2] and both the translations and their paratexts convey a great deal of information about Anglo-Portuguese relations, while glorifying England's early maritime enterprise. This "obsessive documentation" of English expansion reveals a self-conscious effort to create an epic myth of origin for the emerging imperial nation (Hulme, 1986: 90), with both Hakluyt's and Purchas's anthologies representing the English as the ultimate voyaging nation (Helgerson, 1992: 153).

Among other Portuguese travel narratives on Ming-Dynasty China (1368–1644), Purchas translated[3] and abridged several chapters from the Portuguese travel narrative *Peregrinação* [*Peregrination*], written by the merchant Fernão de Mendes Pinto (ca. 1510–1583) between 1750 and 1578, and published posthumously in 1614. The full English translation of this work would only be made in 1653 by Henry Cogan, after Purchas

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had translated and abbreviated sections of the text using the 1620 Spanish translation and, to a lesser extent, the Portuguese original.

Based on his translation of selected chapters from the *Peregrinação* and the respective paratexts, this chapter analyses the strategies used by Purchas to adapt the source texts for the English public, whose horizon of expectation he takes into account. It also studies how his translated texts contributed to the formation of the English image of China and considers what new information was deemed relevant to be published in London to support the early English colonial project. Purchas's activity illustrates how translation enabled the circulation of (proto-)scientific and colonial knowledge from Portugal to the rest of Europe, which thus became aware of China's dominant economic and military power at the time (Markley, 2006).

From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, there was an increasing interest throughout Europe in printed texts about Asia, causing what Lach calls "a literary deluge" (1994: 150) on the subject. Purchas's translation is part of this long and complex process of intellectual transfer through the translation of Portuguese texts on China. As we will see, sources like *Peregrinação* were geographically and culturally re-contextualised in England in order to help the English reader discover complex cultural, commercial and political geographies that had been (re)written by the Portuguese. Such texts attest to the rise of England as a colonial and commercial power, as well as to the significance of travel writing in English literary history. In fact, travel and translation functioned as parallel cross-cultural processes, challenging the boundaries of both geographical and ideological insularity (Michi, 2005: 2).

England's Translated Encounter with China

From the mid-sixteenth century onward, the English, attracted by the lucrative Portuguese trade in the Far East, sought alternative routes to those used by the Portuguese, and several adventurers attempted to discover passages to China via the Northwest and Northeast. In 1553, Sir Hugh Willoughby set sail for the East, but never reached it, and in 1591 three English vessels sailed beyond the Cape of Good Hope to avail themselves of Portuguese trade. In 1596, the first official expedition to China left England, under the command of Benjamin Wood, but again did not reach its destination. In 1602–1604, Sir Edward Michelborne obtained leave to travel to China and Japan, although this initiative once more bore no fruit. In Hakluyt's *Navigations* (1962), China is therefore a nebulous presence, functioning as the symbolic space of origin of all the riches and experiences that Portugal had imported from the Far East.

The English maritime enterprise clashed early on with Iberian interests, and the first frictions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Africa,

America and Europe foreshadowed later more serious conflicts. Though English corsairs had already been taking Portuguese vessels and invading Portuguese territories, the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 1580 meant that the political reasons that had led England to respect Portugal – within the context of the oldest political alliance in the Western world – now waned. Attacks on Portuguese ships intensified in an attempt to weaken the Catholic Spanish enemy and demonstrate English naval superiority.[4]

In late December 1600, Elizabeth I authorised the founding of the Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies (EIC), whose aim was to begin voyages to the East Indies with a view to importing consumer goods and exporting English textiles. This signalled the beginning of systematic English expeditions to Asia, giving the country direct knowledge of the trading space for the first time (Puga, 2013).

Until the signing of the Convention of Goa, in 1635, and the opening of Portuguese ports in Asia, most of the information England had about the East had been acquired indirectly from European, especially Iberian, sources. The first account of China published in England was a translation of the 1549 *Tratado da China* ("Treaty on China") by the Portuguese traveller Galeote Pereira. This had been translated indirectly by Richard Eden and Richard Willis from a 1565 Italian translation (*Nuovi Avisi delle Indie di Portogallo*, part 4) and was published under the title "Certaine Reports of the Province of China" in 1577 by Willis in his *History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*. Hakluyt later reprinted it in Volume 4 of *Navigations* (1962: 163–195).[5] In 1579, John Frampton translated Bernardino de Escalante's *Discurso de la Navegacion que los Portugueses hazen a los Reinos y Provincias del Oriente* (1577) as *Discourse of the Navigation which the Portugales Doe Make to the Realmes and Provinces of the East Partes of the World*, and in 1588, Robert Parke published *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China*, his translation of Mendoza's popular *Historia de las Cosas mas Notables, Ritos, y Costumbres del Gran Reyno de la China* (1585). These publications of translated Southern European accounts reflect the increasing demand for information about China in England (Brockey, 2012: 69).

It is curious that, in anti-Catholic England, there was a demand for Jesuit material on China (Koss, 2012: 89–100), and a number of Jesuit texts on China were translated into English over the course of the seventeenth century.[6] Although Purchas does not usually make the missionary authors (such as Fernão Cardim, Mateus Ricci or Francis Xavier) a focal point in his translations (Koss, 2012: 100), Mendes Pinto – who had joined the Society of Jesus in April 1554, but abandoned it some 18 months later – is allowed a central voice, possibly because he criticises (albeit mildly) the Jesuits and the *greedy* Portuguese, both through his own voice and in the male and female voices of Asian Others speaking in his text.[7]

When dealing with Catholic sources, Purchas adopts the stance of the reliable Protestant editor correcting Catholic lapses. Speaking "To the Reader", he comments that they erred "either of ignorance, or /…/ purposely, to conceale from others that which they have found sweet and gainfull" (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 12: 56). However, the posturing about the superiority of Protestant English eyewitness accounts that is evident elsewhere in his *Pilgrimes*[8] is impossible with regards to China as there were no English descriptions available to him at the time. Despite his anti-Jesuit views, he needed to use Catholic sources and recognised the value of the accounts produced by missionaries, preferring the "Jesuites exacter Relations" (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 12: 215) to the texts written by Spanish mendicant friars: "Friars are in this storie so often mentioned and praysed: I smell a Friars (Lyars) hand in this businesse" (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 11: 363).

In his final "Conclusion of the Worke" (20: 130–135), Purchas informs the reader that he himself "never travelled two hundred miles from Thaxted in Essex … where he was born…", but praises those English pioneers that would follow Portuguese trade routes such as the one described in the *Peregrinação*:

> All nations dance in this Round to doe the English service, and English Travellers here enjoy the Mayne, others the By, to attend, and with their Travels to perfect the English, at lest the knowledge of the World to the English.
>
> (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 20: 130)

The East India Company (EIC) would ultimately take 75 more years to establish direct trade with China. In the meantime, these translated Portuguese travel accounts on Asia proved most helpful not only to traders but also to the colonial enterprise as a whole.

Translating the *Peregrinação*

Fernão de Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* [*Pilgrimage*] was written between 1550 and 1578 and published posthumously in 1614. Recounting the author's arrival and stay in the Orient, it draws upon Portuguese oral[9] and written[10] accounts, as well as (translated) Asian sources,[11] and fuses fact and fiction. The text is thus highly polyphonic, intertextual and dialogic, establishing an elaborate network of multilingual knowledge transfer.[12]

Within years of its publication in Portuguese, the work was translated into several other languages: Spanish in 1620 (*Historia Oriental de Las Peregrinaciones de Fernan Mendez Pinto*)[13] by the cleric and poet Francisco de Herrera Maldonado (1575–1633); French (from the Portuguese and Spanish) in 1628 (*Les Voyages Aventureux de Fernand Mendez Pinto*) by the

Portuguese Bernard Figuier (?–?); Dutch (from the French; *De Wonderlyke Reizen van Fernando Mendez Pinto*) in 1652 by Jan H. Glazemaker (*c.* 1620–1682);[14] English (from the French) in 1653 (*The Voyages and Adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto*)[15] by Henry Cogan (*fl.* 1652)[16] and German (from the French and Dutch) in 1671 (*Die Wünderliche Reisen Ferdinandi Mendez Pinto*), probably by Heinrich (1644–1709) and Dietrich Boom (*c.* 1646–1680).[17] All these translation and adaptation processes were shaped by cultural and ideological constraints, and by the literary, religious and cultural specificities of each country and reading public. Maldonado's translation, used by Purchas and by the French translator, was, in fact, responsible for the work's success in Europe. The Spanish poet had access to the original manuscript and may have used paragraphs (from Chapter 1) that are not in the published version of the work, probably because they were censored. Maldonado's version was not a literal translation but prioritised literary quality. It took six years to complete and was republished in 1628, 1645, 1664 and 1666.

Purchas adapts the *Peregrinação* to respond to the needs of his implicit (commercial) readers and suit the national(istic) ideology dominant in the target culture (Ebel, 1969; Pantin, 2007: 173). He used both Mendes Pinto's own text and Maldonado's Spanish translation to summarise Chapters 1–131 under the title "CHAP. II. Observations of China, Tartaria, and other Eastern parts of the World, taken out of Fernam Mendez Pinto his *Peregrination*" (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 12: 56).[18] Like its two source texts, "Observations" (1625) is structured by the journey's geography and the description of routes, valuable merchandise, mines (61–64, 97), maritime conflicts with pirates, shipwrecks (64–65, 67–69, 75, 90), attacked cities and "castles", local military power (77, 130–132, 138), governments (133–135), religion, natural resources and landscapes (83, 108–109, 119, 138–140), local monuments and buildings (86–88, 91, 96, 99, 106–111, 122–127), including universities (138), and proto-ethnographic elements of the exoticised Asian landscapes (99–100, 109, 129, 138).

In general, the English text's internal structure is close to the source text(s), but changes were made and contextualisations, criticisms (particularly about Jesuits) and explanations were added. Purchas clearly selected what he considered to be authoritative authentic data by a reliable author (Mendes Pinto), but he verified its accuracy by using other contemporary narratives on China (by Vallignano, Gama, and "the Jesuits" in general, 56–58, 94), which he indicates in his *marginalia* and comments.[19]

His abbreviated translation is divided into six sections, each summarised in a short title. Purchas uses repetition and suggestive adjectives in his own section titles to summarise and interpret the text's content, and list situations and episodes, and draw attention to China's overwhelming wonders ("miserable adventures … strange expeditions… strange

voyage… miserable shipwrackes… miserable wandrings, admirable wall … buildings incredibly admirable… huge Armie"; "Observations", vol. 12: 59, 75, 90, 117, 128).

Purchas summarises the action of the *Peregrinação* up to Mendes Pinto's arrival in China,[20] and completely omits much of it (e.g. Chapters 5–38), informing the reader about the omitted chapters by listing the names of the places that are not included in his version (61). Many of his omissions have to do with the fact that the material repeats the narratives of Gaspar da Cruz and Galeote Pereira, which are also reprinted in *Pilgrimes* (vol. 11: 474–594). Indeed, Purchas identifies these intertextual dialogues to avoid needless repetition and cross-references several Jesuit texts to correct mistakes or corroborate information in the *Peregrinação* (55–58, 94–95).

Just as he did when editing Cruz's and Pereira's China treatises,[21] he uses margin notes to familiarise the reader with the exotic locations. He also inserts cultural and historical explanations in his version of the text, and changes the order of episodes, facts and information to make his abridged version easier to read (in the account of the country of Prester John, for example, pp. 60–61). One particularly interesting alteration comes in section one of the *Pilgrimage* where Mendes Pinto's narrative is presented in the third person, contrasting with the original text which uses the more subjective first person. However, from page 60 onwards, the third-person narrator shifts into the first person (the voice of the Portuguese travelling Self), allowing the reader the sensation of direct access to the adventurer's experience.

Aware that this work is a product of multiple translations, Purchas addresses specific commercial projects and religious and political problems (such as anti-Catholicism) that England was facing in the first half of the seventeenth century. He criticises Jesuit authors in his "To the Reader", and, like Mendes Pinto, uses European (and not Chinese) titles ("kings"; Mendes Pinto, 2010: 368–369), Catholic terms (*capelas*, "chapels"; Mendes Pinto, 2010: 122), and where Mendes Pinto (2010: 370) uses the term religious women ("religiosas"), Purchas uses the word "nuns" (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 12: 124) and informs his readers of Beijing's Portuguese and Chinese names: "Description of Paquim, or as the Chinois call it Pequim" (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 12: 114).

When Maldonado (Mendes Pinto, 1627: 255) translates "pagode" (pagoda, Mendes Pinto, 2010: 417) using the Catholic word "Monastery", Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 12: 133, 140) does the same. He also reproduces a margin note mentioning a "Temple [Singuafatur] and superstitions" (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 12: 138), although the original Portuguese text merely describes irrational beliefs and abject practices. Mendes Pinto's "blind abuse of the miserable" (2010: 418, my translation) becomes "the blindness of these miserable idolaters" (Mendes Pinto, 1627: 256, my

translation) in Maldonado's version, which Purchas echoes in the already mentioned margin note. If Mendes Pinto recontextualises Asian words and practices for the Portuguese public, Maldonado does the same when translating it for Spanish readers, and, using both texts, Purchas continues to recontextualise the text for an English anti-Catholic reading community.

When mentioning local businesses and trips, Purchas summarises Mendes Pinto's narrative, focusing on those facts that he believes to be essential and understandable to the English reader. Portuguese names are shortened (António de Faria becomes "Faria"; *Pilgrimes*, vol. 12: 63) but most unknown toponyms, local vessels (e.g. "Lorche";[22] 257) and even common words are kept in Portuguese ("Portas de Liampo"; 79), although some are anglicised (Lake Pinator, Rocke of Diamonds, Guamboy; 62, 65). This provides an interesting illustration of how many Asian terms entered the English language through Early Modern translations of Portuguese texts.

Purchas also omits paragraphs and sections that are part of what I call Mendes Pinto's auto-hagiography, which glorify the pioneer Portuguese maritime expansion, as well as detailed descriptions of Portuguese discussions and plans, their encounters with Asian communities, conflicts, local landscapes and people (61–62), periods of travel and stays in certain cities and ports (63–65). That is to say, Purchas consciously selects information that he believes to be useful to future English traders in these new contact zones (for example, which rivers are navigable, 66–67), omitting circumstantial dialogues and long contextualised episodes. We can therefore talk about Purchas's poetics of silence, based on the ellipsis, reorganisation and summarisation of information contained in the original, and of course the shift of focus onto what would interest his English readers, namely, routes, profit, merchandise, new cultures and trade (partners).

Purchas's editorial strategies were clearly designed to help the reader interpret this complex text. He unveils his strategy when he entitles his translation "*Observations* of China, Tartaria, and other Easterne parts of the World, *taken out* of Fernam Mendez Pinto his *Peregrination*" (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 12: 59, my emphasis), emphasising simultaneously the empirical aspect of the account ("observations") and his own selection of information ("taken out"). Though the source text itself is compressed, the translated work is considerably enlarged by his own margin notes and comments, meaning that it loses narrative "thickness". As Staller (2016: 16) points out, although Purchas "maintained elements of the older antiquarian narrative style (e.g. the pilgrimage paradigm in an all-inclusive world history)" he also adopted practices designed to "provide more accurate data based on new scientific methods".[23] Hence, Mendes Pinto's fantastical account becomes transformed into a pragmatic technical text for English commercial use.

Paratexts as Cultural Mediators

According to Belle and Hosington (2018), at a time when translation played a major role in shaping English literary culture, as markers (and makers) of cultural exchange, paratexts afforded translators and their printers a privileged space in which to advertise their activities, display their social and ideological affiliations, influence literary tastes and fashion England's representations of the cultural *Other* mainly for business purposes. Purchas's preface, margin notes and italicised or bracketed remarks inside the main text reflect his awareness of his audience's limited knowledge of China, and function as the gateway into Mendes Pinto's text, interpreting the text and influencing the reader's understanding of it (Genette, 1997; Slights, 2004).

Over 200 notes enrich and contextualise the narrative for the English reader. This is especially noticeable in the comments about the (demonised) Jesuits and their works in Purchas's titles, title-page notes, prefatorial remarks, *marginalia* and other liminal areas of the printed text (Anderson, 2002: 636–644; Belle and Hosington, 2018; Oldon, 2016: 618–628; Smith and Wilson, 2011: 733–756). Like Maldonado (Mendes Pinto, 1627: 117), Purchas inserts explanatory and interpretative notes in the text between brackets (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 12: 59, 63). As for the sidenotes, these are often words or short repetitions of what was mentioned in the summary and phrases to call the reader's attention to certain aspects and influence his interpretation ("A strange answere… Bird-wonder… Reliefe almost miraculous… Two monstruous statues and their devotions… Dogs for meat… Filthy charity…Rich silver Temple"; *Pilgrimes,* vol. 12: 61, 63, 70, 99, 109, 112, 123).

Purchas also uses an interesting strategy to let his readers know that he was not completely dependent on the Spanish mediating text, but that he also had access to Mendes Pinto's original. On page 103, in a passage about the Great Wall of China, we find two Portuguese phrases in the margin notes ("*Seis brasas dalto & quarenta palmos de largo*" ["Six arms high and forty palms wide"] and "*Vãon todas chanfradas ao picão*" ["They are all bevelled right to the top"]), both italicised, which Purchas quotes directly from Mendes Pinto's description (Mendes Pinto, 2010: 309). On page 108, when recounting how the Portuguese were arrested in China, a margin note adds, again in italicised Portuguese, "*sem colares, nem algemas*" ("without yokes or handcuffs") – an expression used by Mendes Pinto (2010: 316), but not by Maldonado in his translation ("*sin prisiones*" ["without fetters"], Mendes Pinto, 1627: 186). And on page 121, when describing a Chinese religious statue, Purchas quotes directly from the Portuguese ("**Encostado a bum* [sic. *hum*] *bordão*" ["Leaning against a support"]), rather than from Maldonado's Spanish version ("*recostado sobre un paston*"; Mendes Pinto, 1627: 221).

Purchas's methodological options and perceptions as editor and translator are clarified at a meta-narrative level in his "To the Reader", in which he announces: "I … give thee what I found, onely much contracted, and not going all the way with our Author, whose book is above one hundred and fifty sheets of paper" (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 12: 56, my emphasis). He mentions Maldonado's translation as his main source but naturally omits Maldonado's "Apology in Favour" of Mendes Pinto as a Catholic hero. He also reveals that he had "much trouble to give thee this Author, both for his Language … and for the raritie of his Relations… so stupendious" (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 12: 54), and strategically announces that his summary of the *Peregrinação* enumerates some of Mendes Pinto's mistakes regarding dates and numbers. This is a direct reference to the author's reputation as a fabulist, which gave rise to the famous pun on his name: "*Fernão Mentes? Minto*!" ("Fernão do you lie?", "Yes, I do").[24]

However, he also states that Mendes Pinto "does not mentiri [lie]" and is "just and true" (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 12: 56) – that is to say, Purchas does not necessarily believe in all the information that he is presenting, but he does not reject Mendes Pinto's work as a lie, characterising it as a "briefe collection" of a variety of comic and tragic events, with other "phantasies among". He reinforces the fact that the deceiving "Jesuits in some things differ" (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 12: 57–58) and concludes, using a comparative approach, that Mendes Pinto's narrative dialogues intertextually with Gaspar da Cruz's and Galeote Pereira's treatises on China.

At the end of the preface, Purchas gives his reader the freedom to distinguish fact from fiction in *Peregrinação* as he pleases

> I have … either wholly omitted or passed dry foot things neere and common; Far fetched and deare bought are the Lettice sutable to our lips … Humane affaires are by Eyewitnesses related more amply and certainly then any Collector ever hath done, or perhaps without these helpes could doe … and yet (except where the Author or Worke it selfe permitted not) these vast Volumes are contracted, and Epitomised, that the nicer Reader might not be cloyed.
>
> (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 1: xlii–xliii)

This creates, like so many other Early Modern paratexts, "a series of flexible and mutable relationships, as well as spaces which offer themselves for imaginative engagement" (Smith and Wilson, 2011: 14).

Purchas's abridged translation is thus a transnational and intercultural dialogue about China that involves the Portuguese, Spanish and English languages, religions and cultures. Translation creates transcultural phenomena (in that the meanings are adapted and negotiated for different target audiences) and serves as an important channel of empire

(Robinson, 2016). Purchas's anthology, which has a practical colonial aim, illustrates the power differentials that control what gets translated and how. As we have seen, the informed translator contextualised the foreign elements for an English public that knew almost nothing about China and placed the focus firmly upon strategic information that could be used for trading and colonising purposes, thereby transforming Mendes Pinto into a proto-ethnographer.

Conclusion

Translation and travel flourished in the Early Modern period (Biase, 2006: 1–2), and travel collections such as *Pilgrimes* illustrate the relation between the two activities, as well as evidencing England's interest in China (the most described Far East country in *Pilgrimes*). As we have seen, translation in Early Modern Europe reflected colonial and cultural politics (Venuti, 1993: 208–223) and mediated the (re)production and circulation of (proto-)scientific and cross-cultural knowledge.

Travel, translating and reading are acts of initiation, and Purchas's editorial and translational choices when abridging Mendes Pinto's text allow the English reader to discover China from his Protestant comfort zone. The translation and paratexts are creative acts which add layers of meaning to the original work, as well as allowing Purchas to present himself as an authoritative colonial and cultural agent with patriotic, religious and pragmatic motivations. The text is not only an adapted English version of a Portuguese original but also a strategic device that enables Purchas to convey facts and ideas regarding the colonial and religious European contact-confrontation with China, informing his reader of what to expect when in the Far East. It was thus part of the early English imperialistic project and demonstrates the centrality of translation, particularly from Iberian sources, to the study of China in Early Modern England.

Notes

1 Between 1604 and 1614, Purchas was vicar of Eastwood, a shipping resort two miles from Leigh on the Thames, where he was well positioned to collect documents and testimonies from travellers returning home.
2 Purchas declares: "the Portugals, who first began to open the Windowes of the World …/This Art [navigation] was before obscure and rude, but by the industry of the Portugals lifted up to higher attempts… employing Astronomie… enabled to new Discoveries in Africa, and after that in all the East, whose example the Spaniard following happily encountered a new World" (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 2: 8; 1:172–173).
3 Purchas' translations and editing have been considered "haphazard" by some (Foster, 1946: 55) "with a bent for thematic anthologizing" (Barbour, 1977: 38), an activity which "cannibalized" previous sources (Markley, 2006: 3), but

also "impressive" (Van Kley and Foss 1997: 275) and "with methodical care and deliberation" (Koss, 2012: 100). As a translator, Purchas did not work alone. In the prefatory "To the Reader" (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 1: xli) he notes that his son, also called Samuel Purchas, had also provided many "Transcriptions or Translations".

4 Some of the translations made by Portuguese traders and Jesuits were stolen by English sailors and translated into English as source of commercially useful proto-scientific and proto-ethnographic information. For instance, in September 1601, Captain Sir John Gilbert captured a Portuguese ship going to Brazil from Lisbon. He arrested the Jesuit Fernão Cardim, took him to London and kept his manuscripts on Brazil, some of which were published for the very first time by Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 4). During the famous English capture of the Portuguese carrack *Madre de Dios* (*Mãe de Deus*) near the Azores by Sir John Burrough in 1592, the English crew found manuscripts containing information which Hakluyt translated as matter of national interest: "And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, … the fittest places, which in all my readings and observations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Japan, & the Northern parts of China …, and therefore I have here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries, one of which I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China…, and was intercepted in the great five Carack called *Madre de Dios* two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene some incomparable jewell" (Hakluyt, 1962, vol. 1: 44–45).

5 For more on this work, see Puga (2002: 94–96).

6 These include: *Bellum Tartaricum, or the Conquest of the Great and Most Renowned Empire of China, by the Invasion of the Tartars* (unknown translator, London: John Crook, 1654), by M. Martini; *The History of that Great and Renowned Monarch of China* (1641; translator unknown, London: John Crook, 1655), by A. Semedo; *A New History of China* (unknown translator, London: Thomas Newborough, 1688), by G. de Magaillans.

7 Nevertheless, Purchas does distance himself from this Catholic author and his Spanish translator on religious grounds: "I should wearie you to let you see the rest of this pompous spectacle, and more to heare their Orations preferring him before Alexander, Scipio, Annibal, Pompey, Caesar: Neither will Religion let mee goe with him to their Masse: nor doe I ever dine worse then at solemne Feasts; and others will grudge me a roome at Comedies: all which pompes I will leave to our Author, enlarged by the Spanish translator, Canon of the Church of Arbas, as dedicated to Manuel Severin de Faria" (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 12: 81).

8 See Staller, (2016: 17–22), regarding Purchas's edits to the English travel writing on Africa or when criticising Catholic authors Pigafetta and Lopes.

9 Mendes Pinto (2010) quotes oral informants in his own stories (travel biofiction), namely episodes narrated by Fernão Gil Porcalho (Mendes Pinto: 116), Vasco Calvo (384), Lançarote Guerreiro (474), Paulo de Seixas (493), Domingos de Seixas (626) and Jorge Álvares (687).

10 Mendes Pinto (2010) quotes several Portuguese sources, namely Castanheda's *História do Descobrimento & Conquista da Índia* (1551–1556) (Mendes Pinto: 37, 78); Barros' *Décadas da Ásia* (1552–1563) in chapters 92, 116 and 183; Brás de Albuquerque's 1557 *Comentários de Afonso de Albuquerque* (chapters 65, 90), Gaspar da Cruz's 1570 *Tratado das Coisas da China*; Francisco Álvares's 1540 *Verdadeira Informação das Terras do Preste*

João; João Bermudes's 1565 *Relação da Embaixada*; Galvão's 1563 *Tratado dos Descobrimentos* (471), as well as shipwreck reports (455).

11 These include geographical information obtained from locals (e.g. about Champá and Ainam island; Mendes Pinto (2010: 138–139, 147–150); historical and proto-ethnographic information on China provided by the Chinese (293, 313), such as an "old hermit" in Pegu of whom he asks "many things", 588); tales told by the inhabitants of Calempluy and Pocasser (249, 289–292), former prisoners (144) and a Chinese merchant who summarises Chinese chronicles (150). He identifies the source of his information on Chinese history as the "first Chronicle of the Eighty Kings of China" which he heard "being read many times" (300, 308), and a booklet on the greatness of Beijing titled *Aquesendoo*" (348), amongst others (275, 315, 346). He translates, quotes and paraphrases Asian correspondence, such as a letter written on a banana tree leaf sent by a Sumatra governor to the Portuguese (58), and transcribes letters from the kings of Achem and Ujantana, Siam, the mandarin of Nouday, and a Chinese procurator in Nanking (100, 108, 212, 283, 481). In Lan Sang he also hears one local book about religion being read, which he also transcribes (557).

12 He informs the reader that he uses facts "according to what [he] has seen and read", and which have been translated for him (2010: 472). He may have drawn on João de Barros' Chinese books, which were translated by a Chinese servant (Loureiro, 2016: 19).

13 Maldonado entitles his version *Oriental History of the Peregrinaciones*, using the Portuguese word *Peregrinação* in the plural to convey Mendes Pinto's multiple adventures.

14 On the Dutch translation, see Couto (2012).

15 Like the French translator, and unlike Purchas, Cogan omits the term "Peregrination", neutralising the title's religious connotation.

16 Cogan's version (81 chapters), like the Dutch and German translations (63 chapters), is abridged (Faria, 1992: 24–25) and neutralises the text's Catholic dimension (for example Chapters 202–220, dealing with Saint Francis of Assis's mission, are omitted). The Spanish and French versions, on the other hand, all have 226 chapters like the original.

17 On the Spanish, French, English and German translations of the *Peregrinação*, see Gonçalves (2013).

18 Keeping the number of pages to a minimum must have also been on his mind when editing his enormous anthology. Smaller books were cheaper to buy and easier to hold.

19 Indeed, Purchas's margin notes throughout the anthology (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 11: 478, 493–494, 502; 12: 99) cross-reference texts by many other authors such as Marco Polo, Gaspar da Cruz, Albuquerque, and Mendes Pinto, informing the reader about omissions, editing choices, and natural phenomena, as well as historical and cultural facts that the latter would find hard to understand without explanation (11: 482–483, 486, 493–498, 507, 513, 536, 538, 566–594).

20 Chapters 2–4 of the original text are abridged into one short paragraph, and pages 124–129 of the Spanish translation are summarised into a mere five lines.

21 Purchas republished abbreviated versions of the treaties on China by Gaspar da Cruz and Galeote Pereira, translated from the Italian by Richard Willes.

22 The *lorcha*, developed by the Portuguese, around 1557, in Macao, is a type of sailing vessel having a junk rig with Cantonese-style batten sails on a Portuguese-style hull which made the *lorcha* faster and able to carry more cargo than the Chinese junk.

23 Staller goes on: "His careful attention to detail in his data … were following observational methods of empiricism more commonly associated with John Selden and especially Francis Bacon. Like the empiricists Purchas carefully maintained his notes and papers to preserve an archive for posterity… and used marginal comments to provide authority for the body text (2016: 16).
24 Purchas justifies Mendes Pinto's mistakes and contradictions by referencing his own mistakes as editor and translator but warns that these "Comicke and Tragicke events" may be fantasies of the Portuguese author (*Pilgrimes,* vol. 12: 58).

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12 *Bolseiros, Lançados, Línguas, Jurubaças* and Other Interpreters of Portuguese in Macau and Africa in the Early Modern Period

John Milton

Introduction

The fifteenth century was the great period of voyages of the Portuguese empire. Under the aegis of the kings Duarte I (1391–1438, reigned 1433–1438), Afonso V (1432–1481, reigned 1438–1481), and especially Prince Henrique (1394–1460), "Henry the Navigator", the Portuguese crown began to sponsor expeditions down the coast of Africa in search of slaves, gold, and spices.

> Year by year, headland by headland, Portuguese ships worked their way down the southwestward-sloping bulge of West Africa, cautiously sounding with plumb lines as they went, forever wary of shoals and reefs, over which the sea broke in pounding surf. In the process they began to delineate the shape of a continent: the desert coasts of Mauretania, the lush tropical shores of the region they called Guinea, the "Land of the Blacks," and the great rivers of equatorial Africa: the Senegal and the Gambia. Under Henrique's direction, exploration, raiding, and trading went hand in hand with ethnographical curiosity and mapping. Each successive cape and bay was pinned to a chart with the name of a Christian saint or a visible feature or an event.
>
> (Crowley, 2006: 34–35)

Amongst the many people taken on these voyages – navigators, sailors, soldiers, chroniclers, and ancillary workers, it was also important to take interpreters to make contact with the local peoples to obtain food, water, and (navigational and geographic information) in order not to delay the expedition (Pinheiro, 2005: 33). On the 1487 voyage of Bartolemeu Dias (1450–1500) along the African coast

> Dias carried with him six Africans, two men and four women, who had been kidnapped by Diogo Cão (ca.1450–ca.1486) on one of his journeys and taught Portuguese, because, according to João de Barros, "the king

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> [João II, o "Príncipe Perfeito, 1455–95, reigned 1481–95] "ordered that they were to be dropped all the way down this coast, finely dressed and supplied with displays of silver, gold, and spices.
>
> (Crowley, 2006: 68)

Here the intention was

> that going into the villages, they would be able to tell the people about the grandeur of his kingdom, and the wealth that he had there, and how his ships were sailing all along this coast, and that he sought the discovery of India, and especially of a king called Prester John. Women were particularly chosen, as they would not be killed in tribal disputes.
>
> (Crowley, 2006: 68)

In 1498, Vasco da Gama's expedition landed in Calicut, on the western coast of India, the Malabar coast, ending an 11-month voyage to discover maritime routes to the Indies. Among the crew were, in addition to the cartographers, navigators, and pilots, 17 language specialists – four Africans who were experts in languages of the West African coast, three Portuguese Bantu and Arabic speakers, and ten other exiles, used as interpreters (Pinheiro, 2005: 29).

The language "experts" included a broad mixture of individuals

> Former renegades and captives, natives and converted slaves, Jews and new Christians, adventurers and convicts formed an important contingent of a specific category inside the frontier society of the Portuguese empire: that of the interpreters or *línguas* as they became to generally be known in the Portuguese empire.
>
> (Couto, 2003: 1)

Jews and Arabs also worked as interpreters in many places. After 1548, many Jews fled to Africa to escape the Inquisition in Portugal (Aguiar, 2005: 737), while others voyaged further afield. Gaspar da Gama, also known as Gaspar da India (Lipiner, 1987; Tavares quoted in Couto, 2003), was a Jewish convert of Ashkenazi origin, who went to India as an interpreter for Vasco da Gama, D. Manuel, Pedro Alvares Cabral, and D. Francisco de Almeida.[1] Francisco de Albuquerque and Alexandre de Ataíde were Sephardi interpreters for Afonso de Albuquerque (Aubin quoted in Couto, 2003: 2).

Bolseiros, Filhados, Lançados, and *Degredados*

There was a need for Portugal to train interpreters both in oriental and African languages and this was basically carried out in two ways. Natives

in the regions that were being newly explored were captured and taken to Portugal, where they were kept by the Portuguese government and trained in the Portuguese language, law, and Christian precepts. They were called *bolseiros* or *filhados* and would take up positions in the overseas Portuguese colonial administration in the Portuguese-occupied areas of Africa. They even received the honour of being addressed as *Dom*. During the reigns of D. João II (1481–1495) and D. Manuel (1495–1521), there was considerable investment in this system. According to Jeanne Hein, the training of interpreters was much more important than placing cannons along the African coast (Hein, 1977, quoted in Pinheiro, 2005: 33).

Sometimes the *bolseiros* would be captured slaves, who were sent to Portugal to learn the language through immersion, and would return to become the Portuguese middlemen. Others were members of the African elite, whose confidence the Portuguese needed.

In correspondence dated 1512, the King of Cochin refers to young natives who were already in Lisbon and others who were on their way there to be trained in the Portuguese language. Many were already Christianized, and some had even become Catholic priests in the religious colleges of the colonies, serving as translators for the catechesis. Several of them also acted as informants, interlocutors, or even revisers in the composition of grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies of their own languages. This was the case with Jorge Pires and Mateus Dias, both from India and who had taken on Portuguese names. They arrived in Portugal in 1538 to study in Coimbra (Pinheiro, 2005: 37). Many others studied in the Santo Elói college in Lisbon and the Lóios and São Bento convents in Évora and Lisbon, respectively, which aimed to educate colonial elites who would be loyal to Portugal (Pinheiro, 2005: 35).

In many cases, the returning *filhados* would end up working with the *lançados* (petty criminals or exiled convicts who were literally *thrown* or *launched* – *lançados* – onto the African coast). The convicts (*degregados*) were particularly "expendable" as they had been let out of prison specifically to be released on the coast to make inquiries about uncharted and possibly hostile areas. Of course, they might not survive; however, if they did, they might provide valuable information for future expeditions (Crowley, 2006: 110). They would need to learn the local language, make contacts, get to know the local culture, and would be used by the Portuguese when they stopped over on future voyages. In many cases, the *degregados* would marry local women, set up a home, establish a business, usually in trading, and have children who would themselves be bilingual and in turn act as interpreters. Crowley quotes the letter of Pêro Vaz de Caminha, commenting on the fact that after trading for nine days and replenishing the ship, they left two *degregados* with the apparently friendly Tupinambá Indians: "They

[the convicts] began to weep and the men of the land comforted them and showed that they pitied them" (Crowley, 2006: 215).

Richard A. Lobban writes on the importance of the *lançado* traders in Cape Verde, who enjoyed a large amount of economic freedom. As many of them had been expelled from Portugal, they were not always so loyal to the Portuguese crown. However, they were necessary to Portugal as middlemen in the slave, gold, hide, ivory, honey, and wax trades and acquired a considerable amount of power (Lobban, 1995: n.p.).

Crowley mentions a Portuguese *degregado*, João Machado, who had been left on the Swahili coast some ten years previously and who had successfully found employment with the Muslim ruler of Goa, Adil Shah. Machado brought valuable information of possible attacks to Afonso de Albuquerque on his 1510 expedition and became a go-between between the Portuguese and the local Muslim ruler when the Portuguese took Goa (Crowley, 2006: 530, 534, 539, 622, 632).

In 1512, Albuquerque returned to take Goa, and Machado defected to the Portuguese, bringing knowledge of the Shah's plans and the shortcomings of their fort. Crowley comments on the pathos of this decision:

> Machado had a Muslim wife and two children, whom he had secretly baptized as Christians. When the moment came to slip away, he could take only his wife; rather than leave his children in the infidel faith, he drowned them, that they might go directly to heaven.
>
> (Crowley, 2006: 622)

The *Línguas*

The term *língua* (literally language or tongue) took on a much wider connotation. On the ships bringing the slaves to Brazil, there were always *línguas*, who were usually slaves themselves and who knew the language(s) of the slaves being transported. They would receive somewhat better treatment, eating with the mariners and not being chained. When stopped by the Brazilian authorities, the *língua* might have to negotiate with them (Almeida, 2012: 65–70).

In Brazil, *língua* became the general term for guide/interpreter in the sixteenth century and remained in use right to the nineteenth century (Silva-Reis and Milton, 2019).

> As the Portuguese established their colonies, it became necessary for the Portuguese to establish a formal system of interpreters, and these official translators were called *línguas*. In 1554 in India the Portuguese had already established various roles, such as the "*língua do capitão*" [captain's interpreter], "*língua da feitoria*" [factory interpreter], "*língua do ouvidor*" [judge's interpreter], "*língua português da alfândega*"

> [customs interpreter], "*língua brâmane da alfândega*" [brahmin customs interpreter], "*língua do tanadar-mor*" [interpreter of the principal tax officer], "*língua dos frades*" [monks' interpreter], etc.
>
> (Santos 1989: 57–60, quoted in Pinheiro 2005: 38, italics in original)

In Cochin, they were the highest paid local employees, and in Goa (1529), they received about a third of what was earned by the manager of the trading post – the highest position in the administrative hierarchy. The position of interpreter was valued and seen as a form of social ascension and prestige. Religious *línguas* would also be required for those natives undergoing catechesis or who had recently been catechized, and these should be well paid and closely monitored. A royal charter of King Sebastião (1554–1578, reigned 1557–1578) to the viceroy of the State of India, in 1561, sought to regulate employment and the granting of a language position, stipulating that only Christians should be allowed to become *línguas* and should serve for a maximum of three years in order for there to be a turnover and encourage local people to convert to Christianity (Pinheiro, 2005: 38–39).

Improved pay and greater security were designed to reduce the considerable problem of bribery and corruption. However, the payment *línguas* received was generally poor and infrequent, work was sporadic, and many made the bulk of their money from wherever they could – bribes, favours, adding value. And when accompanying a delegation, there was always the possibility of doing a little business on the side or smuggling, or receiving

> small donations according to Oriental custom offered by kings or local potentates they visited. Gaspar Martins, interpreter for the delegation of Fernão Gomes de Lemos to Shah Isma'il, received one hundred and fifty cruzados in this manner, as did the clerk Gil Simões.
>
> (Castanheda, I/III, chap. XLVII: 845, quoted in Couto, 2003: 6)

For this reason, we frequently find *línguas* involved in commercial activities, even illicit ones, such as smuggling pepper (Disney, 1989: 69–70, quoted in Couto, 2003: 6).

And the work was frequently dangerous. Punishments handed out to interpreters were not rare. The Portuguese were disliked by the Chinese Empire, largely because of the frequent acts of Portuguese pirates. And when the expedition of Tomé Pires entered China in 1516 with some five interpreters (*jurubaças*), the main interpreter, the Arab Hoja Asan, died of illness, and the other four were beheaded and their wives sold as slaves (Loureiro, 1992: 39–40, quoted in Paiva, 2008: 50). One of the reasons for this was that the letters they presented seemed to have been falsified:

> The lingoas were asked why they made a false letter and not according to our lord d'el-rey. They said that did it according to the custom

> of China; that the letter from our lord d'el-rey came closed and sealed, which could not be read or opened, which had to be given to el-rey into his hand; that we were from afar, and that we did not know the custom of China, which was great, that we would know it in the future; that they were not to blame, since they would make the letter according to the custom. The mandarins would not be content with the answer of the answer will not be satisfied. Each of them was asked where they were from; they were arrested - so much so that the lord died - and the young men his servants [too].
>
> (Loureiro, 1992: 27–28, quoted in Paiva, 2008: 49, my translation)

Frei Gaspar describes the way in which his interpreter was physically punished, seemingly a way of asserting the power of the local official:

> It was wonderful to see in what little space they took the young man and tied his arms behind him with a rope and they stretched him out on his stomach with his thighs bared" and "We still saw him tied up and we didn't have a língua to speak through, and they gave they boy a whipping, and we gave him some amber oil.
>
> (Cruz, 1984: 849, quoted in Campos, 2006: 63, my translation)

And with their interpreter incapacitated, they would lose all their power of negotiation (Campos, 2006: 63–64.).

Although the *línguas* were absolutely necessary to the Portuguese, their function was often linked to spying missions and secret negotiations. Gaspar da India prepared his son Baltasar for the function of *lingua*, and Baltasar was charged to spy on the forces of the Mameluke Admiral Amir Husayn al-Kurdî in 1508 (Castanheda, I/II, chap. LXXVII: 391, quoted in Couto, 2003: 3). In 1515, the delegation sent to Shah Isma'il included a *língua*, Gaspar Rodrigues, whom Afonso de Albuquerque had sent in disguise to hear what the Moors had to say about him (Castanheda, I/III, chap. LIII: 326, quoted in Couto, 2003: 3). In 1535, the *lingua* João de Santiago secretly informed Governor Nuno da Cunha of the intentions of Bahadur Shah (Correia, III/II chap. LXII: 620/621, quoted in Couto, 2003: 4). Diogo de Mesquita, prisoner in Cambay, learned Gujurati (apparently thanks to the liberality of his guards), and although he would certainly have converted to Islam, he still acted as a *língua*, messenger, spy, and negotiator between the Portuguese and the Gujurati sultanate in around 1535 (Aubin, 1974: 178).

An account from the Portuguese embassy to Bengal in 1521 (Correia, II/I, chap. X: 71/72, quoted in Couto, 2003: 1–2) tells of a renegade, João de Borba (known for his linguistic gifts), who served as an interpreter in a dissension between Antonio de Brito and, a Turk, Ali Aga. During the course

of the discussion, he *translated* one of the answers in an entirely different way for his own convenience. For this reason, in 1510 Albuquerque sent the delegation of Ruy Gomes de Carvalhosa to Shah Isma'il with interesting, well-specified instructions: the *língua* should not add a single word beyond those of the ambassador during the audience, always remaining by his side, and should be lodged in isolated accommodation for the duration of his mission.

At times, these missions revealed themselves to be incompatible with the prestige and social position and the political responsibility of those the interpreter served. The discrepancy of which he was testimony occasionally rendered him inconvenient: other than being associated to state secrets, many times he also knew their darker side. Afonso de Albuquerque kept a close eye on his interpreters. In 1512, he had his *língua* Francisco de Albuquerque put in irons for five months, accused of knowing his secrets (Bouchon, 1985: 210, quoted in Couto, 2003: 1).

The following drawing of "Punishing an Interpreter" (1801) (Figure 12.1) from *The Punishments of China: illustrated by twenty-two engravings: with explanations in English and French*, by George Henry Mason (1770–1851), an English army officer in China, though not directly related to the Portuguese empire, is pertinent, and the fact that the interpreter was included as the only profession beside that of the boatman, who would have received

Figure 12.1 "Plate XVIII: Punishing an Interpreter" (Mason, 1801: n.p.).

a specialized punishment, shows that such punishments were hardly rare and that the profession was considered far from honest.

Turgimãos, Tangomãos, Grumetes, and Linguesters

The Portuguese *turgimão*, a debased form of the Arabic *tarjumān*, Turkish *tercüman*, "dragoman", took on a different nuance in the Portuguese foreign possessions, becoming used for black slaves who became the interpreters of their new masters (Pinheiro, 2005, quoted in Silva-Reis, 2018: 4; Silva, 2011). Such interpreters were an integral part of the slave trade. Luís de Cadamosto, a fifteenth-century Venetian navigator, gives an account of the way in which the *turgimão*, would be able to buy his freedom, or *forro*.

> [...] And, while sailing, we came to the mouth of a river, which proved not inferior to the aforementioned Senega river; so, seeing such a beautiful river, and the land looking beautiful and abundant with trees right to the beach, we anchored, and decided to send to the land to one of our *turgimãos*, because all our ships had black *turgimãos*, brought from Portugal, and these *turgimãos* are black slaves sold by that gentleman from Senega to the first Portuguese Christians who came to discover the country of the Negroes; and these slaves became Christians in Portugal, and learned the Spanish language well; and we took them from their owners, with the retribution and payment of giving them a slave for each one, choosing from all our lot, for their work of *turgimania*: and, in giving for each of these *turgimãos* four slaves to their owner, they therefore become free. By this means, many slaves then become free, through this turgimania.
>
> (Cadamosto, 1948: 148–149, quoted in Silva-Reis, 2018: 17, my translation)

Thus the interpreter, the *turgimão*, was able to buy his freedom by providing his Portuguese master with four other slaves. *Turgimania* (which effectively involved becoming an intermediary in the slave trade) was therefore a common form of social ascension.

The *grumete*, nowadays a term for a ship's boy, was used for the men and women who served the *lançados* and who lived near them, wearing European clothes, building Portuguese-style houses, speaking Portuguese, calling themselves Christians and Portuguese. They were often of mixed blood, with a native mother and Portuguese father. The *grumetes* began as rowers, guides, and servants and became buyers and sellers for their masters, interpreters, messengers, pilots, and boatbuilders, and would generally use the name of the *lançado* under whose protection they found themselves (Silva, 2011: 168, 178–179, quoted in Silva-Reis,

2018: 15–16). Richard A. Lobban mentions that the *lançado* traders in Cape Verde would employ a number of *grumetes* as assistants or bodyguards to protect their warehouses (Lobban, 1995: ebook).

While the *lançados* were the coastal traders, the *tangomãos* were the pathfinders in the interior who would have contact with African chiefs. They would be in close contact with Africans, more specifically the *tangomas* and the *grumetes*. Philip J. Havik states that the term *tangoma* or *tanguma* was used in the 1570s to describe free Christian women from coastal ethnic groups who were recruited by the *lançados* or *tangomãos* to assist them (Havik, 2012: 322). On many occasions, marriage would result, and the *tangoma* was a cultural, linguistic, and biological intermediary who would familiarize the Portuguese with the African world, the rules and traditions of commerce, distribution, and bargaining; and the Portuguese would form alliances and/or compete with the local traders and provide the goods which interested the visiting Portuguese ships. The wives, the *tangomas*, would also learn European habits, so becoming more Europeanized as their husbands became Africanized. And of course, their children would form the mestizo population along the African coast. The *tangomas* also had a major advantage in times of conflict as they were still allowed into the markets of their adversaries; they were also able to punish a town by staying away and thereby preventing commerce (Silva-Reis, 2018: 14).

A third type of interpreter was the *linguester*, a combination of língua and interpreter, a term used in the nineteenth century to describe a type of smuggler acting in central and western Africa, a bilingual intermediary who dominated the commerce between Europeans and African slave traders in the Angola and Congo area in the African interior (Almeida, 2012: 61–64), using their knowledge of the two languages to ensure the trade was lucrative for themselves. Very often this language knowledge had been acquired when working for the Portuguese.

Ivana Stolze Lima mentions the bad reputation the *linguesters* had and mentions the account of Joachim John Monteiro, "Angola and the River Congo" (1875), in which the historian Abreu highlights the comment that the linguists of the Congo would be deceitful and liars, using their linguistic power for their own benefit. One of the scams would be, for example, announcing one value in quicongo and another for whites, pocketing the difference (Lima, 2017: 54).

Macunzes and Tendalas

In "O intérprete negro na história da tradução oral: da tradição africana ao colonialismo português no Brasil" ["The black interpreter in the history of oral translation: from the African tradition to Portuguese colonialism in

Brazil"] Dennys Silva-Reis outlines the various kinds of interpreter found in the areas of what is now Angola that were explored and later held by the Portuguese from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Following the work of Flávia Maria de Carvalho (2010, 2013), he describes the *tendala* (or *tandala*) as a *macota*, a member of the local aristocracy who had considerable power over the *sobas*, a type of governor, the difference being that the *macotas* would be specialized advisors while the *macunzes* functioned as *ambassadors*. The *tendalas* had often been slaves, who would take on the functions of spokesmen for the chiefs, administrators of justice, and also interpreters, helping with official correspondence where the written form was used, and working on the resolution of subjects such as treaties, wars, and complaints. According to Beatrix Heintze (quoted in Carvalho da Cruz, 2015: 64), an African chief who was intended or forced to become a vassal of the Portuguese crown would often use a *tendala* to make contact with the governor of Angola. The term *tendala* could also refer to Portuguese interpreters. Carvalho da Cruz also mentions a decree signed by the Portuguese governor António Lobo da Costa Gama and the *capitão tendal* "Nicolau de Nazareth, responsible for the reading and explanation of this document in the 'language of the country'" (Carvalho da Cruz, 2015: 73). Other documents refer to Nicolau de Nazareth as a Capitão Tendala-Môr [Captain Interpreter-Major] (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino). The name of *tendala* would also be adopted by the Portuguese to denominate African commanders in the Portuguese army, who would also be guides and interpreters on the Portuguese expeditions (Carvalho, 2010: 50, quoted in Silva-Reis, 2018: 5).

A second type of interpreter was the *macunze*, a type of messenger, emissary, ambassador, or herald, who memorized messages and recited them in the presence of the competent authorities (Ito, 2016: 333, quoted in Silva-Reis, 2018: 6). The secret and official messages were known as *milongas* (Lienhard, 2008). Representing the authorities of *sobas,* these *macunzes* were the main vehicles of communication between Africans and foreigners, travelling to resolve problems with other kingdoms, and were responsible for negotiations that preceded the formal contacts between Europeans and the members of the local political elites (Carvalho, 2010: 51, in Silva-Reis, 2018: 6, translated by Lienhard).

Martin Lienhard gives examples of the work of the *macunzes*. We are told that, on 17 December 1627, Alvaro Roiz de Sousa, captain of the fort of Embaca, informed Fernão de Sousa about the arrival of two *macunzes* of queen Njinga conveying an oral message. In the previous month, the governor had declared an all-out war on the queen. In the governor's words:

> [...] the [queen's] message contained instructions proposing to submit [the *macunzes*], in her name, to an ordeal they call *quelumbo*, in order

> to prove that the incident which occurred in the Quezos: the death and the imprisonment of several *pombeiros* [catchers of slaves], the robbery of *pieces* [slaves] and fabrics, had not been ordered by her, and if the said two negroes died because of the ordeal, she would be glad to have her head cut off, but if they did not die with the ordeal, it would be clear that she did not have any responsibility in this incident because she did not join with the Quezos, nor did the *sobas* of Lucala join with her, and she was not at war with any of them. The only wish she had was to be a *piece* [slave] and a daughter of mine, and to obtain permission to tungar [settle] on the island of the *imbillas* [graveyards] where her brother died, and that for God's sake Angola Aire should be the king, because she wanted to retire for being tired of living in the *matos*.
>
> (Sousa, 1985/1625–1630: 296–297, quoted in Lienhard, 2008: 106–107)

Lienhard reports that Queen Njinga, who was very hostile to the Portuguese, had sent an oral message to Governor Alvaro Rioz de Souza challenging him to inflict the ordeal, the *quelumbo*, on the emissaries, the *macunzes*. If they died because of the ordeal, she would be proved guilty in having been responsible for the death of the slave merchants. If they were to survive, then she would be proved innocent.

Lienhard gives other examples of the use of *macunzes*, with Queen Njinga sending the *macunzes* to villages where they would advise the villagers to flee to land under her control in order to hide from the Portuguese (Lienhard, 2008: 111–112). And Governor Fernão de Souza also uses the term for the messengers representing the Portuguese who were sent to the villages to obtain pieces [slaves]:

> …the governors sent a macunze , who is an ambassador, with a quantity of silk clothes, empondas [clothes] and farregoulos, which is the clothing of the negroes, and this macunze told each soba that he was the macunze of the governor and that he came looking for loanda [tribute], and as the macunzes were always persons well trained for this business, they stripped the best they could from each soba, obliging them with practices they call milongas to give to the governor, the macunze , the interpreter and their companions, the [number of] slaves they could not [really afford to] give.
>
> (Sousa, 1985/1625–1630: 279, quoted in Lienhard, 2008: 111–112. Translated by Lienhard)

Línguas, Jurubaças, and Escrivães in Macau

In the China of the Early Modern period, the idea was widespread that the use of another language could somehow sully one's soul.

Thus, interpreters, who took Portuguese names, wore European clothes, and became Christians, were seen as having corrupt souls and considered traitors. As a result, those who did become interpreters were usually the poor Chinese who had studied in Catholic schools and who saw this as a way up the social ladder (Couto, 2003: 2).

However, with the permanent establishment of the Portuguese in Macau, or rather "A Cidade do Nome e Deus de Macau", as it was known from 1583, and the setting up of the local government in Macau, the establishment of the 1627 "Regimento do Língua da Cidade, e dos Jurubaças Menores e Escrivaens" formally recognized the need for more reliable and honest interpreters. Oral contact with the Chinese authorities would be made by the main *língua*, who would be assisted by a number of *jurubaças*, or assistant interpreters (Boxer, 1997: 20, quoted in Paiva, 2008: 66). These would be Chinese who had become Christians (one of the conditions) and who had an excellent knowledge of Portuguese.

Escrivães would be in charge of the written correspondence with China. Both the *escrivães* and *línguas* would need to have a good knowledge of the bureaucratic system and habits of the Chinese and plan strategies (Paiva, 2008: 112).

Paiva summarizes the characteristics of the *línguas* and *escrivães*. The *línguas* had to be Chinese, Christians, married, competent, experienced, prudent, and faithful to Macau. They would usually come from the lower classes, and they would be the "olhos e ouvidos" ("eyes and the ears") of the city (Paiva, 2008: 114). And they would represent the city in all its dealings with the Chinese and the Mandarins, follow the instructions of the city, and help to further the interests of the city. They would thus be linguistic and cultural intermediaries, diplomats and negotiators, inspectors, administrators, and educators.

The role of the *escrivães* was in many ways similar. They had to defend and represent the city and were expected to be competent, faithful, honest, resident in the city and be married, thus rooted there. They would have to reply to all written correspondence with China and refute any false accusations against Macau, file all correspondence with China, and print instructions for general distribution (Paiva, 2008: 117–118).

The principal *língua* (later called *faraute*) would thus need to be a diplomat, negotiator, inspector, administrator, educator, and controller of information circulating between Peking, Canton, and Macau. He would need to know correct behaviour and the correct type of discourse in order to respect the protocol and formulas of politeness for the visit of Mandarins, and the forms of payment and special presents.

The *língua* was in charge of the census and surveillance of the Chinese population in the city. He was supposed to prevent the Mandarin authority from interfering with that of the town council, and above all he had to

keep a written record of political and diplomatic contact with the Imperial Administration. He was also in charge of ordering regular supplies of rice from Canton, and controlling the ships in the local waters, using his networks of contacts (Campos, 2006: 119–120).

However, despite this turn towards respectability, one of the most important functions of the *língua* was obtaining information, in other words, spying, which implied contracting a chain of informers in the Canton region, who themselves were placed in strategic positions (Campos, 2006: 117).

In order to provide a certain stability, the post of *língua* was seen as one which could be handed down from father to son. The father and the brother of one of the most important interpreters of the city in the years around 1620, Simão Coelho, were themselves also interpreters, and the office would be perpetuated through following generations. With the goal of planning for the "long trend", future *línguas* began to be trained by the head interpreter, who would be in charge of training his successors. This led to the creation of an actual school for which young children were recruited to be trained as *línguas*. In addition to linguistic knowledge, the training would also include a knowledge of laws and customs (quoted in Couto, 2003: 7).

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to describe some of the characteristics of various types of interpreters of Portuguese in Africa and Macau in the Early Modern period (from approximately 1500 to 1800). Despite the very different circumstances, we can find certain similarities between them. First, there was a basic connection between commerce and interpreting, with interpreters often acting as middlemen in the transfer of goods from one society to another, including in the slave trade. Second, they often belonged to a marginal class and received irregular remuneration; this meant that they were open to bribes and irregularities (indeed, there was a recognized punishment in China for interpreters who had wilfully misinterpreted). Finally, apart from tasks of the Macau *escrivães* and some of the tasks of the *tendalas*, all the other work carried out by the interpreters we have studied was totally oral. Indeed, the majority of the *lançados* were very probably illiterate, and many of the African societies we have briefly looked at did not use written forms.

Notes

1 Crowley (2006: 110) mentions that Pedro Alvares Cabral took Gaspar da Gama to the Malabar coast of India between March 1500 and October 1501, since he was knowledgeable about the intricate politics of the region, along

with another converted Jew, Master John, Dom Manuel's physician. On his return, Cabral brought Malayalam-speaking Indians who would be taught Portuguese, with the aim of cutting out the Arabic-speaking middlemen.

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