Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 21

The Handpress World

VOLUME 15

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/lww

Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640

Edited by

S.K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington

BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON
2013

Lorenzo Monaco, diptych panel of St Jerome and the lion.

Cover illustration: Lorenzo Monaco, detail from diptych panel showing St. Jerome and the lion, courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Renaissance Cultural Crossroads : translation, print and culture in Britain, 1473-1640 / edited by S.K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington.
pages cm. -- (Library of the written word, ISSN 1874-4834 ; volume 21. The handpress world ; volume 15)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-24184-8 (hardback) -- ISBN (invalid) 978-90-04-24203-6 (e-book)
1. Literature--Translations into English--History and criticism. 2. Translating and interpreting--Great Britain--History--16th century. 3. Translating and interpreting--Great Britain--History--17th century. 4. Translating and interpreting--Great Britain--History--To 1500. 5. Book industries and trade--Great Britain--History. 6. Translations--Publishing--Great Britain--History. 7. Early printed books--Great Britain--Bibliography. 8. Incunabula--Great Britain--Bibliography. 9. Language and culture--Great Britain--History. 10. Books and reading--Great Britain--History. I. Barker, Sara, editor of compilation. II. Hosington, Brenda, editor of compilation.

PR131.R46 2012
418'.020941--dc23

2012036680

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual "Brill" typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1874-4834
ISBN 978-90-04-24184-8 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-24203-6 (e-book)

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

CONTENTS

CONTRIBUTORS

Guyda Armstrong is Senior Lecturer in Italian at the University of Manchester. A Boccaccio specialist, she has a long-standing research interest in book history and translation studies, and has just completed a monograph entitled *The English Boccaccio: A History in Books* (University of Toronto Press, 2013). She is also editing the early modern English translations of Boccaccio for publication in the MHRA Tudor and Stuart Translations series, and is co-editing the forthcoming *Cambridge Companion to Boccaccio*.

S.K. Barker has held postdoctoral research positions on the St Andrews *French Vernacular Book Project* and the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* project at the University of Warwick, and is currently Lecturer in European History at the University of Exeter. Her monograph *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009) investigated the works of the French Reformer Antoine de Chandieu. She is currently researching international news translation practices and the problem of topicality in early modern Europe.

Joyce Boro is an associate professor of English at the Université de Montréal. Her work focuses on the English reception of Spanish romance. She is the editor of Lord Berners's *Castell of Love* (MRTS 2007) and Margaret Tyler's *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* (MHRA forthcoming). She has published articles and essays on romance, translation, Berners, Fletcher, the *novela sentimental*, and book history.

Robert Cummings is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow. He works mainly on sixteenth-and seventeenth-century literature. With Gordon Braden and Stuart Gillespie he recently co-edited *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2: 1550–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). He is now editing a comprehensive selection of George Herbert's English and Latin works for 21st Century Oxford Authors.

Susanna De Schepper studied English and German in Belgium (Brussels and Leuven) before focussing on book history at Leiden University. She has recently completed her PhD in the Centre for the Study of the

Renaissance at the University of Warwick, where she was a research assistant for the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* project. Susanna now works for Flanders Heritage Library as cataloguer/bibliographer for the Short Title Catalogue Flanders (STCV).

A.S.G. Edwards is Professor of Medieval Manuscript Studies in the School of English, University of Kent. He has written about Middle English and early modern texts and manuscripts and is currently engaged in a study of problems of attribution between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries in England.

Brenda M. Hosington is Professeure associée at the Université de Montréal and Research Associate at the University of Warwick. She has published articles and essays on medieval and Renaissance translation, women translators, and Neo-Latin writings, and has co-edited the Latin writings of Elizabeth Jane Weston. She was Principal Investigator for the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* project.

Paul Hoftijzer is P.A. Tiele professor in the history of the early modern Dutch book at the University of Leiden. His publications deal with aspects of the making, selling and reading of books, with a particular emphasis on Anglo-Dutch book trade relations.

Isabelle Pantin is Professor of Renaissance Literature at the Ecole Normale Supérieure (Paris). Her research interests are in early modern scientific literature and culture. She has published on cosmological poetry, viewed from both cultural and literary perspectives, on the history of the scientific book, and on scientific illustration. She has also prepared critical editions and translations of Galileo's *Sidereus nuncius* and Kepler's *Dissertatio cum nuncio sidereo*.

Fred Schurink is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern English Literature at Northumbria University. He is editor of *Tudor Translation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011) and has published articles in *The Review of English Studies, Yearbook of English Studies, Huntington Library Quarterly*, and *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*. He is currently completing a monograph on Tudor translations of the classics and a scholarly edition, *Plutarch: 'Essays' and 'Lives'*, for the MHRA Tudor & Stuart Translations series.

Barry Taylor is Curator, Hispanic Printed Collections 1501–1850, at the British Library and Editor of the *Electronic British Library Journal*. He has published on aspects of the classical tradition in Spain and Portugal, especially the reception of Ovid. He edited *Foreign-language Printing in London 1500–1900* (London: British Library, 2003) and, with Giles Mandelbrote, *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections* (London: British Library, 2009).

Demmy Verbeke received his PhD in Classics from KU Leuven in 2005. He worked as project manager of a provincial heritage organisation and was a post-doctoral research fellow at Harvard University, on the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* project at the University of Warwick, and at KU Leuven before becoming head librarian of the Faculty of Arts at KU Leuven in 2012. His research focuses on the Classical Tradition and the intellectual history of the Low Countries and England (1450–1650).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people and institutions without whose help and support this volume could not have been completed. The *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* project was financially supported by the Leverhulme Trust. A Major Grant from the Bibliographical Society to Brenda M. Hosington was instrumental in supporting the early stages of the research. The project was given a happy home at the Centre for the Study of the Renaissance at the University of Warwick. As well as the former *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* team members Susanna De Schepper and Demmy Verbeke, the editors would like thank Ingrid de Smet and Jane Brown for their constant interest and support throughout the project and the production of this volume. Howard B. Norland has always been there behind the scenes, and his patience, suggestions and good humour were very much appreciated.

The volume itself benefitted greatly from the advice given by the editorial team at Brill. The notes from the anonymous reader were particularly appreciated. Thanks must also be given to the delegates, speakers and panel chairs of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* Conference, held at Warwick in May 2010, where many of the ideas which are developed here were first discussed – their contributions were both enjoyable and intellectually stimulating. The conference was supported by the Leverhulme Trust, the Society for Renaissance Studies, the Bibliographical Society and the Humanities Research Centre at the University of Warwick.

Finally, the editors would like to thank the contributors for their continued engagement and promptness, which have made this volume so pleasurable to work on.

S.K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington, May 2012

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

S.K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington

Brenda M. Hosington

Barry Taylor

Susanna De Schepper

INTRODUCTION

S.K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington

Renaissance Britain was a place where languages, cultures and ideas met. In the plays and poems of the era, in the letters and diaries, the art and the industry, the British Isles of the early modern period saw ideas traded and exchanged in all walks of life. Until recently, however, the evidence of this international outlook found in the printed books of the period was not particularly well investigated or understood. It has only been with the emergence of ambitious online and database-driven cataloguing and bibliographical projects over the last decade that the full and varied reach of early modern international print culture could be explored in detail. Projects across Europe are trying to catalogue both the books that appeared in the first age of print and the volumes which survive to this day. In other walks of life, the computer and digital text is popularly considered a threat to the print tradition. For scholars of the literary culture and media history of the first age of print, digital technology has led to a rediscovery of the book. This volume is a testament to one of the projects which has led this systematic rediscovery of the book as text and product, and also to the kinds of research which are now possible thanks to the availability of such research tools.

The *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* project was established in 2007 by funding from the Leverhulme Trust, and the resulting catalogue went online in early 2011. It has quickly proved itself to be an indispensable tool for those researching the print history of translation, and those interested in early printed book culture in Britain and abroad. For the first time, there is a complete record of all Renaissance printed translations, listing as it does all translations out of and into all languages printed in England, Scotland and Ireland before 1641, as well as all translations out of all languages into English printed abroad before the same date.[1] The catalogue

[1] This includes works on any subject. The STC definitions of 'Books in English Printed in the British Isles' and '"British" Books not in English' were used when establishing the inclusion parameters. Thus the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue includes translations into and out of all languages printed in the British Isles with British imprints, with misleading or ironic imprints, or without any imprint at all. It also includes translations into and out of all languages printed in the British Isles, printed according to British 'use', or printed

illustrates simultaneously the grand sweep of Renaissance translation culture and the minute detail of the individual works involved.

A question that lay at the heart of the catalogue's development and which is returned to several times over the course of the essays in this collection is that of what actually constitutes a translation. For the purposes of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue, definitions were kept clear and simple, whereas the essays here are able to explore this contentious question in more detail.[2] What the catalogue was able to show was how widespread ideas of translation were in early modern Britain. Over six thousand items are detailed in the catalogue. These both conform to and challenge ideas about what was likely to be translated, from which authors and languages and by which translators.

The overall scope of early modern translation is quite staggering. To track subject trends, the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* team developed a system of subject headings and sub-category keywords. The twelve subject headings showcase the breadth of reader interest in Renaissance England. They comprise the following:

Arts, Sciences and Natural Philosophy
Education, Textbooks and Study & Teaching
History
Home & Family
Jurisprudence & Law
Literature
News
Philosophy
Politics

abroad with British imprints, be they genuine or false. For translations into English printed outside the British Isles, STC definitions of 'Books "in English" Printed Abroad' were used. The *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue includes translations wholly or largely into English, or into other British languages, or which place English on a par with other languages. Further explanatory details about the process of constructing the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue can be found in the online introduction found at http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/index.php?page=introduction.

[2] Items included in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue have to conform to various criteria explained in the online introduction, including elements such as self-identification as a translation on the title-page, those which have been identified by the Short-Title Catalogue or the English Short-Title Catalogue, and items where at least one third of the printed product has been rendered from one language to another. The online introduction also explains which items have been excluded from the Catalogue (such as vocabularies) and why.

Pseudo-science
Religion
Travel

Whilst understandably not representing equal numbers of translated works – the volume of bible translations being produced in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries alone ensuring that the religion category far outstripped its rival areas of interest in terms of sheer numbers alone – these categories do give a useful overall view of the kinds of books which found their way into printed translation. For detailed use in the catalogue, and in particular with its online search function in mind, the broad categories were then further broken down into sub-categories, as appropriate for each category. The 114 resultant keywords range from epistolography to sensational news, from books on how to manage one's servants to navigation manuals. Nothing was off limits for the translator or the reader of translations.

Similarly, chronological distribution can be used to investigate reader interest and professional engagement with translation, which as indicated in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue corresponds with wider developments in early print culture. Breaking the items in the catalogue which have definitive printing dates down in twenty year blocks, it is not surprising that from the 1520s onwards, the number of translated items printed in England increased over time, but it is notable that the increase was so steady, as seen in Figure 0.1.

The Catalogue, and more specifically its search engine, allows researchers to conduct similar statistical breakdowns for the various subject

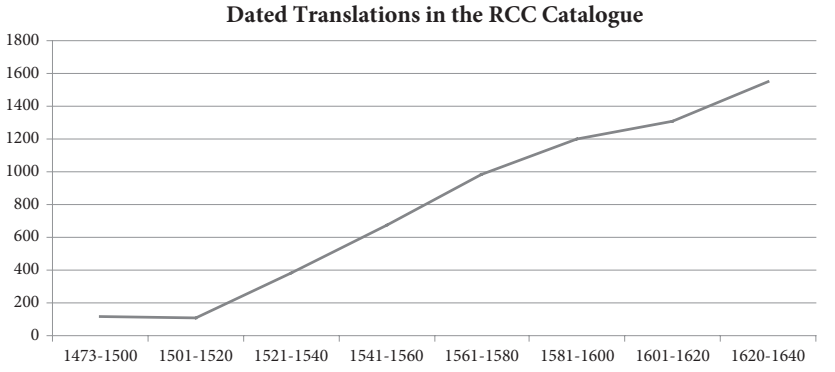

Figure 0.1. Dated translations in the RCC Catalogue.

sections and sub-sections in all areas of translation.[3] The raw data is immediately engaging, and forces careful consideration of how we understand the Renaissance intellectual world. Original authors, for example, are overwhelmingly modern in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue; over two thirds of the nearly 1200 people named as authors of translated works were active from the mid fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, i.e., during the first age of print, with the next substantial subset, classical authors, lagging far behind with just under fifty named authors. Translators are even more conspicuously modern, with only a handful of identified practitioners being active before the age of print. Those whose work did manage to cross the script-print divide, people like Robert Grosseteste, Geoffrey Chaucer or John Lydgate, the last discussed in this volume by A.S.G. Edwards, had already achieved considerable fame for their literary works, and thus it was their legacy that saw them live on in print.

We see from our works here and also from the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue that whilst the classical languages and the European vernaculars, in particular French, were perennially important source languages, this was not particularly constant or simple. A simple list of the total number of items translated from particular source languages can be quite deceptive. If we consider the 'top eight' languages – Latin (2050), Hebrew (1180), French (1154), Greek (951), Spanish (342), Italian (338), German (229) and Dutch (223) – we can be distracted by the numbers and fail to understand that Greek and Hebrew's perhaps surprising showing was because of the frequency with which Biblical texts were translated, and more importantly, printed in the post-reformation era. Similarly, the basic numbers for the modern vernaculars do not disclose more nuanced trends. Literary texts were frequently translated from Spanish and Italian, for example, but not from German or Dutch. However, news from Spain and Italy was very rarely printed, and if it was, there had to be careful explanation as to why 'Catholic' news was being presented to an English audience, whereas news texts from the Low Countries were far more common.

The *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue gives researchers the means to get beneath the surface of the early modern translating world, but there are still many unknowns to be investigated in this fascinating

[3] S.K. Barker's chapter in the present volume discusses the initial findings for news book translation, for example.

field. From the essays in this volume, three broad but interlocking themes emerge. All of the essays address, in one form or another, ideas about how translation was understood, conceptualised and used in the early modern period. They all give consideration to the practicalities of translation, in particular printed translation, and the effect this had on translating cultures. Finally, all of the scholars represented here ask questions about the reception of these works, by both the individual reader and the collective audience. It is worth addressing each of these themes in turn.

Why were translations made and what were they trying to do? A.S.G. Edwards describes translations as "recreating forms of writing already existing." In these essays, we can see how simultaneously simple and complicated this notion can be. Translators themselves understood their work to be about very different things, from patronage to instruction to a commercial enterprise and all else in between, sometimes within the one translation, as we see in the studies of Henry Hexham and Thomas Blundeville by Hoftijzer and Cummings. A translator's aims and ambitions were thus hard to articulate at the time, and can be even harder to recreate at such a remove. These essays show that translation was not always about answering questions. It was frequently about interpreting ideas and providing instruction, as demonstrated by Boro and Verbeke. It could be about explaining the complicated world in which Renaissance readers found themselves, as in Pantin and Barker's studies. It could be about engaging with styles and genres as much as content and context, as Taylor, Boro and Cummings tell us. Translation didn't even have to be good, although it did have to speak to a need in both the source and the destination culture for it to find its place. Translation was not about following rules and conforming to expectations, it was never as simple as changing words from one language to another. Where a modern scholar might be interested in a contemporary translation's merit and its precision in conveying ideas, for early modern readers and scholars the justification and the relevance of the translation are frequently as important, if not more so. Several of the texts under discussion here would barely have been recognisable to their originators as their own work, but that does not make them any less valid as translations.

The original work clearly had an important connection with the resulting translation, something it can be easy to forget. Several of the essays here deliberately draw our attention back to this frequently contentious relationship. Armstrong and Edwards both discuss how Boccaccio's original works were sometimes lost in the complexity of the translations. Similarly, Boro and Verbeke ask us to consider the deliberate manipulation

of texts in order to achieve aims conceived by the translator and not necessarily aims shared by the original author. In the news books discussed by Barker, the original is an ever-present concept bringing credibility to the translated product and anchoring the story in time and place just through its very existence, in theory if not in reality. But adding to texts, exploiting ambiguities and fashioning a translation that spoke more to a recipient culture than to an exporting one was largely part and parcel of translation practice for our translators. The contents of the work could be old, as in the classical texts explored by Shurink and Verbeke, or represent the most modern developments in a field, as discussed by Barker, Pantin and De Schepper, but a translation could only find an audience if people found its contents to be relevant. With the vast numbers of translations of works of a religious nature, in which biblical translation always held the highest spot, the unfolding religious controversies of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries nonetheless remain ever present in both the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue and this volume, as evidenced by Cummings and Schurink. And Barker's survey of news pamphlet translation reveals a world where events close to home and far away were continually fed into a narrative which could only be explained if one looked for providential understandings of the natural and human world.

Moving to consider the practical side of translation, we can see that even thinking of translation as an effort to move ideas and words between languages oversimplifies the process. As is attested here, language in Renaissance translation was not a simple concept. Works were being transferred between many different languages, and the line of transmission was not always simple and clear. The catalogue and the essays in this volume both attest to the importance of intermediary languages and intermediary translations within the early modern translation world. These helped texts gain readers and gather a reputation as well as moving the ideas between one language to another. On one level this was a practical consideration – French and Latin were both known to be international languages, and they were in fact comparably significant intermediary languages, each accounting for around 300 translations from another original source language, whereas Italian only accounted for some fifty-seven intermediary translations and Dutch only thirty-three. Of course, such an approach was not without its potential concerns. Quite apart from the increased possibility for ideas, concepts and nuances to be lost in translation when the process is being repeated, the early modern print world's naivety, to put it as generously as possible, could lead to some attributions and understandings that would be highly problematic today. The distance

between the 'English Boccaccio' and his Italian originator has already been mentioned in this introduction. It is not always immediately obvious where translations end and new works, or new interpretations of old works begin, and we must consider the extent to which Renaissance readers knew or indeed cared about these kinds of concerns. But using an intermediary was not always a bad thing, it could and did open up texts to wider audiences, and could rescue texts which might otherwise have been neglected, as in the romances which Barry Taylor discusses, where French appreciation of forms and styles the Spanish found problematic led to the preservation of a genre that would come to exert great influence on English tastes and sensibilities.

Similarly, it was not only the process but also the result which could be misconstrued. Verbeke's essay shows us how a seemingly simple text could be translated between languages several times with very different results, depending on the methodologies employed and the aims of the translator. In some cases, such as the different and in places ambiguous translations analysed by Boro, this was evidently done deliberately, in others, such as the news pamphlets discussed by Barker, this was as a result of putting one's trust in a foreign printer with his own commercial concerns at stake, leaving English printers at the mercy of foreign sharp practice.

Of course the defining feature of the works under discussion in this volume is that they were printed. We see the difficult transition from script to print, but we can also recognise that print was an opportunity translators and printers seized. Lydgate and Cato both are shown to have enjoyed considerable afterlives due to their appearance in print. The point is made in several places that for many translators, print equalled permanency. It also meant the establishment of a canon, and an international canon at that. Translation's interaction with print may not have led to the homogenisation of European Renaissance culture, but it did lead to significant cross-fertilisation, and of course downright borrowing. So Taylor sees us 'learning style' from Spanish producers, and Barker argues that English news producers took content but also formats from their foreign counterparts. Translators themselves are seen to 'borrow' frequently, most obviously from their intermediary sources. And translators need to be considered as practical thinkers, not detached individuals. Many of the people addressed in this volume were quasi-professional translators, and they were well aware of the pressures of their chosen profession. Even those who were more occasional dabblers knew they had to be able to explain themselves. The frequency with which paratexts are discussed attests to that concern both then and now. But above all, the excitement of this first age of print is

evident, as is the sense of opportunity understood by practitioners and purchasers.

The final broad concern to emerge is an increased interest in the audience and readers. Translation is understood to be an important indicator of how vernacular reading tastes developed over the first century and a half of print. Producer-initiated, the results were none the less reader-led. Originals had been tried and tested, and audiences could be predicted from this. The role of patrons was particularly important, as a source of support and a guiding hand, but the ever-present print factor pushes the works under consideration here away from being purely private concerns to being public endeavours – even translations designed as gifts for royalty had a public face to them. We see readers being addressed continuously in paratexts, with translators keen to explain and justify themselves. We see them being appealed to by inventive title pages. We see names being dropped to confer histories on texts which could otherwise be suspected of being new and challenging. As the audience, the printer and the translator come together, we see this exciting world at its most vibrant. These were works creating ideals and sharing ideologies, and allowing people to be part of an ever-widening reading community. Technological boundaries may have been shifting, world views emerging and collapsing with alarming regularity, but a sense of community was easy to find, provided one had the money and time to look for it.

The essays in this collection attest to the vibrancy of both the translation world of early modern England, and of current scholarship on Renaissance translation and cultural exchange. The four sections of the collection each address focal points in the story of translation and print. The first, 'Translation and Early Print', examines how translation led and shaped the beginnings of printed book production in Britain. The continuing influence exerted by the manuscript tradition and the emerging idea of authorial identity were both strong forces at work in the early book trade, and the three essays in this section attest to how translation's role in these struggles in both the short and long term deserves careful reassessment. Brenda M. Hosington, in "The Role of Translations and Translators in the Production of English Incunabula", explores how the world of early English printing owed a debt to translations and translators that has not been fully evaluated since the work of H.S. Bennett's 1970 *English Books and Readers 1475 to 1557*. Works which have investigated translation, such as *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English to 1550*, have not always given due attention to the close connection between translation and early printing. This essay focuses on the over one hundred incunabula

entries in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue in order to assess the nature and significance of the role played by translations and translators in their production, and to restore translation to its rightful place in early English printed book culture. The essay addresses some fundamental questions, many of which will be picked up on over the course of the volume. Were the patterns of production of translated works similar to those that mark the overall output in the given period? What is the provenance of printed translations and how diverse were they in terms of fields, text types, language, and subject? Who were the translators and printers? Hosington's study, the first of its kind, sheds light on the important role played by the translator and his art in providing books for an avid and every-increasing readership.

A.S.G. Edwards' essay, "John Lydgate, grant translateur", shows us some of the difficulties faced by early modern printers and translators in navigating the transition from script to print, and causes us to consider the role of translation in creating the canon and in developing the author. John Lydgate was the most prolific English poet of the fifteenth century, and much of his writing was essentially translation, particularly his last major work, the massive *Fall of Princes*. In fact, this poem was a translation of a translation, of Laurent de Premierfait's French prose rendering of Boccaccio's original Latin prose work, the *De casibus virorum illustrium*, a work Lydgate never actually read. Yet his rendering, as we see here, enjoyed a remarkably wide-ranging influence in the later Middle Ages, whereas in contrast, Boccaccio's original seems to have had little significant circulation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Lydgate's poem became synonymous with 'Bocas' in England, even though it is fundamentally different in form and content from Boccaccio's original. And the appeal of the *Fall of Princes* spanned the 'divide' of manuscript and print, right up to the late seventeenth century. Edwards' examination of the translation, its adaption into new forms and various responses to the work raises questions about the reception of translations in England. Joyce Boro's chapter, "Reading Juan de Flores's *Grisel y Mirabella* in Early Modern England", also makes us consider how individual texts, as well as broader genres, were received and used by their translators and their readers alike. Just as we should be wary of making judgements based on genre alone, when the evidence would suggest that romances were enjoyed by both male and female readers, so we should be wary of how texts can be positioned to support or challenge the different sides of a debate. Boro's investigation of the different versions of the original and the translations of this popular text show how this could be done through different means – this had

already been achieved in the original through the juxtaposition of the narrative and the paratexts in such a way as to articulate opposing ideas about women. Putting such a deliberately ambiguous work into translation only increased the potential for such manipulation, as Boro neatly shows. The same source text can become pro-feminist, anti-feminist and both simultaneously.

In the second section, 'Translation, Fiction and Print', we look again at one of the most popular areas of translation in early modern England, and also one of the most flourishing areas of research. Barry Taylor, in "Learning Style from the Spaniards", reassesses some of the most popular works of literature translated from Spanish into English. Not only did these stories share similar origins and deal broadly with a similar genre, amorous fiction or the 'sentimental novel', the resulting translations shared a mannered, rhetorical, style and correspondences with bilingual and multilingual editions often published in the Low Countries. Taylor surveys the finished works, including paratexts and title-pages, in order to determine why people bought and read these works, and finds that the style was integral to their lure. Translation in this instance was providing something new: these works acted as a counterpart to the Latin-based rhetorical training of the schools, universities and Inns of Court described by Peter Mack in *Elizabethan Rhetoric* (2000). When they read outside the Latin curriculum, such readers looked for a mannered style and in that, the Spanish excelled. Guyda Armstrong's essay, "Print, Paratext and a Seventeenth-century Sammelband: Boccaccio's *Ninfale fiesolano* in English Translation", examines the way in which the works of a canonical author could be remade and re-proposed by European printers to their various readerships and linguistic communities, through a detailed case-study of *A famous tragicall discourse of two lovers*. The importance of intermediary languages is immediately apparent: John Lydgate was not alone in achieving the early modern English Boccaccio, not from the original Italian texts and contemporary editions, as one might expect, but via intermediate French editions. Armstrong uses the book-object itself and its paratexts to see how the original was reframed for an Anglophone audience. As only one copy of the work remains extant, in a Sammelband with six other popular romances, this translation allows the modern scholar great insight into early modern reading practices.

The first two groups of essays confirm the debt English Renaissance literary traditions owed to their Continental counterparts. In the remaining

two sections, we move away from the literary to consider more intellectual and practical applications of translation. The third section, 'Instruction through Translation', focuses primarily on the intellectual concerns and their applications in an educational setting. In "Versifying Philosophy: Thomas Blundeville's Plutarch," Robert Cummings explores the multiple motives for translating prose into verse and discovers a complex set of imperatives at play. These include the consideration of a patron as part of the production process – as these treatises were presented to Queen Elizabeth as New Year's gifts, verse was particularly suitable, since poems were understood to be heartfelt gifts. Versifying also signals Blundeville's participation in an educational culture where translation from prose to verse was a regular stylistic exercise, practised in fact by the Queen herself. Simultaneously, his translations conformed to the fashion for versification of scripture and to a trust in the public utility of memorable or readily palatable adaptations of serious matter, both facilitated by the printing press. This also conformed to the publishing strategies of the printer involved; William Seres engaged from Edward VI's time with the printing of Protestant material and was committed to the promotion of the Elizabethan Protestant revival. "The Learned Prince" offers not simply advice to rulers, but is a reminder that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, while the "Fruits of Foes" is concerned, not only with the perils of public life, but with demonstrating that we must love our enemies. Plutarch's concerns were ready to be harnessed to those of the new Protestant evangelical culture of Elizabeth's early years. Thus, Blundeville's choice of verse and Seres's choice of texts to print combined to accommodate pagan moral writing to a pattern made fashionable by scriptural paraphrase. Fred Schurink's contribution, "War, What is it good for? Sixteenth-Century English Translations of Ancient Texts on Warfare", investigates the application of translations of ancient Greek and Latin texts to specific historical events and circumstances in Tudor England, with a particular focus on warfare. Schurink engages with works from the mid-Tudor period (c.1520–80), rather than the 1590s as previous scholars have done. He explores the role of military contexts in the commissioning, creation, and publication of classical translations in the period and their interaction with different political and cultural circumstances. He shows how warfare, sieges, and stratagems were highlighted in the titles and preliminary materials of large numbers of these translations, but the contents of such translations could be even more revealing. Alexander Barclay translated Sallust's *Jugurthine War* (1522) to celebrate his patron's military achievements and to offer instruction in warfare to his fellow countrymen. John Brende's

translation of Quintus Curtius's *Hystories* (1553) was informed by his own experience of military service in the wars against Scotland in the late 1540s. Similarly, Peter Whitehorn's 1563 rendering of Onasander's treatise, *Of the generall captaine, and of his office*, was made during his time in the service of Charles V fighting the Barbary pirates in the 1550s. Finally, John Sadler's 1572 *Foure Bookes of Flauius Vegetius Renatus, Briefly Contayninge a plaine forme, or Martiall Policye*, was commissioned by Edmund Brudenell, later a sponsor of a scheme to colonize America in 1582, which places it squarely in the context of England's nascent attempts at establishing an empire modelled on that of ancient Rome. Practical application was as much a part of these translations as was classical heritage and cachet.

In "Cato in England: Translating Sayings for Moral and Linguistic Instruction," Demmy Verbeke explores the publication history of the *Dicta Catonis* in England between 1473 and 1640. The main focus is on the ten English translations available in print, which brings to light a number of important differences. Editions of this type required publishers and translators to make many choices which could have lasting implications. These include the choice of whether to print the source text alongside the translation, or to translate into prose or verse, or to include textual notes. This was not merely a popular text: along with Terence and the Latin Aesop, the *Dicta Catonis* formed the basic reading programme in almost all English grammar schools. This was due in large part to its potent combination of relatively simple Latin and a moral content deemed commendable for the instruction of impressionable children. Verbeke's study confirms the importance of the *Dicta Catonis*, and further investigates the various Renaissance teaching methods which the different translations spoke to and which are evidenced through the choices made by printers and translators. The boundary between school room and private leisure is also crossed, with a number of publications not intended for classroom instruction demonstrating the work's popularity among a more general and mature reading public. Once again, a text is shown to be made extremely flexible through translation, varying in aims and audience appeal between versions. This diversity is what makes the study of Renaissance translations interesting; on the other hand, it also makes it difficult to identify and catalogue translations, even when it concerns one single text. The findings of this case-study illustrate the complexity of the task at hand, both for Renaissance translators then and modern scholars today.

The final part, 'Shaping Mind and Nation through Translation', continues the investigation of practical translation, with a series of essays which

investigate how translations established themselves as important regulators of international knowledge and understanding in the first age of print, at the same time as contributing to domestic conceptualisations of identity. Isabelle Pantin's investigation of "John Hester's Translations of Leonardo Fioravanti: The Literary Career of a London Distiller" explores the English manifestations of the European fascination – and publishing success – of the "Book of secrets." John Hester was a London apothecary with ambitions to promote an empirical rather than a Galenic method of practising medicine, and in his translations he appropriated Fioravanti's main topics in order to promote the new methods of Paracelsian medicine. For him, being a translator was part of a strategy to carve out a place for himself between the medical establishment and the rabble of charlatans. Thus translation served both to share knowledge and to reinforce identity. The works he selected to translate were practical rather than philosophical, collections of recipes with easy lessons in hands-on medicine which he could further adapt to serve as practical manuals for the reader. A significant number of Fioravanti's 'wonderful' and 'revolutionary' practises for curing the plague disappear, for example, as does the whole section on 'secrets of beauty' from the *Rationall secretes*. Hester never lost sight of his own aims as he translated though, and felt at liberty to change aspects, particularly the order of the materials to improve the books' methodical aspect. By publishing such works, he tapped into a growing commercial interest in medical books, and he hoped to promote his own main activity as apothecary but also to acquire a respectable position through the authoritative words of renowned foreign physicians. The need to keep English reading audiences up to date with the latest information is apparent in other areas, too, not least in the realm of navigation, as we see in "'For the Common Good and for the National Interest': English Translations of Navigation Manuals and their Paratexts." Susanna De Schepper starts by explaining how the success of the English navy and England's pursuits in trade and exploration were in large part due to the fastidious gathering of up-to-date intelligence. She explores how this was managed by discussing English translations of navigation manuals printed between 1500 and 1640. The corpus contains some forty texts which, including reprints, amounts to about ninety books, from Spanish, Dutch, French, Latin, Italian and Portuguese. The agents concerned in gathering and distributing the texts range from authors to translators, dedicatees/patrons, printers, publishers, booksellers, intended audience/readers, and occasionally also merchant companies or communities, and universities. The paratexts, particularly those specifically produced to accompany

individual translations, are particularly important in recreating the obvious yet sometimes intangible commercial and ideological imperatives which lay behind the translation and printing of such material. In such texts, we can explore reason and intention displayed by the translator as well as explicit methodologies. A strong collective interest becomes evident, as seen in the presence of two word clusters revolving around 'profit' and 'commonwealth'. As seen here, Renaissance England looked to the Continent to complement its own knowledge in an area in which it might be felt by contemporaries to be deficient, adding to it through translation. This took place on a technical-scientific, practical, political and commercial level, and support can be seen at different social levels and at different stages in the process, by the English aristocracy and members of the court, and the merchant companies, as well as through individuals.

The role of the individual comes to the fore in Paul Hoftijzer's "'Henry Hexham, English Soldier, Author, Translator, Lexicographer, and Cultural Mediator in the Low Countries," which explores the career and work of one of the few known translators working between Dutch and English. Hexham was an English soldier who spent most of his life in the Netherlands, and this essay provides the first detailed account of his work and reflections on his role as translator in relation to his other activities. He published a series of his own works together with English translations of a two-volume Dutch world atlas and a French treatise on military architecture. Publications like these made available to English readers advanced knowledge gained by their Dutch neighbours in geography and the art of war. Earlier, he had translated a totally different, yet in his view closely connected, genre of texts: two anti-Catholic French treatises by a Dutch Calvinist minister into English and a treatise by an Anglican divine into Dutch. From his paratexts, it is clear Hexham intended to wage war against the Antichrist, the Catholic church, not only by military means, but also via the printing press. He also evidently needed to supplement his income. All his publications have dedications, which suggests he was rewarded for his pains. He also appears to have hired out his talents to the book trade. At the end of his life, Hexham published an English-Dutch/Dutch-English dictionary, the first of its kind and also most certainly the fruits of his work as a translator, intended for English and Dutch students, divines, and merchants. It marked a fitting end to a long career in the service of Anglo-Dutch relations, but one which until now has received scant attention. Similar themes and problems are investigated on a broader scale in the final essay in the collection. In "'Newes Lately Come': European News

Books in English Translation,'" S.K. Barker argues that in the emerging genre of printed news, translation was central to the concepts and practicalities of the industry as practiced in Renaissance Britain. In the face of domestic reporting restrictions, translated news pamphlets formed a core around which increasingly sophisticated editorial practices developed. The act of translating might even 'make' something news, thus translation served an important function within the growth of an international news industry, as well as a simple recounting of events. Crucially, a significant proportion of these translations were supplemented by information gathered and sent separately and edited into the translated text by publishers, making these pamphlets to a large extent forerunners of the newspaper. This essay explores the translation of European news pamphlets by chronological spread, subject area and language. Chronologically, current affairs publishing can be seen to be a steadily growing sector of the market, with discernible peaks of translation production around key events. However, there is a crucial element of control over what is being translated for public consumption – Christian, specifically Protestant victory is paramount. Although accounts of military and political events are the most numerous, there is a significant presence of 'Sensational' material translated into English, almost exclusively of a didactic nature. Nonetheless, interest did not automatically lead to recognition. The lack of prestige attached to news translation and publication, as shown in the lack of named authors, translators and printers, demonstrates this to be a genre still finding its feet in the competitive world of the early modern book.

This volume is intended as a celebration. It celebrates the completion of a project and the start of new approaches to the study of translation which that project allows for. It celebrates the people who embraced translation, by translating, or printing, or commissioning, and by reading and buying. It does not aim to discuss Renaissance translation exhaustively – the intricate and contentious world of biblical translation is perhaps the most obvious casualty of the necessary pruning that an edited collection involves, but as Renaissance printers and translators were so aware, successful editions are born of difficult decisions. What this volume does do is celebrate the world of Renaissance printers, translators and readers in all their capricious variety and glory.

PART ONE

TRANSLATION AND EARLY PRINT

THE ROLE OF TRANSLATIONS AND TRANSLATORS IN THE PRODUCTION OF ENGLISH INCUNABULA

Brenda M. Hosington

Printers and book-buyers in England in the first decades of print relied very heavily on the import book-trade for most of their books, as has been well documented. Starting with H.R. Plomer in the 1920s, who discovered the importance of France and the Low Countries in exporting books to England, and continuing with the pioneering studies of Nelly Kerling, Graham Pollard and Elizabeth Armstrong, a number of well-documented discussions have appeared, amongst which are those by Lotte Hellinga, A.S.G. Edwards, Carol Meale, and Margaret Lane Ford.[1] All agree that without imported books the English book trade would in fact have been unsustainable, for as Tony Edwards claimed in his study of the influence of Continental printers on London printers from various points of view such as typography, illustrations and bindings, English printers demonstrated little in common with their more sophisticated foreign counterparts in terms of their choice of texts; in fact, he concluded, English printing amounted to "very small potatoes."[2] None of these studies, focusing as

[1] Henry R. Plomer, "The Importation of Books into England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. An Examination of some Customs Rolls," *The Library*, series 4, Vol 4 (1923–24): 146–150, and "The Importation of Low Country and French Books into England, 1480 and 1502–3," *The Library*, series 4, Vol. 9 (1928–29): 164–68; Nelly J.M. Kerling, "Caxton and the Trade in Printed Books," *The Book Collector* 4 (1955): 190–99; Graham Pollard, "The English Market for Printed Books," *Printing History* 4 (1978): 7–48; Elizabeth Armstrong, "English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465–1526," *The English Historical Review* 94 (1979): 268–90; Lotte Hellinga, "Importation of books Printed on the Continent into England and Scotland before c.1520," in *Printing the Written Word: The Social history of Books circa 1450–1520,* ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 205–24; A.S.G. Edwards, "Continental Influences of London Printing and Reading in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Julia Boffey and Pamela King (London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1995), 229–56; A.S.G. Edwards and Carole Meale, "The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England," *The Library*, 6th series, 15 (1993): 95–124; Margaret Lane Ford, "Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. *3 1440–1557*, ed. J.B. Trapp and Lotte Hellinga (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 179–201.

[2] A.S.G. Edwards, "Continental Influences of London Printing and Reading in the Fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries," in *London and Europe in the later Middle Ages*, ed. Julia Boffey and Pamela King (London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1995), 229–56.

they do on imported foreign books, discusses, or even mentions, another important aspect of incunabular printing in England that also had ties to the Continent, namely translation. Yet translation and printing in the early years of the press are closely connected and mutually beneficial. Print made foreign-language texts available to a wider public than ever before, while translations provided a ready corpus of texts which in many cases had already proved popular on the Continent or in England and therefore posed less of a financial risk.[3] This connection between translation and print was not of course unique to England in the incunabular period but it was particularly strong on account of the fact that the first English printer, William Caxton, was himself an indefatigable translator.

Despite an increasing number of studies and editions of individual works and the useful closing sections of some of the chapters in volume 1 of *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, not to mention the many discussions of Caxton in particular, to date no in-depth study of the translations in the period 1473–1500 has been undertaken.[4] No-one has focussed on the percentage of translations in the overall print output, for example. This is in part because quantifiable proportions must still be assessed with caution, as Paul Needham has asserted.[5] Factors such as book survival, the omission of dates, the problem of dates when they *are* given, whether Roman or calendar style, the sometimes confusing information supplied in incipits and colophons, and the frequent omission of references to the translator, or to a work as a translation, can still impede our research into the importance of incunabular translated works and turn statistic-gathering into a minefield. The discrepancies between the dates given by Duff, those peppered with question marks in the English Short-Title Catalogue, and the revised ones provided by the authors of the *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Library* stand as witness to the difficulties.[6] In calculating numbers of translated

---

[3] A.S.G. Edwards claims that caution "seems to be the overriding characteristic of London printing in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries" ("Continental Influences," 256).

[4] *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English. Volume 1 to 1550*, ed. Roger Ellis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[5] Paul Needham, "Counting Incunables: The IISTC CD-ROM," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 16 (1998): 457–521.

[6] *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Library, Vol. xi, England* (London: British Library, 2007). In this essay I have used the dates from this catalogue as supplied by Lotte Hellinga in her revised reprint of Duff's *Fifteenth Century English Books. A Bibliography of Books and Documents Printed In England and of Books for the English Market Printed Abroad* (London: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1917; repr. London: The Bibliographical Society and British Library, 2009), 205–217.

items, I have taken the first date given in this catalogue for each work: for example, I have put the third edition of the *Dicts of the philosophers* [1489–90] in 1489, my purpose being, not to provide a rigorously accurate bibliography, but an overview of printed translations in the period. Bennet's "Trial List of Translations into English Printed Between 1475–1560" has been very useful although dates have been revised and new works discovered since he was writing in 1969. His incunabular translations into English number seventy-five as compared with our 113.[7] Like his list, ours contains all the editions and re-issues of a work as entered with individual numbers in the English Short-Title Catalogue for as Lotte Hellinga has pointed out, this is the only way to assess numbers of books produced; titles on their own can be misleading.[8] Our list is found at the end of this essay and serves as a point of reference for all the translations discussed.

To give a sense of the percentage of all incunabular books that translations represent, the latest count of items as recorded in Hellinga's updated reprint of Duff is 477 (431 from his bibliography plus her 46 supplementary items), while the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1640* lists 113 translations. They therefore represent 23 per cent of the total output, although we must point out that they are competing, not so much with literary and religious works written in English, as with dozens and dozens of indulgences and statutes, as Duff's book demonstrates. The numbers vary decade by decade as does overall book production. It is therefore not surprising to find that between 1473 and 1479 only twelve translations see print; between 1480 and 1489 the number rises dramatically to forty-four; between 1490 and 1500 it reaches fifty-seven. Within each decade there are also peaks and troughs. In the 1480s, for example, the years 1483 and 1485 see nine and eight translations emerge, 1489 sees seven, yet 1488 sees none; in the 1490s, in each of the years 1497 and 1499, nine translations are published whereas the years 1493 and 1495 each have only three and two respectively. This variation in production levels often mirrors that of original works. For example, if we examine Caxton's output for 1483, we find it is a peak year for both translations and originals, with six volumes each, while 1484 and 1489 hold second place, each with six and ten, yet 1486 and 1488 demonstrate a trough for both, with no publications at all. De Worde's output reaches a peak in

[7] H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers. 1475–1557*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 277–319.

[8] Lotte Hellinga, "Importation of Books," 212.

1499 for both translations and original works, with eight and twenty respectively, while the second highest number for each category in any one year is 1497 with five and fifteen respectively. In each of the first two years of English printing, 1473 and 1474, only one translation and one original work were printed; a similar result can be seen for 1490, when translations and originals both number five. Sometimes the numbers match. In 1474 and 1479, only one translation and one original were printed; a similar result can be seen for 1483 and 1498, when translations and originals are equal in number, six and three respectively. However, translations sometimes outnumber originals, as in 1478, 1479, 1481, 1484, 1485 and 1490. In conclusion, we can say that in terms of Caxton's output, translations account for roughly 41 per cent in the 1470s, 50 per cent in the 1480s and 72 per cent in the combined years 1490 and 1491. The situation is markedly different for the other early English printers before 1500. For de Worde, translations represent thirty-five out of 109 publications, or 32 per cent; for Machlinia at Fleet Bridge and Holborn combined, 36 per cent. Pynson, however, has only fourteen out of a total of 122 publications (11 per cent), Rood only one out of thirteen (7 per cent) and the St. Albans printer, one out of eight (12 per cent).

Setting aside figures and percentages, what can we say of the translated texts themselves? Immediately one should point out that they represent a variety of fields, text types and translation practices, cover a range of subjects, both religious and secular, and that some are made, not from the original source text, but from intermediary translations. Many, of course, go through several printings within the incunabular period. For example, the 1477 *Dictes of the philosophres*, translated by Lord Rivers and printed by Caxton, was re-edited in 1480 and again in 1489, unchanged; similarly, Nicholas Love's translation of *Meditationes vitae Christi*, wrongly believed to have been by St. Bonaventure, was printed by Caxton in 1484 and 1489, by de Worde in 1494 and again by Pynson in the same year. On the other hand, the compilation of short treatises entitled *The book of haukyng, huntyng and blaysng of armys*, first printed in St. Albans in 1486, was enlarged by the addition of a "treatyse of fysshynge wyth an Angle" in de Worde's 1496 edition. One translation, a rendering of a French intermediary translation, *Regime de lepidemie et remede contre icelle,* by Jean Jasmin [Johannes Jacobi] of Canuti's Latin *Regimen contra pestilentiam*, was printed three times in one year by Machlinia (1485); it nevertheless had three slightly different incipits and while two editions were prefaced by an English translation of Canuti's preface, the third was not. One work could contain more than one translated text, as for example the

above-mentioned *Book of haukyng*, or Caxton's 1481 work that combines translations of Cicero's *De senectute* and *De amicitia* with a translation of the Italian humanist *De vera nobilitate*, or Betson's 1499 inclusion of various translated prayers, the credo, several short treatises, and passages from Jean Gerson and saints Jerome and Bernard.

The range of topics addressed in the corpus is wide. If we first break them down into two large groups of secular and religious we can make the following observations. Firstly, the secular outnumber the religious by seventy-three to forty. The most marked difference in numbers is in the early years 1473–1486 where they are thirty-nine to nine but in the final five years of our period, they account for exactly the same number of fifteen. The secular texts can be further broken down into eight different categories. There are fifteen romances. Eight were translated and printed by Caxton: *Recuyell of the histories of Troy, Historie of Jason, Godfrey of Bouloyne, Morte darthur, Charles the grete, Parys and Vyenne, Four sones of Aymon* and *Blanchardine and Eglantine*, two of these (*Jason* and *Parys and vyenne*) being reprinted by Leeu in 1492 and one (*Morte darthur*) by de Worde in 1498. The year 1497 saw two printings of *Guy of Warwick*, one by de Worde and one by Pynson. Finally, de Worde produced two editions of *Sir Beuis of Hampton*, both in 1499–1500. As Carol Meale has shown, romance obviously continued to hold an attraction in the world of early print, particularly for Caxton it would seem, and although the number of translated romances printed by de Worde in the incunabular period is not high, he would produce far more in the years to come.[9]

Another type of secular text is the collection of wise sayings and proverbs. This is represented by four editions, two in 1476 and one each in 1483 and 1484, of Cato's *Distichs*, fully discussed by Demmy Verbeke in this volume. Three editions of the *Dictes and sayings of the philosophers* appeared in 1477, 1480 and 1489, one edition of Christine de Pisan's *Morale prouerbes* in 1478 and one edition of *Salomon and Marcolphus* in 1489.

Various aspects of chivalry, princely and courtly behaviour are treated in six translated texts. In his epilogue to his translation of Ramón Llul's Spanish work, *Libre del orde de cavalleria*, which he printed as *The Book of the ordre of chyualry* in 1484, Caxton looks back nostalgically to the time of Arthur and uses the translation to call English knights to a return to chivalry. His other 'chivalric' translation was entitled *Boke of the fayttes of armes and of chyulrye*, a rendering of Christine de Pisan's *Faits d'armes et*

[9] Carol Meale, "Caxton, de Worde, and the Publication of Romance in Late Medieval England," *The Library,* sixth series, vol. XIV (1992): 283–298).

de chivalerie, which he printed in 1489. It was intended, as he says, specifically for military men but also for "every gentleman borne to armes." Matters touching on lineage and heraldry are represented by two translations in the above-mentioned anonymous compilation printed at Saint Albans. In both the first edition of 1486 and the second of 1496 printed by de Worde, the third and fourth treatises are entitled the "Booke [in which] is determined the linage of Coote armuris; and how gentilmen shall be knowyn from vngentill men" and the "Boke of blasyng of all man armes" but the incipit of the treatise of fishing added in the second edition makes it clear that the intended audience is for "noble men" and that its inclusion is explained by the fact that it is "one of the dysportes that gentylmen vse" (37b). Warnings on how princes and nobles should behave are given in Lydgate's *Falle of princis princessis & other nobles* printed in 1494 by Pynson and the subject of A.S.G. Edward's essay in this volume, while other dire warnings about life at court are found in Alain Chartier's letter to his brother, translated by Caxton and printed in 1483, being called in the colophon "the curial." On a more modest scale, these instructions on and warnings about chivalric and courtly behaviour appear in two works that combine moral and social instruction. The first, translated by Caxton and printed in 1484, was the *Booke which the knight of the tour made,* written by Geoffroi de la Tour for his daughters. The second, presumably far more popular because intended for a general audience, Caxton made from a French translation of a Latin work by Jacques Legrand. The 1487 edition of the *Book of good maners* was followed by two more, printed by Pynson in 1487 and 1499.

Most of the remaining secular translations treat of various subjects: history (Higden's *Polycronicon*, 1480, 1482 and *The siege of Rhodes*, 1482), travel, even if fictional (*Boke of Iohn Maunduyle*, 1497, 1499), natural science (*De proprietatibus rerum*, 1496), health (*Gouernayle of helthe*, 1490 and the *Litil boke* [*on the*] *Pestilence,* three editions in 1485), recreation (the above-mentioned treatises on hawking and hunting) and two prognostications (1492, 1497). Finally, there are translations of five Classical authors. Aesop's *Book of the subtye historyes and Fables*, translated by Caxton from a French version and printed in 1484, was re-edited twice by Pynson (1492, 1500); Cicero's *De senectute*, translated by William Worcester, and *De amicitia*, translated by John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester from Laurence de Premierfaict's French versions, were printed by Caxton, along with Tiptoft's translation of Buonaccorsi da Montemagno's *De vera nobilitate* (1481); bilingual school collections of phrases from Terence's comedies first printed by Rood in Oxford as *Vulgaria Terentii* (1483), then re-edited twice by Machlinia in 1485 and once by Leuu in Antwerp (1486); and

finally, in a nod to Greek philosophy and Italian humanism, Leonardo Bruni's *Textus ethicorum Aristotelis* (1479).

The religious texts similarly cover several areas of interest. There is a complete lack of any polemical translations in this early stage of printing. The majority of texts are devotional or meditational but there are also hagiographies and one papal bull. Caxton's earliest devotional text was the *Cordyall* (1479), Lord Rivers' rendering of a French translation by Jean Miélot of a Latin text treating of the four last things, a favourite subject in late medieval writing. Other texts Caxton translated himself: the *Royal Book* (1485), *Doctrinal of sapyence* (1489), *Myrrour of the worlde* (1489) and *Craft for to dye* (1490). His last translation was *Lyff of the olde Auncyent holy faders*, "fynysshed at the laste day of hys lyff" de Worde tells us in his colophon (1495). One translation he printed was an earlier manuscript Middle English one, Nicholas Love's *Myrroure of the blessyd lyfe of Iesu* (1484), others were anonymous, De Guileville's *Pylgremage of the sowle* (1483), the Bridgettine *Fiftene Oes* (1491) and Suso's *Book of diuers ghostly matters* (1491) via a French translation. He printed only two lives of saints, *The Golden Legend* of Voragine (1484) and *The lyf of saynt Wenefryd* (1484), both of which he also translated. Apart from the above-mentioned hagiographical works, the corpus includes four others. The first is in fact a double hagiography since it recounts the lives of both St. Catherine of Siena and St. Elizabeth of Hungary, originally written in Latin but previously translated anonymously into Middle English in the early fifteenth century before reaching print in 1492. The *Lyf of saint ierome*, taken from the *Golden legend* and printed separately and in simplified form, and the above-mentioned *Lyff of the olde Auncyent holy faders*, followed on its heels in 1493 and 1495. The final religious translation is that of a papal bull confirming the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, first printed in 1486 by Machlinia and reprinted twice in 1499 by Pynson.

To sum up, romances dominate the secular texts, which is not surprising since Caxton had a penchant for translating them himself and the French source texts for nine of the eleven had proved their commercial worth on the Continent; devotional and meditational texts greatly dominate the religious works, which again is not surprising given the popularity in the late Middle Ages of texts of this nature and the number of manuscript translations that were available and of which de Worde, in particular, took advantage.[10] This range of texts, however, demonstrates

[10] For a discussion of the popularity of medieval translated devotional texts, and especially those associated with Syon Abbey, in the early years of print, see Vincent Gillespie, "Religious Writing," in *The Oxford History, vol 1*, 234–83 (espec. 269–74).

that translation was used to disseminate knowledge in many spheres of human affairs, while also serving to encourage spiritual activity through both devotional works and saintly exempla. Humanist scholarly endeavours, however, seem to have eluded, or held little interest for Caxton or Wynkyn de Worde; the works by classical authors are pretty run-of-the-mill, but they were popular, a factor neither printer ever ignored: Aesop's fables, Cato's 'distichs' (not of course by Cato) and Terentian quotations are good examples of commercial winners.[11]

Caxton dominates the first two decades of English printing and, predictably, the output of translated works, with no fewer than fifty-one of our 113 items. In all, he translated twenty-three different works in roughly two decades, the earliest being his *Recuyell* in 1473. His fervour for foreign-language writings can no doubt be explained by his printing apprenticeship in Cologne, subsequent experience as a printer in the Low Countries where in Bruges he was employed by Colard Mansion, his connections with the court of Burgundy where translation played a very important role, and what must have been simply a frenetic love of translating. Wynkyn de Worde, operating alone after Caxton's death in 1491, printed translations of twenty-seven individual titles up to 1500, Richard Pynson, in the same period, eleven, William de Machlinia, three, and Theodoric Rood, only one. Only nine of de Worde's titles up to 1501 were new, the others being inherited from Caxton, while only two of Pynson's eleven titles, a Prognostication and a Bull, were. Despite being a Norman, Pynson showed no interest in turning new French texts into English at this early point in his career as a printer, although he would do so later.

As well as providing data concerning the texts and production of the translated texts in the period, the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue* also, thanks to its search engine, enables us to access information about the languages involved by providing separate language boxes for each entry that record the source and target languages and, where appropriate, the intermediary language. Results confirm that there is not a single English text translated into any other language; translation was thus all one-way traffic. In the decades following this would change radically, many English works being translated into Latin, in particular, with a view to a Continental readership. In the incunabular years, Latin as an original language leads, accounting for no fewer than fifty-three of the 113

[11] A.S.G. Edwards remarks that Caxton, like de Worde and Pynson, demonstrated little knowledge of late fifteenth-century Continental cultural and intellectual developments ("Continental Influences," 244).

items. French follows closely behind with fifty-two; we then plunge to four for Greek, three for Dutch, and only one for Spanish. With regard to the Greek and Dutch, we should point out that the actual number of individual titles for the former is only two, Aristotle's *Ethics* translated into Latin by Bruni, printed by Rood in 1479, and Aesop's *Fables,* printed in 1484, 1492 and 1500, while for Dutch it is only one, Caxton's *Reynart,* printed in 1481, 1489 and 1492. Five items are translations made earlier into Middle English, updated and put into print between 1480 and 1498, with Caxton borrowing sections from the *Gilte Legend* and the *South English Legendary* for his *Golden Legend* for example.

At this point, a few observations are worth making. Firstly, standing in stark contrast with the early sixteenth century, this period produced not a single translation from Italian. Next, the figures for Greek and Latin as original languages can be a little misleading. Thirteen translations of Latin source language items are actually translated from French, Caxton using French translations as intermediaries or metatexts for all his Latin source material, as do Chaucer for his Boethius, printed in 1478, and Rivers for his *Cordial* in 1479. One text, the *Regimen contra pestilentiam*, printed three times in 1485, turns the tables on French as an intermediary for a Latin text, since the anonymous English translator used a Latin version of the French original for his translation. Of the Greek items, only Bruni's *Ethics* is translated directly from that language, with Aesop's *Fables* arriving via a French intermediary, itself made from a Latin version. Thirdly, all but one translation, Bruni's, are towards English. Again, this stands in contrast to the subsequent decades of the sixteenth century, where roughly ten per cent of translations are into languages other than English.

So much for the texts, but what about the men who produced them –for they *are* all men, although some of the anonymous translations could of course have been done by women. No translation establishment along the lines of the workshop once suggested for the production of Middle English romances has ever been identified. Allusions have been made to Wynkyn de Worde's so-called 'stable of translators,' but no evidence of one has ever been proffered. True, he did engage his two apprentice-printers, Henry Watson and Robert Copland, to translate texts which he subsequently printed and he also used a third free-lance translator, Andrew Chertsey, but this was after 1508 and three men hardly do a 'stable' make. At this period, then, and in fact for some time to come, translators seem to be working independently, with the exception of the Bridgettine monks at Syon Abbey, for whom Latin translation into English constituted a useful and worthy occupation throughout the late medieval period and up to the

early days of the Reformation. Their first translation to reach print, *The Lyf of saint ierome*, was done much earlier by Simon Wynter (d.1448) and published by de Worde in 1493; the second was *A right profytable treatyse* by the Abbey librarian,Thomas Betson, also published by de Worde (1500). This marked the beginning of a profitable commercial link between Syon and de Worde, although only after 1501.[12]

Of our fifty-four individual titles, twenty-four were the work of anonymous translators, about whom obviously one can say nothing. The remainder were shared between thirteen translators. However, only seven were still alive when the first translation rolled off the handpress in 1473: Caxton, Burgh, Rivers, Worcester, Tiptoft, Kay and Betson. What Bennett said about translators in the whole period from 1475 to 1557 is applicable to our group, namely that "to turn to the translators themselves is to be confronted by a body of men who have little in common."[13] Bennett nevertheless identifies several features that characterise the group: they belonged to many ranks of society; they were usually educated; a good number remained anonymous; some were 'professional' translators; others produced only one or two translations; some were closely associated with the printers, although Bennett here specifies, and goes on to discuss, only those working in the early sixteenth century.[14] How many of these features are applicable to our thirteen translators?

Although perhaps displaying less variety in terms of the social hierarchy than those who came after them, they represent several ranks of society. Two, Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers (c.1440–1438) and John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester (1415–c.1480), were aristocrats, while one, Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340–1400), was a civil servant and poet associated with the court and two others, Thomas Malory (c.1415–1471) and William Worcester (1415-c.1483), were members of the gentry. Six were clerics of various standing: John Trevisa (c.1342–c.1402) was a vicar and chaplain to the Berkeley family, John Lydgate (c.1370–1449) a prior, Nicholas Love (d.1423) the prior of the Carthusian Charterhouse of Mount Grace, Benedict Burgh (d.1483) a dean and chaplain to Edward IV, while Simon

---

[12] On the relations between these religious authors, translators and early printers, see George Keiser, "The Mystics and the Early Printers: The Economics of Devotionalism," in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 9–25. See also his "Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth-Century England: Margaret Duchess of Clarence, Symon Wynter and Beinicke MS 317," *Yale University Library Gazette* 60 (1985): 32–46, for this particular translation.

[13] H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, 159.

[14] H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, 159–60.

Wynter (d.1448) and Thomas Betson (d.1516) were both Bridgettine monks. Leonardo Bruni (c.1370–1444) was an Italian humanist, scholar and statesman. Only one was a member of the professions, William Caxton (1415–1492), who was a printer and diplomat, although he was also of the merchant class. Of John Kay we know virtually nothing except that in the dedication to Edward IV prefacing his 1482 *Seige of Rhodes* he describes himself as the king's "poete lawreate," a title not substantiated in any records of the time and probably rather meaningless.

Like Bennett's later translators, these men were all well educated. Several attended university, Burgh, Trevisa,Worcester, Tiptoft and possibly Lydgate at Oxford, Betson and possibly Kay at Cambridge. Bruni was the pupil of the eminent humanist Carluccio Salutati. On the other hand, Bennett's assertion that the group is divided into those who translated professionally and those who only did so once or twice is perhaps less applicable, since none, in fact, except Caxton, translated frequently and for purely professional reasons, at least not in our sense of the term. Many, of course, wrote on commission, or to please patrons or attract potential ones. Chaucer made several direct translations and embedded many others in original works, although amongst the former only his Boethius reached print before 1500, but this hardly makes him a professional. Lydgate's output of translated works is much larger but he is not the more 'professional' for that. Bruni translated the Byzantine historian Procopius and two of Aristotle's works besides the *Ethics,* as well as the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics*, but again he would not be considered a professional translator. Rivers translated three texts, but presumably for his leisure, although he "commanded" Caxton to print the *Moral prouerbes* (1478), pressed him to print his *Cordial* (1479) and sent him his *Dictes* (1480) to "oversee," if we are to believe Caxton's prologues.

Lastly, the professional printer-translator rapport that Bennett claims for the first decades of the sixteenth century is not generally the case in the incunabular period, crucially and unavoidably, as I have said, because seven of the thirteen translators were dead by the time print arrived in England. Of the living ones, Caxton, of course, constitutes a special case, since he was himself both translator and printer.[15] Of his immediate followers, neither de Worde, whose translated texts constituted just over one third of his total output, nor Pynson ever translated a text himself. Nor

[15] The body of literature on Caxton is enormous but for this aspect of his role as printer and translator see in particular Anne Coldiron, "William Caxton," in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, vol 1,* 160–69.

do we have any record of their dealings with their translators, as we do with Caxton; yet even there, in the case of the Rivers translations, we do not know if the negotiations between printer and translator were made in person or through the latter's "secretaire," as perhaps suggested in the epilogue to the *Moral Proverbs*.[16] There is nothing to suggest the printer-translator camaraderie that existed between Henry Pepwell and the third earl of Kent, who commissioned Ansley's translation of Christine de Pisan's *Cyte of ladyes* in 1521. Nor is there recorded any rapport of the kind that would exist but a decade after the incunabula period between de Worde and his two printer apprentices-cum-translators, Henry Watson and Robert Copland. The overall picture, then, is very different from that of the years described by Bennett, when there are fewer anonymous translators, perhaps fewer dead ones, and certainly more facts available concerning their lives and translating activities.

Some information *is* made available in the paratexts accompanying these incunabular translations, although liminary materials must always, of course, be read with caution. They can tell us about the original text and translation, justify the translator's choice of text, discuss the methods used, provide information about the translator, and present people involved in the production of the translation, that is, patrons or potential patrons, friends or groups of friends who either cheer the translator on or seize the translation and publish it without permission. Finally, paratexts play an important dual role, as Alexandra Gillespie has pointed out.[17] On a practical level they have an organizational function, providing information about the actual printing that facilitates all aspects of production and distribution, treating the book as a commodity. However, on a less commercial level, they endow the book with cultural value because they provide an opportunity for the printer to emphasise its literary, social and often moral significance. To this, I would add that in the case of translators' liminary materials, they also place the new version within a line of tradition, thereby not only justifying its existence but also giving it authority and enhancing its worth. This is particularly true for works translated

---

[16] N.F. Blake, in *Caxton's Own Prose* (London: André Deutsch, 1973, 168), says that the secretary, who remains otherwise unknown, did not necessarily proofread or supervise the edition. All subsequent quotations from Caxton's paratexts are taken from this edition and placed in parentheses in the text.

[17] Alexandria Gillespie, "'Folowynge the trace of master Caxton.' Some Histories of Fifteenth-Century Printed Books," in *Caxton's Trace. Studies in the History of English Printing*, ed. William Kuskin (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 167–95.

from Latin into the vernacular. In this third section of my essay, I shall discuss some of the ways in which the prologues, prefaces and epilogues in particular perform these functions and also link print and translation in an inextricable way. As can be seen in the "Para" column of our list of translations, no fewer than sixty-five texts, or 57.5 per cent of the corpus, are accompanied by such paratexts.

Caxton, of course, is in a category apart when it comes to prologues and epilogues.[18] He mostly composed his own, although he also translated paratexts accompanying the source text, often weaving them into his own prose without saying so. As I have argued elsewhere, this was a common practice in late medieval and early modern translation, with the translator often simply changing a few details to suit his own person and time.[19] No fewer than twenty-one of his own translations and ten of those done by others contain prologues or epilogues, or both, by Caxton, covering all the areas of information that I have just mentioned. As Lotte Hellinga has said, "for vernacular printing of the period, the information [he provides] is unparalleled."[20] He is a little short on theoretical concerns, although this is usual in the time in which he was translating, but as Anne Coldiron rightly asserts, translation enjoys "high visibility" in his paratexts.[21] He tells us how he obtained his source text and is treating it in his translation, why he chose that particular text, sometimes who commissioned it, and how he hopes the texts will point a moral to readers, or, in the case of religious translations, might even save their souls. He also discusses stylistic and linguistic features of both French and English, defending in his 1490 *Eneydos* his new preference for "common terms" over the "old and ancient English," more like Dutch than English, he adds disapprovingly in his prologue (Blake, 79).

His paratexts are also full of people, living and dead, and involved in some way or another with his translations: high ranking English clerics, Englishmen connected with the court of Burgundy, aristocrats who commissioned his translations such as Earl Rivers and the Earls of Oxford and Arundel, George Duke of Clarence, Margaret of Burgundy, Elizabeth

---

[18] These are all printed and commented on in N.F. Blake, *Caxton's Own Prose*.

[19] Brenda M. Hosington, "Henry Watson, 'Apprentyce of London' and 'Translatoure' of Romance and Satire," in *The Medieval Translator. Traduire au Moyen Äge, Vol 10*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Olivier Bertrand (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007), 1–25.

[20] Lotte Hellinga, "Printing," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume III 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 84.

[21] Anne Coldiron explores this subject in admirable detail in "William Caxton," 162–68.

Woodville and Margaret Beaufort, but also mercers who did likewise, Wylliam Daubeney, William Pratt and Hugh Bryce. But perhaps the most persistent theme is the cultural and social value of the books he is translating and printing, for the two activities are inextricably bound up in his life.

Caxton treats other people's translations in similar fashion when it comes to paratexts. The epilogue accompanying Chaucer's *Boke of consolacion of philosophie* demonstrates how he can use a paratext to display his knowledge and appreciation of literary and cultural tradition. He praises the poet as "the worshipful fader and first fondeur and embellisher of ornate eloquence in our English literature" and offers a brief biography of Boethius and the context in which the source text was written. Also, here, as elsewhere, authorship, translation and printing are intertwined, for Boethius, Chaucer and Caxton have all made these moral writings available for the profit of "moche peple to the wele and helth of theire soules" (Blake, 59).

In his prologue to Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon,* mostly lifted out of a French translation of Diodorus Siculus' *Historical Library*, and again in his epilogue to Book VII, Caxton explicitly says he has taken on the combined roles of author, reviser and printer: he has added stories that took place after Higden's death in 1360 and continued the history up to 1460, has "a lytel embelysshed" the original translation, and has put it forth in print (Blake, 131). The epilogue to Rivers' translation of the *Cordial* and the prologue to his translation of Cicero's *De senectute* are perhaps even more explicit about the connection between translation and printing. Both activities have a high moral purpose, to encourage people to "amende thair lyving" before death in order to win salvation and to help them "lerne how they owght to come to the same to which every man naturally desyreth to atteyne." Translation, Caxton says, is a "meritorious dede wherof [the translator] is worthy to be greatly commended" but he, too, is doing his "deboir" by obeying commands to publish translations (Blake, 71).

Paratexts from our other translators are rather thin on the ground. Rood and Hunte, however, reprint Bruni's learned prologue to Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, in which the translator discusses Aristotle's eloquence and mastery of rhetoric and the problem of transferring this to a translation, thus offering a foretaste of his treatise on translation, *De interpretatione recta.* Three printers include translations of the original authors' prologues, de Worde in his *Medytacions of saynt Bernard,* Pynson in the anonymous translation of Lydgate's *Fall of princis*, and the anonymous producer (perhaps de Machlinia) of Kay's *Seige of Rhodes*.

To discuss incunabular translations is to focus on an important part of book production in the early days of English printing, and one that has been largely ignored. Imported works, overwhelmingly in Latin and French, were made available through translation to English readers in numbers undreamed of in the time when only manuscripts were available, although of course translations in manuscript form continued to be produced. Translations of native texts, too, and reworked earlier English translations contributed to disseminating knowledge and reinforcing religious faith. As the fifteenth century drew to a close and the sixteenth beckoned, printers turned to translations to fill their shelves, please their patrons, and make a living, albeit rather precariously. But by making such works accessible to an ever-widening readership, they also contributed to shaping literary taste and establishing cultural norms. The so-called 'golden age of translation' of Elizabeth's reign was as yet far in the distant future, but Caxton, de Worde, Pynson and the other early printers nevertheless deserve praise for toiling, often against enormous odds, to bring foreign texts to English audiences by means of translations, which they used to set the English printing press on its way to becoming, by the end of the early modern period, an extremely productive one.

Table 1.1. Chronological list of translations 1473–1500.

Title	Printer/Date	Source	Translator	Para	Stc
Recuyell	Caxton, 1473	French	Caxton	5	15375
Game of chess	Caxton, 1474	French	Caxton	5	4920
Cato, Distichs	Caxton, 1476	Latin	Burgh	0	4851
Churl and bird	Caxton, 1476	French	Lydgate	0	17008
Churl and bird	Caxton, 1476	French	Lydgate	0	17009
Historie of Jason	Caxton, 1477	French	Caxton	3	15383
Dictes	Caxton, 1477	French	Rivers	1	6826
Cato, Distichs	Caxton, 1477	Latin	Burgh	1	4850
Morale prouerbes	Caxton, 1478	French	Rivers	1	7273
De consolacione	Caxton, 1478	French	Chaucer	1	3199
Cordial	Caxton, 1479	French	Rivers	1	5758
Aristotelis	Rood, 1479	Greek	Bruni	1	752
Dictes	Caxton, 1480	French	Rivers	1	6828
Polycronicon	Caxton, 1480	Latin	Trevisa	2	13440a
De senectute	Caxton, 1481	Latin	Worcester	2	5293
De amicitia	Caxton, 1481	Lat/Fr	Tiptoft	2	5293
De nobilitate	Caxton, 1481	Lat/Fr	Tiptoft	2	5293
Myrrour/worlde	Caxton, 1481	French	Caxton	7	24762

(*Continued*)

Table 1.1. (*Cont.*)

Title	Printer/Date	Source	Translator	Para	Stc
Seige/Jerusalem	Caxton, 1481	French	Caxton	2	13175
Reynart	Caxton, 1481	Dutch	Caxton	1	20919
Polycronicon	Caxton, 1482	Latin	Trevisa	4	13438
Seige of Rhodes	Anon., 1482	Latin	Kay	1	4594
Cato, Distichs	Caxton, 1483	Latin	Burgh	0	4852
Game of chess	Caxton, 1483	French	Caxton	2	4921
Curial	Caxton, 1483	French	Caxton	1	5057
Curia sapientiae	Caxton, 1483	Latin	Anon.	0	17015
Pylgremage	Caxton, 1483	French	Anon.	0	6473
Vulgaria Terentii	Rood, 1483	Latin	Anon.	0	1483
Vulgaria Terentii	Machlinia, 1483	Latin	Anon.	0	23905
Golden legende	Caxton, 1483	Lat/Fr	Caxton	13	24873
Reuelacion	Machlinia, 1483	Latin	Anon.	1	20917
Cato, Distichs	Caxton, 1484	Lat/Fr	Caxton	1	4853
Saynt Wenefryde	Caxton, 1484	English	Caxton	1	25853
Knyght/ toure	Caxton, 1484	French	Caxton	1	15296
Fables of Esope	Caxton, 1484	Gr/Lat/ Fr	Caxton	2	175
Ordre of chiualrie	Caxton, 1484	Sp/Fr	Caxton	1	3356.7
Myrroure/Iesu	Caxton, 1484	Latin	Love	1	3259
Le morte darthur	Caxton, 1485	French	Malory	2	801
Charles the grete	Caxton, 1485	French	Caxton	2	5013
Parys and Vyenne	Caxton, 1485	French	Caxton	0	19206
Royal book	Caxton, 1485	French	Caxton	2	21429
Pestilence	Machlinia, 1485	Fr/Lat	Anon.	1	4589
Pestilence	Machlinia, 1485	Fr/Lat	Anon.	1	4590
Pestilence	Machlinia, 1485	Fr/Lat	Anon.	1	4591
Vulgaria Terentii	Machlinia, 1485	Latin	Anon.	0	23906
Vulgaria Terentii	Machlinia, 1486	Latin	Anon.	0	23907
Innocent VIII	Machlinia, 1486	Latin	Anon.	0	14096
Hauking, hunting	St Albans, 1486	French+ Lat.	Anon.	0	3308
Good maners	Caxton, 1487	Lat/Fr	Caxton	1	15394
Fayttes of armes	Caxton, 1489	French	Caxton	1	7269
Reynart	Caxton, 1489	Dutch	Caxton	0	20920
Dictes	Caxton, 1489	French	Rivers	1	6829
Doctrynal	Caxton, 1489	French	Caxton	1	21431
Myrroure/worlde	Caxton, 1489	French	Caxton	7	24763

Table 1.1. (*Cont.*)

Title	Printer/Date	Source	Translator	Para	Stc
Myrrour/Iesu	Caxton, 1489	Latin	Love	1	3260
Salomon/Marc	Leeu, 1489	Latin	Anon.	0	22905
Eneydos	Caxton, 1490	Lat/Fr	Caxton	1	24796
Craft for to dye	Caxton, 1490	Lat/Fr	Caxton	0	789
Gouernayle/helth	Caxton, 1490	Latin	Anon.	0	12138
Four sons/Aymon	Caxton, 1490	French	Caxton	1	1007
Blanchardine	Caxton, 1490	French	Caxton	1	3124
Fiftene oes	Caxton, 1491	Latin	Anon.	1	20195
Ghostly matters	Caxton, 1491	Latin	Anon.	0	3305
Craft for to dye	Caxton, 1491	Lat/Fr	Caxton	0	786
Chastysing	Worde, 1492	Latin	Anon.	0	5065
Treatyse of loue	Worde, 1492	French	Anon.	0	24234
Saint katherin	Worde, 1492	Latin	Anon.	1	24766
Reinard the foxe	Pynson, 1492	Dutch	Caxton	0	20921
First book Esope	Pynson, 1492	Gr/Lat/Fr	Caxton	1	176
Jason	Leeu, 1492	French	Caxton	1	15384
Parys and vyenne	Leeu, 1492	French	Caxton	0	19207
Churl and bird	Pynson, 1492	French	Lydgate	0	17010
Prognostication	Pynson, 1492	Latin	Anon.	0	385.7
Goldene legende	Worde, 1493	Lat/Fr	Caxton	2	24875
Saint ierom	Worde, 1493	Latin	Anon.	1	14508
Myrroure/Iesu	Worde, 1493	Latin	Love	1	3261
Cordial	Worde, 1494	Lat/Fr	Rivers	1	5759
Siege of Thebes	Worde, 1494	French	Lydgate	0	17031
Falle of princis	Pynson, 1494	French	Lydgate	1	3175
Myrroure/Iesu	Pynson, 1494	Latin	Love	1	3262
Good maners	Pynson, 1494	French	Caxton	1	15395
Arte well to dye	Pynson, 1494	French	Caxton	0	790
Churl and bird	Worde, 1494	French	Lydgate	0	17011
Polycronicon	Worde, 1495	Latin	Trevisa	2	13439
Olde faders	Worde, 1495	Lat/Fr	Caxton	0	14507
Thre kynges	Worde, 1496	Latin	Anon.	1	5572
De proprietatibus	Worde, 1496	Latin	Trevisa	2	1536
Hawkynge	Worde, 1496	Fr+Lat	Anon.	0	3309
Abbaye	Worde, 1496	French	Anon.	0	13068.7
Medytacions	Worde, 1496	Latin	Anon.	1	1916
Abbaye	Worde, 1497	French	Anon.	0	13609

(*Continued*)

Table 1.1. (*Cont.*)

Title	Printer/Date	Source	Translator	Para	Stc
Good maners	Worde, 1497	French	Caxton	0	15397
Polycronicon	Worde, 1497	Latin	Trevisa	2	13440b
Craft for to dye	Worde, 1497	Lat/Fr	Caxton	0	787
Myracles	Worde, 1497	French	Anon.	0	17539
Guy of Warwick	Worde, 1497	French	Anon.	0	12541
Guy of Warwick	Pynson, 1497	French	Anon.	0	12540
Prognostication	Worde, 1497	Latin	Anon.	0	385.3
Iohn Maunduyle	Pynson, 1497	French	Anon.	0	17246
Morte darthur	Worde, 1498	French	Malory	2	802
Goldene legende	Worde, 1498	Lat/Fr	Caxton	2	24876
Meditations	Worde, 1498	Latin	Anon.	1	1917
Abbaye	Worde, 1499	French	Anon.	0	13610
Thre kynges	Worde, 1499	Latin	Anon.	1	5573
Iohan Maundeull	Worde, 1499	French	Anon.	0	17247
Profytable treatyse	Worde, 1499	Latin	Betson	0	1978
Sir Bevis	Worde, 1499	French	Anon.	0	1987
Sir Beuys	Worde, 1499	French	Anon.	0	1987.5
Moste holy faders	Pynson, 1499	Latin	Anon.	0	14099
Moste holy faders	Pynson, 1499	Latin	Anon.	0	None
Good maners	Pynson, 1499	French	Caxton	1	15396
.xii. profytes	Worde, 1500	Latin	Anon.	0	20412
Fables of Aesop	Pynson, 1500	Gr/Lat/Fr	Caxton	0	177

LYDGATE'S *FALL OF PRINCES*: TRANSLATION, RE-TRANSLATION AND HISTORY

A.S.G. Edwards

When, in or around 1386, Eustache Deschamps offered his praise to 'grant translateur noble geoffroy chaucier' he was doing rather more than expressing admiration for a fellow poet. The specific terms of his praise remind us of what would have been manifest to any of his contemporaries, and ought to be still apparent to us, his modern readers: that Chaucer's achievement is fundamentally to recreate forms of writing already existing in other vernaculars, French and Italian. In doing this Chaucer also, of course, established himself for posterity as the starting point of an English poetic tradition, 'the first findere of our fair langage' or 'the well of English undefiled' as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw him (in the praise of Hoccleve and Spenser respectively). But the immediate, contemporary sense of his achievement is fittingly reflected in his acclaim by a foreign poet. He was, quite literally, a great translator, one who made accessible in English the works of the great writers of the past, and the fashionable writers of the present.

This is not the place to assess Chaucer's achievement. But its influence was very great throughout the fifteenth century and particularly for the generation immediately after his death in 1400. In both quantitative and qualitative terms the most substantial evidence of such influence is to be found in the verse of John Lydgate (c. 1370-1449). Lydgate was the most prolific poet of the fifteenth century, and the circulation of his works was doubtless increased by his patronage by the great and the good: Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, John, duke of Bedford, Humfrey, duke of Gloucester are only the most eminent of those who commissioned his verse.[1] For while such distinguished endorsements doubtless helped shape his literary career, they did not define the range of readership for his writings, which was not limited to royalty and nobility, but seem to have extended to the gentry and to various religious houses and individual religious. As with

[1] For general overviews of Lydgate's audience see Walter F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century,* trans. Ann E. Keep (London: Methuen, 1961) and Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (London: Routlegde & Kegan Paul, 1970).

Chaucer and most later Middle English verse writers, the bulk of his massive corpus (the most optimistic sense of his oeuvre would extend it to about 150,000 lines), was made up of translations, many of them from French sources.[2] We lack detailed studies of either the full range of Lydgate's manuscript readers or of his translational strategies; together such studies would reveal much about the range of vernacular literacy and taste during the fifteenth century and beyond.

By the end of the fifteenth century the manuscript copying of works by Chaucer, Lydgate and other Middle English poets seems to have effectively ceased. The establishing of the first English printing house in Westminster by Caxton in or about 1476 seems to have led to a rapid decline in the market for new hand written copies of such works. Henceforward the future of the English poetic past was to be either in print or not at all.[3]

As a poet whose corpus was, like Chaucer's, centrally linked to translation, Lydgate's significance in early print culture in England matched and in certain respects surpassed that of his master. Certainly he was, with Chaucer, the crucial figure in the establishing of medieval English poetry in the new form of print. Some seventeen editions of various of his poems survive up to 1500; in terms of numbers this makes him, by some distance, the most popular surviving Middle English writer of the first phase of English printing. Only Chaucer compares to him in popularity in such terms and such comparisons are rather misleading. Of the nine editions of Chaucer's works printed before 1500, four are editions of a single one, the *Canterbury Tales*. This was the only one of Chaucer's works to be issued by more than one printer in this period: by Caxton in [1476?](STC 5082) and [1483] (STC 5083), by Pynson in [1490] (STC 5084), and de Worde, in [1498] (STC 5085). All but one of the rest of the incunable Chaucer printings were by Caxton.[4] In the incunabular period Lydgate was, moreover, the only English poet apart from Chaucer to be printed by all three early major

---

[2] James Simpson, while talking specifically about Lydgate, makes him part of a wider point about later Middle English literature: "Most English writing, secular or religious, of the period 1350–1550 is translation. Transposition of texts from one language into another in this period is the central act whereby 'English' literature is formed." (*The Oxford English Literary History, Volume 2 1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 64).

[3] For fuller discussion see A.S.G. Edwards, 'The Circulation of English Verse in Manuscript after the Advent of Print in England,' *Studia Neophilologica* 83 (2011): 66–77.

[4] STC 5087 (House of Fame), STC 5090 (Anelida & Arcite), STC 5091 (Parliament of Fowls), STC 5094 (Troilus & Criseyde). The odd one out is Notary's edition of the short Complaints of Mars & Venus, in 1500 (STC 5089).

printers, by Caxton, who published eight editions of his works,[5] by de Worde, who published seven,[6] and by Pynson, who published two.[7]

Indeed, by the end of the fifteenth century a substantial amount of Lydgate's corpus was in print and the rest followed quickly. Pynson, the king's printer, published his translation of the *Secreta Secretorum* in 1511 (STC 17017) and his enormous translation of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destruccionis Troiae*, the *Troy Book* in 1513 (STC 5579). Other of his works were also reprinted, both by these three printers and others in London in the first half of the sixteenth century. In addition, some of Lydgate's poems, unlike any of those of Chaucer, had found regional printers by this time: *The Complaint of the Black Knight* was published by Chepman and Myllar in Edinburgh in 1508/9 (STC 17014.3) in a 'Scotticized' version; the Canterbury printer John Mychell produced an edition of his *Churl and Bird c*. 1534 (STC 17013); and his *Lives of SS Albon & Amphibel* was printed in St Albans in 1534 (STC 256).

But by the early sixteenth century, Chaucer's corpus came to be canonized in print as a single comprehensive entity, "The Works" beginning with Thynne's edition in 1532. The conflation and expansion of the Chaucer canon was to continue in printed form throughout the sixteenth century; it included the incorporation of some of Lydgate's own works.[8] In contrast, the print and reception history of Lydgate in the sixteenth century is primarily the separate printing history of his two biggest and most important translations, the *Troy Book* and particularly his *Fall of Princes*. The former was reprinted by Marsh in 1555 (STC 5580). The *Fall* was first printed in 1494 by Pynson (STC 3175) and reprinted by him in 1527 (STC 3176), then by Tottel (STC 3177), and twice by Wayland (STC 3177.5, 3178), all three in or around 1554. After this Lydgate's writings, with a few minor exceptions, virtually disappear from print not to be disinterred until the twentieth century.

In the period after the advent of printing in England, both of these works were to have some literary influence on subsequent writings. The circulation and influence of *The Troy Book* was relatively circumscribed: it survives complete in nineteen manuscripts, as well as in various fragments

---

[5] STC 17008–9, 17018–19, 17023–4, 17030, 17032; 17023–4 are here regarded as variant forms of the same edition; the last is probably proof sheets.

[6] STC 17011, 17020–22, 17031, 17032a, 17033.

[7] STC 3175, 17010.

[8] The best bibliographical account of this process remains Eleanor P. Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1908).

and extracts.[9] Its influence does not seem to have been extensive. Christopher Marlow seems to have read it;[10] it may have provided a source for John Pikeryng's *Horestes* (1567; STC 19917)[11] and *The Life and Death of Hector*, printed in 1614 (STC 5581.5) and sometimes erroneously ascribed to Thomas Heywood.[12] But otherwise it seems to have gone largely unnoticed in the Renaissance and beyond.

The *Fall of Princes* is considerably more influential. It survives complete in nearly forty fifteenth-century manuscripts, many high quality productions, facts that are all the more remarkable in view of its colossal length – it runs to over 36,000 lines – and the consequent expense of production.[13] The work continued to be read in manuscript into the sixteenth century, sometimes in historically alert ways,[14] or in interesting literary contexts.[15] And, as I will try to suggest, it is this work that centrally defines Lydgate as a Renaissance translator, albeit in ways that problematize the nature of such translation.

To approach the *Fall of Princes* one may begin with Chaucer since Lydgate saw himself specifically in the Chaucerian tradition. He recurrently acknowledges his debt to his "master" Chaucer. And the nature of his indebtedness is specifically shaped by his consciousness of Chaucer as translator. His most extensive statement of his sense of Chaucer's achievement in this respect comes in the prologue to the *Fall*.[16] Here he gives the

---

[9] For descriptions of most of these manuscripts see Henry Bergen, ed., *Lydgate's Troy Book*, Part IV, Early English Text Society, e.s. 126 (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1935), 1–54. For bibliographical details see Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: British Library, 2005), no. 2516.

[10] See Ethel Seaton, "Marlowe's Light Reading," in *Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies Presented to Frank Percy Wilson*, ed. Herbert Davis and Helen Gardner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 28–33.

[11] See K.M. Merrit, "The Source of John Pikeryng's *Horestes*," *Review of English Studies*, n. s. 23 (1972): 255–66.

[12] On the misattribution see Charles Rouse, "Thomas Heywood and The Life and Death of Hector," *PMLA* 43 (1928): 779–83.

[13] For descriptions of the majority of the manuscripts see Henry Bergen, ed., *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, Part IV, Early English Text Society, e.s. 124 (London: Early English Society, 1927), 1–105. For full bibliographical details see Boffey and Edwards, *A New Index*, no. 1168.

[14] For some discussion of the reception of Lydgate's poem see A.S.G. Edwards, "The Influence and Audience of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*: A Survey," *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1976): 424–39.

[15] A copy was owned in 1552 by Mary Sidney, Philip Sidney's mother, who added a verse inscription to it; see Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Important Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (8 July 1970), lot 98; this manuscript is now owned by English Heritage.

[16] Line references to the *Fall of Princes* will be cited parenthetically in the text; all references are to the edition of Henry Bergen, *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, Parts I-III, Early English Text Society, e.s. 121–23 (London: Early English Text Society, 1924).

first posthumous annotated bibliography of Chaucer's works, a list that is very largely a bibliography of Chaucer's achievement as a translator: he tells us that "in youthe [Chaucer made] a translation/ of a booke which is called Trophe / in Lombard tonge [and] gaff it the name off Troilus & Criseyde" (I, 283–4); that "he maad in his tyme an hool translacioun" (I, 292) of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*; that he "wrot' Dante in Inglissh" (I, 303) that he was "by gret auys his wittis to dispose / To translate the romaunce of the rose" (I, 307–8)and "in our vulgar to translate and endite / Origen vpon the Maudeleyne (I, 311–12)." Lydgate saw himself as operating within a tradition of translation established by Chaucer. He invokes his "maistir" Chaucer as a translator from classical and other sources and as an implicit model.

The nature of that role as translator is complicated by Lydgate's relationship to his source. What was Lydgate translating? Tottel's print, of 1554, seems to epitomise the early modern view of Lydgate's work when it describes it on the title page as "first compiled in Latin … and sence … translated into oure englische and uulgare tong." The implication is that *The Fall of Princes* is a translation of Boccaccio's Latin *De casibus virorum illustrium*. But this is not so. As Lydgate does not make wholly clear, he was actually rendering a French prose version prepared by Laurent de Premierfait in the early fifteenth century.[17] Lydgate speaks approvingly of Laurent's work in his prologue, describing it as written in language that is "open" and "pleyn" rather than in "straunge termys which be nat vndirstande" (I, 84). But Lydgate does not indicate that he is working *directly* from Laurent, whose name, in any case, swiftly disappears after the beginning of the Prologue.[18] Henceforward it is only "Bochas" who is represented as Lydgate's source, "auctour off this book" (I, 141); he repeatedly

[17] Laurent made two such translations, of which Lydgate appears to have used the second, completed in 1409. There is no adequate study of Lydgate's treatment of Laurent; see, however, Patricia M. Gathercole, "Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* and the French Version of Boccaccio's *De Casibus*," in *Miscellanea di studi e ricerche sul Quattrocento francese*, ed. Franco Simone (Turin: Giappichelli editore, 1966), 167–78. On the relationship between Laurent's versions see Patricia M. Gathercole, "Two Old French Translations of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*," *Modern Language Quarterly* 17 (1956): 304–9; she estimates that "about sixty-five" manuscripts of Laurent's translations of the *De casibus* survive, the majority of the second version; see Gathercole, "Laurent de Premierfait: The Translator of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*," *French Review* 27 (1954): 245–52 (251).

[18] Laurent is mentioned twice by name in the Prologue (I, 36, 79); Lydgate refers to "oon Laurence" (IX, 1886) as providing a passage "nat take out of myn auctour" (that is, Boccaccio). In his final Envoy to Humfrey (IX, 3303–3558) he speaks indirectly of his source as "The Frenssh vnkouth compendiously compiled, / To which language my tounge was nat affyled" (IX, 3329–30).

refers to him as "myn auctour" (I, 204, 226, 233) or with some frequency as "(this) (Iohn) Bochas" (I, 64, 114, 120, 150, 205, 269). But "Bochas" for Lydgate signified his own translation of a translation, one that was crucially reshaped, from Latin prose original, via French prose, into Middle English verse, chiefly in rhyme royal stanzas. Lydgate seems keen to obscure his use of Laurent's translation as much as possible and to repeatedly affirm his own work as a direct translation from Boccaccio.

Why should he wish to do so, to blur to the point of misrepresenation the relationship between his own work and Boccaccio's original? One can only assume that part of the answer is to be found in the humanist sensibilities of his patron, Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester who commissioned the work in about 1431.[19] It is not clear from Lydgate's account what Humfrey thought he had actually commissioned, a translation of Boccaccio or of Laurent's translation. Lydgate describes Humfrey's instructions thus:

> He gaff to me in commaundement
> As hym sempte it was riht weel sittyng,
> That I shulde, afftir my cunnyng,
> This book translate, hym to do plesaunce,
> To shewe the chaung of worldli variaunce…
>
> And as I haue o thyng weel in mynde,
> He bad me I sholde in especiall,
> Folwyng myn auctour, written as I fynde,
> And for no fauour be nat parciall, –
> Thus I meene to speke in generall,
> And noon estate syngulerly depraue,
> But the sentence off myn auctour saue.
>
> (I, 430-34, 442-48)

This account presents Lydgate as an objective translator "Folwyng myn auctour, written as I fynde."

Such an assumption of fidelity may have been easier to make because of the lack of awareness of Boccaccio's original among the audience of the *Fall*. There is very little evidence that Boccaccio's Latin was known in England in the first half of the fifteenth century; insofar as it was known in England at all at this time it seems to have been later in the century, and seemingly chiefly within learned or clerical circles.[20] There does not seem

---

[19] The work was not completed until about 1438 and during this time relations between Lydgate and Humfrey were not always easy; see further E.P. Hammond, "Poet and Patron in the *Fall of Princes*: Lydgate and Hunphrey of Gloucester," *Anglia* 38 (1914): 121–36.

[20] Humfrey himself bequeathed a copy to Oxford in 1439 or 1444 that cannot now be identified; see Henry Anstey, *Epistolae Academicae Oxon. Registrum F., 2 vols* (Oxford:

to have been any developed tradition of its being copied in England.[21] It was therefore in part through Laurent's version, but primarily through Lydgate's adaptation of Laurent, that the work was received and understood in England. Tottel, in the mid-sixteenth century, was unlikely to have been the first or only commentator to be misled into believing that Lydgate's relationship to Boccaccio was a direct one.

But Lydgate's translation as it evolved under his patron's direction came to bear a relationship to his putative source that made Humfrey's initial injunction (as Lydgate asserts it) to faithful translation more complex in actual execution. For Humfrey's role in Lydgate's work was an intermittently active one that helped to shape the form of the work. Lydgate was not permitted simply to follow his source. At Humfrey's behest he occasionally interpolates material from humanist sources, like Coluccio Salutati, to supplement his narrative.[22] And at his patron's instruction he introduces a crucial formal innovation, adding numerous verse envoys to his narratives. In these he summarizes the moral significance of the narratives and offers sonorous generalities of ubiquitous applicability.

In doing so, Lydgate introduces further adjustments to his translation of a translation that were to prove of importance in the cultural transmission of his poem. For while his complete poem was to prove extremely popular his Envoys were to prove even more so. They came to enjoy a curious significance in the reception history of his poem, for they came to possess an identity, or, more accurately, a non-identity of their own. They occur, extracted from the main work, in a large number of additional manuscripts with their source frequently not identified.[23] Hence, paradoxically it was Lydgate's own additions to his translation and their fragmented transmission as portable aphorisms that become a pervasive aspect of the print circulation of his work.

Oxford Historical Publications, 1898), 180–1, 235; Robert Flemmyng (1416–1483) owned what is now Lincoln College 32, probably acquired in Italy; and William Botoner (d. 1461) owned a manuscript, now Oxford, Magdalen College 198.

[21] Richard Barber has, however, kindly drawn my attention to an extract from the *De casibus* in Magdalen College, Oxford MS 72, an English manuscript that may date from the 1420s. The publication of the forthcoming catalogue of Magdalen's medieval manuscripts may clarify this point.

[22] See further E.P. Hammond, "Lydgate and Coluccio Salutati," *Modern Philology* 25 (1927–28): 49–57.

[23] On these envoys see A.S.G. Edwards, "Selections from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*: A Checklist," *The Library*, 5th Series, 26 (1971): 337–42 and Nigel Mortimer, *John Lydgate's Fall of princes: narrative tragedy in its literary and political contexts* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), particularly 'Manuscripts and Owners: Anthology and Selection', 224–44.

Such fragmentation is not simply a dimension of the late medieval manuscript transmission of Lydgate's poem. It finds its way into printed form. Wynkyn de Worde printed in around 1510 what he termed the "*Prouerbes*" of Lydgate (STC 17026), creating what was largely, but not exclusively, an anthology of the *Fall*. In it, bits from Lydgate's envoys, occasional narrative passages, two of his own lyrics and two of Chaucer's ("Truth" and "Fortune") are brought together.[24] The collection was sufficiently popular to warrant reprinting in around 1520 (STC 17027). It is hard to recover the appeal of this mélange. What it suggests is the way in which a process occasioned by the act of translation, the addition of envoys, acquires its own identity, yet is still linked, albeit indirectly, to Boccaccio; the colophon describes the work as "the prouerbes of Lydgate vpon the fall of prynces" thus linking it to the larger work and by implication to Lydgate's ostensible original. But it now lacks any narrative or conceptual integrity.

This literary jack hornerism, the selection of envoys or isolated narrative passages by later readers, indicates the way in which Lydgate's translation itself was subject to processes of fragmentation. These processes come to typify the treatment of Lydgate's work in both manuscript and print in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, through which its identity as translation is suppressed through various forms of recombination.

For example, in William Bullein's *Dialogue … against the fever pestilence* ([1564], STC 4036) "Lamentyng Lidgate" makes an appearance

> bewailyng euery estate with the spirite of prouidence. Foreseyng the falles of wicked men, and the slipperie seates of Princes, the ebbing and flowing the rising and falling of men in authorite (fol. 11)

To make his point he adapts here a stanza from the *Fall*:

> Oh noble princes conceiue and do lere,
> The fall of kynges for mysgouernere[*sic*],
> And prudently peisyng this matter.
> Vertue is stronger then either plate or maile:
> Therfore consider when wisedom do counsaile
> Chief preseruatiue of princely magnificence,
> Is to almightie God to doe due reuerence
> (IV, 3739–44)

[24] The contents and form of the *Prouerbes* are well described in Henry Bergen, ed., *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, Part IV, 123–24.

A little later. John Bossewell, in his heraldic work entitled *Workes of armorie* (1572; STC 3393), offers an equally curious use of Lydgate's poem. Discussing a heraldic device he remarks:

> Thys deuise is straunge, & moche to be merualed at, considering that the token borne therein, hath hys head adourned *Diadematè modo Romanorum Pontificum*. It mighte therefore bee applied to bee th'engine of some Romishe bishoppe, fraudulently aspiring thereunto, liuyng moste lasciuiously, and therefore deposed worthely. That excellent clerke *Bocatius*, an Italian borne, in his treatise which he writeth of the fall of Princes, maketh mention of a woman that was pope, and what befell of her, and how she was put downe. The whiche hystorie I wil here set forth as it is translated, or rather metrized out of Latine into our English tongue, by Iohn Lidgate, wher he writeth, that after the miserable ende of many notable prouinces.
>
> (fols 2H1-2)

Bossewell goes on to quote an extensive passage (IX, 969–1012) from the *Fall*. He clearly believes Lydgate's work to be a direct translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus*.

This process of adaptation extends beyond medicine and heraldry into other works. William Caluerley's *A dyalogue bitwene the playntife and the defendaunt* (STC 4370) was composed, according to the title page, 'whyles he was prisoner in the towre of London,' and printed at some point in the 1530s by Thomas Godfray in London. Little can be established about Calverley or the circumstances of his imprisonment. What is clear is that while in prison (if it was there that he composed his *Complaint*) he clearly had access either to one of Pynson's editions of the *Fall of Princes* or to a manuscript of it.

Calverley's poem runs to just under seven hundred lines, in rhyme royal stanzas. It is not easy to quantify precisely how much is lifted from the *Fall of Princes*, but it probably amounts to as much as half.[25] Part of the difficulty in making identifications is the extent of Calverley's knowledge of Lydgate's work, which is demonstrated by his ability to leap in following stanzas from (say) Book II to Book IX, sometimes plucking whole stanzas, sometime smaller groups of lines, sometimes only single ones. Such evidence suggests that Calverley had immersed himself in the *Fall of Princes* to such an extent that he could redeploy and modify his source in a

[25] For discussion of Calverley's poem and its borrowings from Lydgate see Julia Boffey, "Chaucer's *Fortune* in the 1530s: Some Sixteenth-Century Recycling," *Studies in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Texts in Honour of John Scattergood*, ed. Anne Marie D'Arcy and Alan J. Fletcher (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 53–64.

remarkably eclectic way and do so, of course, without any indication of the identity of that source. Some parts of Calverley's poem are Lydgate's translation of Laurent, some parts are Lydgate's own additions to his translation, occasional bits come from elsewhere;[26] some parts may even be Calverley's own creation. It is hard to know quite how to characterize the finished work: it is, in effect, a form of retranslation, a strategic redeployment and amalgamation of his main source text with other materials. This is, then, a curiously hybrid literary form in which different portions of Lydgate's work and elsewhere are blended in ways that become stylistically and tonally indistinguishable.

What makes Calverley's use of Lydgate's translation even more striking is that it is not unique. Twenty or so years later George Cavendish (1494–1562?) was to do exactly the same thing in his manuscript collection of verse tragedies of his contemporaries.[27] His work corresponds closely in form to Lydgate's *Fall*: a series of first person laments followed by generalizing envoys, ranging over figures like Wolsey, Henry VIII, Mary Tudor, the poet Surrey and a range of lesser persons, a number of whom he clearly knew personally. Cavendish demonstrates a similar immersion in the *Fall of Princes*, a source that, like Calverley, he never mentions. His method of deploying Lydgate also has close similarities to Calverley's: although his tendency is to borrow particular passages of some length he is also capable of quite long passages of non-sequitive borrowing from the *Fall*, sometimes ranging over several Books of Lydgate's work in a single passage.[28] It is clear that Cavendish knew Lydgate very well and grasped the usefulness of particular passages but understood the general applicability of his vision of *de casibus* tragedy to the court of Henry VIII.

Nor was Cavendish the last to make such wide ranging use of the *Fall*. In the early 1580s one John Lawson dedicated to Lord Burghley a verse history of England that has never been published. It survives now in two manuscripts, BL Lansdowne 208 and Magdalene College, Cambridge MS Pepys 2363, together totalling nearly six hundred leaves, covering the

[26] Boffey, for example, shows that several stanzas of Calverley's Prologue are borrowed from Lydgate's *Legend of St Giles*.

[27] This is now BL Egerton 2402, the only substantive text of this work, which remained unpublished until 1821; for a modern edition see A.S.G. Edwards, *George Cavendish's Metrical Visions* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1980).

[28] For example, in his account of the deaths of Anne Boleyn and her close circle, he draws on stanzas from Books III, V, III and IV in consecutive stanzas (lines 309–36); line references to Cavendish's work are to the edition by A.S.G. Edwards; fuller details of his borrowings can be found there.

period from the beginnings of English history down to the reign of Henry VIII. The work is unpublished and its scale and distribution make full identification difficult. But it, too, clearly draws on Lydgate at various points in much the same ways as his predecessors.[29]

These exercises in reemploying a translation that is, in itself, not an actual translation of its ostensible source, took place alongside larger developments in which the *Fall* became not source, but model. After 1559 the identity of Lydgate's translation becomes merged with the work that draws on it explicitly. The first edition of the *Myrroure for magistrates* appeared in that year (STC 1247); it announces a direct relationship between Boccaccio, Lydgate and William Baldwin's reconceptualization of tragic design for his own day:

> Howe he hath plaged euill rulers from time to time, in other nacions, you may see gathered in Boccas booke intituled the fall of Princes, translated into Englishe by Lydgate: Howe he hath delt with sum of our countreymen your auncestors, for sundrye vices not yet left, this booke named *A Myrrour for Magistrates*, can shewe.[30]

Here Lydgate is perceived merely as the conduit through which Boccaccio's *De casibus* is made accessible to an English audience. Once again, he is seen as simply the translator, offering a model capable of being adapted to encompass more recent history. This view is sustained in the stream of later editions of the *Mirror*, both reprints and enlargements that appeared between 1571 and 1621.[31] Such continued reprinting signifies the capacity for contemporary renewal Lydgate's work offered: its perceived form as translation offered a model of *de casibus* tragedy that could be reformulated to interpret more recent historical events.

In addition to these ambitious revisionings of the Lydgatean model of verse tragedy, the *Fall* enjoyed a further level of circulation on into the seventeenth century. The sixteenth-century processes of excerption continued, albeit more infrequently, but the motives for selection become rather different from those I have outlined. Whereas previously Lydgate had been seen as either a translator or an unacknowledged source, by this time his work seems to have been perceived as simultaneously historical

---

[29] For some discussion of Lawson's work and the identification of some passages from the *Fall* see A.S.G. Edwards, "Lawson's Orchet," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8 (1984): 477–488.

[30] *A myrroure for magistrates* (1559, STC 1247), ¶iii.

[31] At least fourteen editions were published between those dates: STC 1249–1252.5, 13443–13448.7.

distant and currently apposite, providing a voice offering scope for different kinds of authoritative pronouncements, in which his name and the title of his work provide credibility. But in these contexts it is Lydgate, not Boccaccio, who provides authority. These selections invariably show no awareness that the work is a translation, but seem to see it as Lydgate's own, original one. On occasions they seem oddly disembodied. In John Cleveland's *The Idol of the clowns* (1654; Wing C4672), the nature of Cleveland's work is concisely indicated in the subtitle to the second edition in 1660:

> The rebellion of the rude multitude under Wat Tyler and his priests Baal and Straw, in the dayes of King Richard the IId, Anno. 1381. Parallel'd with the late rebellion in 1640, against King Charles I of ever blessed memory.

Both editions follow the title page with a lengthy quotation headed simply "*Iohn* of Lydgate, *lib.* 4." (Aii^{r-v}). This is actually a quotation from the *Fall of Princes*, IV 2654-95. The passage is germane to Cleveland's theme; it recounts the fate of Agathocles, who, as the rubric in Lydgate describes him "of lowe birthe atteyned to roial dignite ended in pouerte and wrechidnesse." A brief section may stand for the whole:

> … One the most contrarious mischiefe
> Found in this earth by notable evidence,
> Is onely this by Fortunate violence
> When that wretches churlish of nature
> The estate of Princes unwarly doth recure.
> (IV, 2655-60)

Cleveland points, in the Interregnum, to the dangers of usurpation, of replacing royal blood by ignoble. Lydgate's work is invoked to provide a gloss on contemporary history. It is worth noting that this passage is Lydgate's invention, with no parallel in Boccaccio or Laurent. And for Cleveland, Lydgate is not a translator. He is, in himself, a sufficient authority.

Something similar occurs in what is probably the latest seventeenth-century invocation of Lydgate's poem. This is in Henry Foulis's (*c.* 1635-1669) anti-Catholic *The history of the wicked plots and conspiracies of our pretended saints* (1662). Once again, the title page indicates the nature of the work. The book itself amplifies this anti-Catholic theme; Catholics, Foulis claims, aim by

> their pernicious actions to discourage both Learning, and the Ministry, by scandals cast upon them and their studies as needless: with whom some

> ignorant Boobies formerly agreed; as *John Ludgate* Monk of St. *Edmondsbury* informs us, and in his way confutes.[32]

Foulis goes on to quote stanzas from Book VI, 3416-3429 of the *Fall* to demonstrate the soundness of Lydgate's views. The passage reads

> Craft of langage and of prudent spech,
> Causeth prechours by spiritual doctrine
> Uertuously the people for to tech,
> How they shall live by Moral Discipline,
> Langage techeth men to plant Uine.
> Enformeth folke to worship holy Church,
> The Artificer trewely for to wyrche.
>
> Yet ther be summe that pleynly tech and preche,
> Have of Language this Opinyon.
> God hath not moost reward unto speche,
> But to the herte and to th' affection,
> Best gan guyrdon the inwarde intencion,
> Of every man, nat after the visage,
> But like the moveing of their inward carage, *& c*

We need not linger over the paradox of the verse of a medieval Benedictine monk being mustered to a Protestant cause. What is striking is the capacity to find in Lydgate's poem a passage that can be so readily applied to contemporary events. Lydgate's work has been carried on the tide of history, his formulations now wholly relocated, to be applied to new sites of controversy.

There are, then, various perceptions of Lydgate as translator reflected in the Renaissance treatments of the *Fall of Princes*. One sees him as a translator of Boccaccio, which he was not. One sees him as the creator of an original work, which he was not. And one sees him as the provider of a body of verse material that could be silently redeployed through adaptation and plagiarism for ends that are cognate to Lydgate's own. The *Fall of Princes* becomes a translational undertaking capable of a curiously flexible and quite extensive range of responses.

The Fall of Princes, Lydgate's largest translation, is an achievement that would commend its author to our attention as a 'grant translateur' on

---

[32] *The history of the wicked plots and conspiracies of our pretended saints representing the beginning, constitution, and designs of the Jesuite: with the conspiracies, rebellions, schisms, hypocrisie, perjury, sacriledge, seditions, and vilefying humour of some Presbyterians, proved by a series of authentick examples, as they have been acted in Great Brittain, from the beginning of that faction to this time* (London: Printed by E. Cotes, for A. Seile, 1662), 27–8 (Wing F1642).

simply quantitative terms, as a work which in itself far exceeds the entirety of the corpus of his master Chaucer. Lydgate, of course, translated much more than this single work. But in its size and scope, its transmission in manuscript and printed forms, and in its various Renaissance adaptations, appropriations and reformulations the *Fall* also raises questions about the reception of such a translation as it is both freed from and presented as a rendering of its original. Lydgate defined the historical understanding of Boccaccio's *De casibus* in England, while simultaneously presenting it in a form very different from his ultimate source, a work that he very probably never read.

READING JUAN DE FLORES'S *GRISEL Y MIRABELLA* IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Joyce Boro

Romance is no longer considered to be an exclusively popular, women's genre; recent scholarship has uncovered the wide variety of romance readers as well as the multiplicity of ways that male, female, educated, and uneducated readers approached the genre.[1] Because of its rich textual history and participation in the formal debate about women, the reception and dissemination of Juan de Flores's *Grisel y Mirabella* (c. 1474–5) affords a fruitful locus for an exploration of romance reading as a gendered activity. Its shifting paratext and narrative bear witness to a host of dynamic reading practices; yet, paradoxically, its title-pages, prologues, explicits, woodcuts, and decorated initial letters alter the romance's orientation and reception so that *Grisel* functions either as an attack against, or as a defence of, women. Such ambiguity results from the romance's indebtedness to the academic debate tradition, which involves skilfully presenting dichotomous opinions without pronouncing judgement, and it is compounded by the use of conflicting paratextual markers. The interpretative fluctuation is rooted in the original Spanish text and it persists, in varying degrees, in the numerous translations and adaptations. *Grisel* was one of the most popular vernacular texts in Early Modern Western Europe, circulating in six languages in 60 editions; accordingly, a survey of each edition is impossible in such a brief study. This essay, therefore, will begin by grounding the original Spanish romance within the debate tradition, illustrating how the narrative and paratext combine to articulate juxtaposing ideas about women. It will then investigate the English context of the work's reception. The romance was translated into English twice: the first translation is extant only in a short fragment (1527–1535);[2] the second

---

[1] On romance reading see Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women Sixteenth-Century England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 87–114; Lori Humphrey Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

[2] This edition is not listed in the *Short-Title Catalogue*. For details see Joyce Boro, "A Source and Date for the Fragment of *Grisel y Mirabella* Found in the Binding of Emmanuel College 338.5.43," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*

translation formed part of a quadrilingual Spanish-French-Italian-English edition entitled *Histoire de Aurelio et Isabelle,* published twice, in 1556 in Antwerp and in 1608 in Brussels.[3] Three adaptations complement these translations: the anonymous prose romance, *A Paire of Turtle Doves* (1606); John Fletcher's *Women Pleased* (c. 1619–23); and the play, *Swetnam, the Woman Hater* (1620), also anonymous.[4] Looking at the three complete English prose versions of the romance – the above-mentioned 1556 and 1608 translations and *Turtle Doves* –, this essay will illuminate how their paratexts metamorphose the work so that the 1556 translation voices a strong defence of women, the 1608 one becomes anti-feminist propaganda, and *Turtle Doves,* like *Grisel*, simultaneously lauds and defames women, encouraging readers to eschew the formal woman controversy.

Prior to engaging in an investigation of *Grisel*'s gendered context of reception, because the romance is relatively unknown to contemporary readers, I will first outline its plot. The story begins when the king refuses to allow his daughter, Mirabella, to marry. Many suitors die of lovesickness, and so to prevent further deaths the king imprisons her. Despite her confinement Grisel woos Mirabella; she eventually returns his love. When the king discovers their affair, he has them tried under an ancient law, which declares that the lover who instigated the relationship will be executed and the other will be banished. At the trial, the judges are unable to determine who is more guilty since Grisel and Mirabella each claim full

---

12 (2003): 422–36; Dennis E. Rhodes, "A Lost Romance Printed by Wynkyn de Worde," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 11* (1999): 463–7.

[3] Juan de Flores, *Histoire de Aurelio et Isabelle, fille du Roy d'Escoce, nouuellement traduict en quattre langues, italien, español, françois, & anglois. Historia di Aurelio e Issabella, figliuola del Re di Scotia, nuouamente tradotta in quatro lengue, Italiano, Spagnuolo, Francese, & Inglese. Historia de Aurelio, y de Ysabela, hija del Rey Descocia, nueuamente traduzida en quatro lenguas, Frances, Italiano, Español, & Yngles. The historie of Aurelio and of Isabell, doughter of the kinge of Schotlande, nyeuley translatede in foure langagies, Frenche, Italien, Spanishe, and Inglishe* (Antwerp: Steelsio, 1556; Brussels: Mommart and Reyns, 1608). There is a variant imprint of the 1608 edition, which only names Mommart on the title page.

[4] Anon., *A paire of turtle doues, or, The tragicall history of Bellora and Fidelio. Seconded with the tragicall end of Agamio, wherein* (*besides other matters pleasing to the reader*) *by way of dispute betweene a knight and a lady, is described this neuer before debated question to wit: whether man to woman, or woman to man offer the greater temptations and allurements vnto vnbridled lust, and consequently whether man or woman in that vnlawfull act, be the greater offender. A historie pleasant, delightful and witty, fit of all to be perused for their better instruction, but especiall of youth to be regarded, to bridle their follies* (London: J. Roberts? and W. Jaggard, 1606); Anon., *Swetnam, the woman-hater, arraigned by women. A new comedie, acted at the Red Bull, by the late Queenes Seruants* (London: Stansby, 1620); John Fletcher, "Women Pleased," in *Comedies and tragedies written by Francis Beaumont and Iohn Fletcher Gentlemen. Neverprinted* [*sic*] *before, and now published by the authours originall copies* (London: for Robinson and Moseley, 1647).

responsibility for their relationship. It is decided that a public debate on the subject of whether men or women are guiltier in love will resolve their fates. Torrellas, a well-known misogynist named after the Castilian, anti-feminist writer Pedro de Torrellas (c.1410–c.1475), engages in the disputation with Braçayda, named after the Trojan heroine who was a popular medieval *exemplum* for the inconstancy of women.[5] The judges rule in favour of the men: Mirabella is deemed guilty and condemned to death. The king and his courtiers fail to see the male bias of the verdict, and debates as to its relative justice ensue. Grisel and Mirabella commit suicide. The queen blames Torrellas for her daughter's death and desires revenge. When Torrellas falls in love with Braçayda, the queen uses Braçayda to lure him to the palace where she and her ladies torture and kill him.

Grisel is a sentimental romance, a sub-genre of the medieval Spanish romance, much beloved by early modern readers. *Grisel* and Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* (1492) and *Arnalte y Lucenda* (1491) were the three most popular texts of the genre, with 60, 72, and 29 European editions respectively.[6] In addition to the English and quadrilingual editions of *Grisel* described above, the romance was issued in Spanish, French, Italian, German, and Polish as well as in Italian-French and Spanish-French polyglot editions. A French-Italian-English edition was entered to Edward White in 1586, but it was most likely never printed.[7] Unilingual Spanish, Catalan, French, Italian, English, and German translations of *Cárcel de amor* also appeared, as well as French-Spanish bilingual editions. *Arnalte y Lucenda* was printed in Spanish, English, French, and Italian, and in bilingual French-Italian and English-Italian editions. These polyglot romance editions formed part of the craze of parallel-text multilingual volumes, which were issued by printers across Europe for readers who "quisieron aprender una lingua de otra" [wish to learn one language from the other], as advertised on the title page of the 1560 Spanish-French

[5] On these characters' previous histories, see Barbara Matulka, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and their European Diffusion* (New York: Institute of French Studies, 1931), 88–94, 95–134; María Eugenia Lacarra, "Juan de Flores y la Ficcion Sentimental," in *Actas del IX Congreso de la Asociacion Internacional de Hispanistas, I & II, ed. Sebastian Neumeister and Dieter Heckelmann*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 1989), 223–233, 225–6.

[6] For details see Ivy Corfis, ed., *Diego de San Pedro's 'Cárcel de amor:' A Critical Edition* (London: Tamesis, 1987), 16–47; Véronique Duché-Gavet, ed., *Petit traité de Arnalte et Lucenda* (*1546*) (Paris: Champion, 2004), xxxiii–xl; Boro, "A Source."

[7] Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, vol. 2 (London: privately printed, 1875), 452.

edition of *Grisel*.[8] The polyglot *mise-en-page* encouraged readers to move across the columns, comparing the different languages, which, when performed assiduously and methodically, would result in improved linguistic ability.[9] But these works are more than utilitarian linguistic manuals; they bestow invaluable evidence of the interpretative variance of the romances, as will be discussed below with regards to *Grisel.*

Indeed, the publication history of the three romances reveals that paratextual materials repeatedly are used to transform the text's position *vis-à-vis* women. For example, the addition to *Cárcel de amor*, which is seamlessly appended to most editions and translations of the romance, ideologically rewrites the text. *Cárcel de amor* explores the plight of Laureola, who is courted by Lereano, a man whom she does not love. Her refusal of Lereano is presented positively—Lereano issues lengthy deathbed speeches in praise of women, and absolves Laureola of all blame for his death. In the continuation, however, the narrator and Lereano's ghost chastise Laureola. She divulges that she really loves Lereano and that her foolish behaviour led to his death. Moreover, John Bourchier, Lord Berners dedicates his English translation of *Cárcel de amor* to his niece, Elizabeth Carew, but a prologue added to the second and third editions deems the romance inappropriate for women since it may encourage them to exert agency in romantic relationships and to refrain from pitying and requiting their lovers. Further, whereas the Spanish *Arnalte y Lucenda* highlights Arnalte's dishonourable behaviour and his unworthiness of Lucenda's love, the French and English translations reverse this position, as is evident by their new title, *Lamant mal traictee de samye* (*sic.*) [The lover ill used by his beloved]. Similarly, the preface to the French-Italian edition of *Arnalte*, written by the Italian translator Bartolomeo Maraffi, chastises Lucenda for her ingratitude and praises Arnalte's virtue.[10]

The sentimental romance is generally distinguished by its participation in the controversy about women, as well as its focus on emotion rather than action, interest in rhetoric and epistolarity, and narrative

---

[8] Juan de Flores, *Historia de Aureio y Isabela hija del Rey de Escocia…* (Antwerp: Bellere, 1560).

[9] See Joyce Boro, "Multilingualism, Romance, and Language Pedagogy: Or, Why Were So Many Sentimental Romances Printed as Polyglot Texts?" in *Tudor Translation*, ed. Fred Schurink (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 18–38.

[10] Diego de San Pedro, *Petit traite de Arnalte et Lucenda. Picciol trattado d'Arnalte e di Lucenda intitolato L'amante mal trattato dalla sua amorosa*, trans. Nicolas d'Herberay and Bartolomeao Maraffi (Lyon: Barricat, 1553).

experimentation.[11] *Grisel* represents an important intervention into the woman debate, but intriguingly, it can be situated on either side of the controversy.[12] For some readers it ridicules the anti-feminist position; for others, it appears to sanction misogyny. Writing against decades of critics who unquestioningly hailed Flores as a defender of women, scholars including Marina Brownlee and Barbara Weissberger now interrogate the univocal interpretation of *Grisel* as a feminist text.[13] Their work convincingly positions *Grisel* as a controversial, radical, and ambiguous one, whose structure, paratextual arrangement, and interpretative framework are heavily influenced by the academic debate. Indeed, the romance is structured as a series of unresolved debates, which encourages its readers to re-think preconceived notions and to view conflicting ideas from multiple perspectives simultaneously.[14] Two thirds of the romance consists of debates.[15]

Grisel's affinity with the debate is not surprising: the disputation was at the basis of late medieval law and pedagogy. Working as a *corregidor / pesquisador* [an advocate] in the late 1470s and as the Rector of the Universidad de Salamanca in 1478, Flores was entrenched in both disciplines.[16] Pedagogy filtered into literature, leading to works designed according to the model of the *disputatio*, with the purpose of raising questions in the minds of their readers.[17] Literature functioned as *quaestiones*,

---

[11] On the vexed issue of defining this genre, see Joseph J. Gwara and E. Michael Gerli, eds., *Studies on the Spanish Sentimental Romance, 1440–1550: Redefining a Genre* (London and Rochester: Tamesis, 1997).

[12] See Lacarra, "Juan de Flores," 223–233; Mercedes Roffe, *La Cuestion del Genero en* Grisel y Mirabella *de Juan de Flores* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1996); Pedro M. Cátedra, *Amor y Pedagogía en la Edad Media: Estudios de Doctrina Amorosa y Práctica* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1989).

[13] Marina Brownlee, "Language and Incest in *Grisel y Mirabella*," *Romanic Review* 79 (1988): 107–28; Barbara F. Weissberger, "Role-Reversal and Festivity in the Romances of Juan de Flores," *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 13 (1989): 197–213. Important critical revisions are also found in L. von der Walde Moheno, "El episodio final de *Grisel y Mirabella*," *La Corónica* 20 (1991–92): 18–31, and Lacarra, "Juan de Flores." Flores' feminism is discussed in, amongst others, Matulka, *Novels* and Antony Van Beysterveldt, "Revision de los debates Feministas des Siglo XV y las Novelas de Juan de Flores," *Hispania* 64 (1981): 1–13.

[14] Carmelo Samonà, *Studi sul romanzo sentimentale e cortese nella letteratura spagnola del Quattrocento* (Rome: Carucci, 1960), 109.

[15] *Desire and Death in the Spanish Sentimental Romance* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1987). See also Mercedes Roffé, "*Grisel y Mirabella*: A la Luz del Debate Medieval," *Cincinnati Romance Review* 14 (1995): 8–15 (espec. 15); Matulka, *Novels,* 5ff.

[16] Joseph J. Gwara, "The Identity of Juan de Flores: The Evidence of the Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos," *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 11 (1987): 205–22, p. 214–15.

[17] James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1974); Janet Coleman,

designed by and for people who were used to the debate form—to hearing and arguing multiple and paradoxical points of view: literature was

> [a medium] of intellectual and emotional exploration for minds that were accustomed to examine the many sides of a given theme, to entertain opposing ideals, and by so exercising the understanding, to move towards some fuller apprehension of truth that could be discerned only through the total action.[18]

The university and school curriculum affected both the type of love presented and the manner in which it was portrayed. Pedro Cátedra's work highlights Flores's 'judicial' sensibility and his tendency to embrace the debate as a structural model. Cátedra observes that in sentimental romances like *Grisel*, the love story may be an exemplum that is only part of the larger argument, and that the argument and romantic narrative may be moving in opposite directions.[19]

In Spain, unlike in England, the debate was conducted primarily through fiction, and the sentimental romances figured prominently.[20] However, despite its fictionality, *Grisel* fully participates in the formal woman debate, as defined by Linda Woodbridge.[21] First, it is formed of a series of debates. Second, Torrellas and Braçayda are real combatants who engage rhetorically and logically in order to articulate definitions, and assess the worth, of women. Third, in their dispute, they use *exempla* and catalogue a range of female vices and virtues. And, fourth, the argument, while purportedly concerned with how to punish Grisel and Mirabella, is theoretical and abstract and its lessons are inapplicable to the lives of the eponymous characters. This incongruity between theory and practice

---

"The Science of Politics and Late Medieval Academic Debate," in *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rita Copeland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 181–214; Joel Altman, *The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of Elizabethan Drama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Michel-André Bossy, ed. and trans., *Medieval Debate Poetry: Vernacular Works* (New York and London: Garland, 1987). The link between law and rhetoric, established by Classical writers such as Cicero and Quintillian, persists to the modern era. Cf. R.J. Schoeck, "Rhetoric and Law in Sixteenth-Century England," *Studies in Philology* 50 (1953): 110–127.

[18] Altman, *Tudor Play,* 6.

[19] Cátedra, *Amor y Pedagogía*, 158.

[20] See Roffe, *La Cuestión*; Matulka, *Novels*. On the English debate see Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540–1620* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Katherine U. Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, *Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England, 1540–1640* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

[21] Woodbridge, *Women*, 11–17.

typifies, in fact, how Flores uses the debate to critique its own potency, as will be discussed below.

R. Howard Bloch's and Woodbridge's scholarship illuminates the debate's ineffectuality as well as its functionality as a literary or scholastic game.[22] Both attacks and defences are citational and repetitive since they operate within the shared stereotypical notions of good and bad women and rarely problematize the underlying premise that such extremes exist. The debate's arguments and *exempla* are not original, nor are they meant to be. Diane Purkiss observes that such citational rhetoric acts "as an authenticating discourse which validates the misogynistic enterprise by aligning it with what is always already apparent."[23] Defenses of women function likewise. As a result, the debate turns in circles; its very terms prevent any resolution. In effect, rather than advancing the feminist cause, Woodbridge observes that the formal controversy may have hindered its progress.[24]

In *Grisel*, the move from trial to debate invokes the formal controversy's reliance on *exempla* because it enacts the flawed argumentative shift from discussions of the vices (or virtues) of one woman to condemnations (or praise) of the entire female sex. Mirabella's alleged crime leads to a condemnation of woman in general, and that general denunciation then is used to judge her. The logical errors involved in moving from particulars to universals and back again render the debate ineffectual. The irrelevance of the debate to the actual circumstances of the lovers on trial is further affirmed by its outcome: it condemns Mirabella, despite the fact that Grisel instigated the relationship and so according to the law he is the guilty party. As Brownlee observes, the debate "has nothing to do with the attitudes projected by Aurelio and Isabell [Grisel and Mirabella]."[25] Additionally, the romance illuminates how Mirabella and Braçayda are denied justice through no fault of their own; rather, their failure is the direct result of their participation in the formal controversy about women,

---

[22] See Woodbridge, *Women*, 6, 13–136; R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1–11.

[23] Diane Purkiss, "Material Girls: The Seventeenth-Century Woman Debate," in *Women, Texts and Histories 1575–1760*, ed. Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (London: Routledge, 1992), 72.

[24] Woodbridge, *Women*, 133.

[25] Marina S. Brownlee, "Verbal and Physical Violence in the *Historie of Aurelio and Isabell*," in *Vengeance in the Middle Ages: Emotion, Religion and Feud*, ed. Susanna A. Throop and Paul R. Hyams (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010), 140. Characters are renamed in the translations and adaptations. I will use the altered names, but provide references to the originals in parentheses, as necessary.

since they adopt the terms of the debate. The romance, therefore, points to the folly of using general arguments regarding women's worth to assess Mirabella's situation. The movement from the lovers' story to the debate enacts the shift from specific exemplum to the general condemnation of women typical of texts of the woman controversy, all the while showing the injustice of the result of that alteration. By narrating the debate's inability to provide justice, *Grisel* exposes its inherently problematic nature. Coupled with the conflicting textual and paratextual markers that prevent the romance from being read as a proto- or an anti-feminist intervention, this strategy suggests that a move away from the debate is imperative.[26] It is precisely such a move that the English adaptations—*Turtle Doves* (to be discussed below), *Swetnam the Woman-Hater,* and Fletcher's *Women Pleased*—execute.[27]

Grisel's multi-directionality begins at the text's outset with Flores's dedication to his beloved. In the epistle, he feigns poor judgement, claiming that he is only a 'scriuano' [scribe], and not an author. He has only been able to complete the romance thanks to the help of his 'amiga' [lady] paired with the text's proto-feminist message.

> Yet he derives his strength not from the subject matter (the glorification of the lady he serves) nor from the (passive) acceptance of his labors… Instead it is the promise of her *active* editorial participation which empowers him to write.[28]

He explains that her assistance is needed to eliminate the text's weaknesses and to improve its defects. Given she was the inspiration for his text, he argues that she should also be the remedy for its shortcomings.

Since Flores urges his lover to destroy his text if she disproves of it, *Grisel*'s very existence is a tangible sign of her endorsement. By praising his Lady as a literary critic and an active participant in the text's inception, Flores endows her with intellectual and creative power. If this intelligent woman, who is presented as a careful reader, examined, accepted, and desired to have the text published then we are directed to believe that it is a proto-feminist intervention. This meta-fictional commentary, addressed

---

[26] cf. Lacarra, "Juan de Flores," 226–7.

[27] On Fletcher, see Joyce Boro, "John Fletcher's *Women Pleased* and the Pedagogy of Reading Romance," in *Staging Early Modern Romance: Prose Fiction, Dramatic Romance, and Shakespeare,* ed. Mary Ellen Lamb and Valerie Wayne (New York: Routledge, 2009), 188–202. On *Swetnam,* see Constance Jordan, "Gender and Justice in *Swetnam the Woman-hater*," *Renaissance Drama* 18 (1987): 149–169.

[28] Brownlee, "Language," 115.

to his *amiga*, who is, lest we forget, a fictional, authorial construction, "establishes a generic expectation in the reader which will be calculatedly undermined during the course of the narrative itself."[29]

Reinforcing the dedication to Flores's beloved, the story shows Grisel pursuing Mirabella and Torrellas lusting after Braçayda, and it hints at the king's incestuous desire for his daughter (as will be discussed below), while the women are depicted as totally virtuous.[30] Torrellas' love for Braçayda not only undercuts his authority in the debate, but also "given the major contribution of the historical Torrellas to the fifteenth-century feminist debate so vividly reflected in this, as in many other sentimental romances, his about-face also undermines the entire tradition of clerical misogyny that he represents."[31] Moreover, the narrator seems to sympathise with the murderous women, concluding: "Ansi que la grande malicia de Torrellas dio alas damas victoria: y a ell pago de su merecido. [Thus Torellas's great malice granted victory to the women and he was repaid as he deserved]."[32] This final assessment contradicts the ensuing explicit as well as the plot, in which the men were victorious. Equally, it jars with the sensibilities of most readers, who, while they may sympathise with the female cause, would be at least slightly horrified by the brutal murder they had just witnessed.[33]

Clashing with the message of the dedication and these narrative details, the romance ascribes value to the misogynist position by rendering the men victorious in the judicial debate and by condemning women to death. Furthermore, women are depicted as brutal murderers of a Christ-like, martyred Torrellas.[34] The visceral, gory details of his death render female sympathy problematic. The explicit furthers this ideological stance, by

---

[29] Brownlee, "Language," 116.

[30] Brownlee, "Language;" Matulka, *Novels,* 69.

[31] Weissberger, "Role-Reversal," 203.

[32] Matulka, *Novels,* 370. Further references to Matulka's edition of Grisel are in parentheses. All translations are mine.

[33] Weissberger reads the final scene as a festive inversion of power, "Role-Reversal," 203–5.

[34] On comparisons of the women to cannibals see Brownlee, "Language," 116; Alberto Prielo-Calixto, "Mujeres y Caníbales: Rituales Violentos en *Grisel y Mirabella* de Juan de Flores," *Cincinnati Romance Review* 21 (2002): 77–90. For Weissberger, the Christian allusions in the scene are further evidence of the carnivalisation of the events ("Role-Reversal," 204–5). The final scene is highly allusive and has been compared to various folkloric, literary, Christian, and Classical sources. For a summary of this critical discourse, see Patricia Crespo Martín, "Violencia Mitlógica en *Grisel y Mirabella*," *La Corónica* 29 (2000): 75–87.

declaring the outcome of the debate to be 'iusta' [just], and by condemning the women's actions: 'que con su indignacion y malicia por sus manos dieron cruel muerte al triste de Torrellas' [that with their indignation and malice, the women, with their hands, gave cruel death to the sad Torrellas.] (370).[35] It stresses the brutality of Torrellas' murder and expresses regret for his demise. If the ruling is just, as indicated in the explicit, then it means that Mirabella is truly guilty, that women corrupt men, and that the women who killed Torrellas were unjustified in their act of revenge.

The evolution of the romance's Spanish title also gestures towards the text's ideological polyvalence. The first edition (c. 1495) is entitled "Tractado compuesto por Juan de Flores a su amiga" [Treatise composed by Juan de Flores for his Lady], which foreshadows and reinforces the dedicatory letter to Flores' beloved. In subsequent editions the title is lengthened to include the clause "con la disputa de Torrellas y Braçayda" [with the debate of Torrellas and Braçayda]. The revised title highlights the debate, presenting it as an important part of the story. The interest in disputation is further suggested by the woodcuts adorning later editions, in which the debate takes visual precedence over the love story: whereas the editions of 1514 and 1526 show the lovers on the title pages, Torrellas and Braçayda are pictured in those of 1524, 1529, and 1533. In these last three editions, image mirrors text, providing readers with a visual indicator of how to read the romance and foreshadowing the reading experience itself, which is one of debate.

Furthermore, while the revised title stresses the plot rather than the dedicatory letter, it continues to remind readers that the text is written for, and sanctioned by, a woman, the author's beloved. Given the seemingly irreconcilable nature of the outcome of the debate and the love story, this extended title is interesting for the way it advertises and concurrently separates the two plotlines. The conjunction 'con' [with] grammatically associates the two clauses of the title, but it simultaneously identifies them as entities that must be artificially, or linguistically, associated. The division gestures towards the problem inherent in the woman debate, as discussed above; it suggests that we need not read one narrative strand through the other, that our evaluation of Mirabella need not be determined by the outcome of the debate, and vice versa. The paratext here, therefore, echoes and reinforces the romance's general argument and its critique of the debate as a whole.

---

[35] This explicit is present in the Spanish editions of 1495? 1524, and 1526, but absent from the printings of 1514, 1529, and 1533.

Grisel's ambiguity and its preoccupation with the woman controversy are made especially clear through a comparison of the dichotomous positions of the quadrilingual editions of 1556 and 1608, which contain an English translation of the romance alongside the Spanish, French, and Italian texts.[36] The polyglot editions present the romance text as polarised interventions in the debate: the 1556 edition advocates for women, while the 1608 text condemns them. The text of the romance furnished in the 1556 and 1608 editions (in all four languages) is virtually identical, bearing only the slightest accidental variants; but the vastly differing paratext shifts the romance's interpretative horizon. Indeed, these four translations presented in the quadrilingual editions are all very closely based on Lelio Manfredi of Ferrara's (aka Lelio Altephilio) Italian rendering of the Spanish text.[37] His translation, *Aurelio e Isabella*, was first printed in c. 1516–21 and underwent at least eleven subsequent editions.[38] Manfredi's text was, in turn, the basis for two distinct French translations of the romance: the first, entitled *Le Jugement damour,* is represented by nine editions dating from 1520?–1533.[39] The second French translation was executed by Gilles Corrozet from Manfredi's Italian in conjunction with the earlier French translation. First printed in 1546, Corrozet's French text persists in all later editions, including the quadrilingual editions of 1556 and 1608.[40] The Spanish text presented in the polyglot editions differs from Flores' original composition: the romance was retranslated anonymously into Spanish from the Italian translation.[41] The English translation was likewise retranslated. The translator is unknown, but the work's odd orthography and awkward syntax indicate that he was most likely a non-native English speaker.[42]

---

[36] Both editions were printed in the Low Countries: the first in Antwerp, and the second in Brussels. However, marginalia by early readers indicate that the editions circulated in England and were read by English readers. For instance, copies now at the Folger Shakespeare Library have ownership marks by Thomas Walmesley and Adam Colldown; see STC 11092 Copy 3 and STC 11093.2.

[37] Cf. Rhodes, "A Lost," 464–465; Matulka, *Novels,* 169–171. Manfredi also translated the Spanish romances *Cárcel de amor* by Diego de San Pedro and *Tirant lo Blanc* by Joanot Martorell.

[38] For details see Boro, "A Source," 423–4.

[39] For details see Boro, "A Source," 424.

[40] Corrozet additionally translated Manfredi's translation of Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* and he printed the two texts in a very popular polyglot edition.

[41] Matulka, *Novels,* 176–8.

[42] Cf. Rhodes, "A Lost," 466. For a comparison of the two English translations see Boro, "A Source," 430–2.

The 1556 edition boasts original prefatory material, which reinforces its pro-woman perspective. The new poems and epistles, written in Spanish and French, are directed to members of the Volschaten family: two dedications are addressed to Margarita; one to her older sister, Jossine; and another to her father, André, in which her mother Barbe Kerchoue is also praised. The exact relationship of the translator to the family is unknown. He refers to André as "Mon Seigneur, & pere de Margarite" [my lord, and father of Margarite] (4v), suggesting that he serves the family in some capacity. The translator's identification of André by virtue of his relationship to Margarita, coupled with the fact that she is the main dedicatee, suggest that the translator is connected to the family via Margarita, perhaps as a language teacher or as a suitor. His four dedications work together to situate the text in a domestic context of family reading, in which it is being read by educated women and their family, who are expected to be flattered by the romance.

In the first and longest dedication, addressed to Margarita, the translator not only praises his Margarita and her family, but he also lauds women and apologises for Hortensia's [Braçayda's] defeat. He begins the dedication by expressing admiration for the magnitude of female power. Working from the examples of couples such as Demphon and Phyllis and Anthony and Cleopatra, he marvels at the strength of women who can overpower such valorous men. Likewise, he notes the political successes of Semiramis and Agrippina, amongst others. The plethora of examples advanced suggests that women are significant players in both international and domestic spheres and so their activities should not be discounted. His praise of these historical women and of the female sex culminates with ebullient praise for Margarita, who stands at the apex of this tradition of female excellence.

However, despite the multitude of exempla advanced and the fawning praise of his dedicatee, the translator is left with the problematic narrative crux presented by Hortensia's fate. As he acknowledges, Hortensia is more virtuous than all the other women he has discussed, but Afranio [Torrellas] still easily defeats her. According to the value system he has presented, her discomfiture is inexplicable.[43] He notes this upset and rightfully declares it to be awkward, but he fails to justify or explain it; rather, it is countered by sustained praise of Margarita, her sex, and her family.

[43] Flores, *Histoire* (1556), A2^{v}–A3^{r}. Subsequent page references to this work are given in parentheses in the text.

In keeping with its univocal eulogy for women, the title-page of the 1556 edition ignores the text's central debate and its concomitant incitation to deliberation, which were often heavily advertised in title-pages of earlier editions: here, the subplot involving Afranio and Hortensia is absent, and the debate vanishes along with them. This romance is advertised simply as "The Historie of Aurelio [Grisel] and of Isabell [Mirabella], doughter of the kinge of Schotlande." The idea of disputation is highlighted only at the text's conclusion with the explicit, which states: "Eynde of the storey of Aurelio and of Isabell, in the whiche is disputede the whiche geves more occasion of sinninge the m*an* unto the wom*an,* or the wom*an* unto the man" ($Q3^r$). The explicit foregrounds the debate, but the issue is left unresolved and remains open-ended like a traditional *question d'amour*. The lack of closure sets this textual production apart from the earlier unilingual Spanish editions of the romance discussed above, which concluded with an unmistakable judgement, condemning the women's actions as cruel and valorising the legal system as just. The difference in presentation may be intentional, or it may be the result of the translator/compiler's ignorance of Flores' definitive explicit: the intermediary Italian and French editions on which the quadrilingual text is based omit the explicit. The only guidance offered to readers comes in the final line, which is unequivocal in ascribing blame to Afranio "and unto the ladies victorey" ($Q3^r$). In combination with the rhetoric of the dedications, this conclusion firmly establishes the 1556 edition as a deliberately pro-woman intervention.

In the 1608 reissue, however, although the title and explicit are identical to those in 1556, the prefatory material is replaced with an anti-feminist dedication to noble men. Like the writer of the 1556 dedications, this later writer begins by noting "la force & pouvoir des femmes" [the strength and power of women]. It is an unsavoury topic, in his opinion, but one that needs to be discussed: "c*on*siderée que le contenu de ce present livre requiert que nous faisions quelq [*sic*] mention" [considering that the content of this present book requires that we make some mention]. While the earlier edition lauded female power, here women's strength is not a source of pride but, rather, something shameful: it is an insult and a source of infamy, "grand effr*on*t, & et infamie"($A1^v$). The writer describes the corrupting influences that women have exerted over men, replete with classical examples. Ironically, the exempla that he provides are identical to those advanced in the 1556 edition in praise of women. Yet, he notes with disgust the amorous relationships in which strong men were overpowered by women.

For this writer and for his ideal readers, there is no need to make excuses for Hortensia's defeat. Afranio is their hero, and his defence of misogyny is justifiably victorious. These readers are unlikely to believe that Afranio's horrific murder was "his deservinge rewarde," as the final line of the romance declares (P6^{r}). But the writer leaves the last sentence of the text unexplained and unsupported, probably under the assumption that his readers will interpret the romance as he did, and that they will resolve the debate in favour of the men. In fact, the writer's continued neglect to deal with the plot of the romance suggests that, for him, the narrative represents a straightforward depiction of perverse female power. For this writer, as for most early readers, the text appears to be unambiguous. The numerous unjustified reconfigurations of *Grisel* suggest that the romance has the uncanny knack of reinforcing whatever position the reader already holds. For example, the paratext shifts repeatedly in the Continental editions thereby altering the romance's ideological stance, but none of the editions engages with the narrative itself. The 1556 polyglot *Grisel* foreshadows the seventeenth-century English adaptations in noting textual evidence that may contradict the writer's beliefs and those of his target readers. Other earlier writers and translators seem blind to *Grisel*'s polyvocality and to its scholastic argumentative refinement.

The sophistication of *Grisel*'s ideological stance is both appreciated by and replicated in the English *Turtle Doves*. Spuriously attributed to Robert Greene, this adaptation is an anonymous composition. *Turtle Doves* preserves the source's basic story line, but it amplifies the text, creating a romance that is about twice the length of the original. Unlike the earlier English and Continental translations, *Turtle Doves* captures *Grisel*'s provocative, adventurous spirit. It shares its source's invitation to debate as well as its ambiguity: depending on who is doing the reading, it can be read as a misogynist or a proto-feminist text; it may be a caution against women and love, or it may seek to illuminate the difficulties faced by women in a patriarchal world.

A reading of *Turtle Doves* slanted towards misogyny begins on the title page, which advertises "The Tragicall History of Bellora [Mirabella] and Fidelio [Grisel], Seconded with the Tragicall end of Agamio [Torrellas]." Morania [Braçayda] is not mentioned and Torrellas' tragedy is foregrounded. He is positioned alongside the faithful, ideal lovers as a major character, worthy of our consideration and sympathy. The romance is "A Historie pleasant, delightful and witty, fit of all to be perused for their better instruction, but especiall of youth to be regarded to bridle their

follies." All may learn from this story, but the target audience is young men, who are associated with Agamio through the significance of his name: *agamus* (Latin) and *agamos* (Greek) translate as unmarried. These male youths are warned against folly: folly is the precise root of Agamio's love and tragic death, and it is also a punning reference to his nemesis Morania (*morias* is Greek for folly). This warning links the intended audience to Agamio and it situates the romance's didactic potential in his story. His tragic adventure at the hands of women will teach male readers to avoid sly female traps and the folly of love. The lovers' names also underline the male bias of the story. Fidelio, from *fidelis* (Latin) invokes the character's moral virtue of fidelity. Bellora is akin to *belliora* (more beautiful, in the sense of physical beauty), whereas her original name, Mirabella, derived from *mirabilis* (Latin) meaning wondered at, encompasses both physical and moral virtue. Their names create a dichotomous, hierarchical relationship of substance and appearance: Fidelio is notable for his virtue, whereas Mirabella is just lovely to behold.

This discriminatory attitude towards love is also articulated in the title page's announcement of the debate:

> Whether man to woman, or woman to man offer the greater temptations and allurements unto unbridled lust, and, consequently whether man or woman in that unlawfull act, be the greater offender.

The terms 'temptations,' 'allurements,' and 'unbridled lust' revise the romance's title and reconfigure the lovers' relationship as sinful rather than 'tragicall.' A legal prejudice supplements this moral aversion to love: love is an 'unlawfull act' for which an 'offender' must be punished. This condemnatory vocabulary is dichotomous to the narrative of Bellora and Fidelio's courtship and subsequent relationship, which evinces the lovers to be as virtuous and true as the pair of turtledoves to which they are eponymously linked.

The lovers' story is 'seconded' with Agamio's tragedy. 'Seconded' can mean "[t]o support (a speaker, a proposition) in a debate or conference by speaking in the same sense," thereby suggesting that the debate reinforces and supports the amorous adventures of Bellora and Fidelio; yet, the language of the debate's motion opposes the lovers' presentation.[44]

[44] "second, v. 3.a," in *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1989). OED Online, Oxford University Press. http://oed.com/

Before even turning one page of the romance, we are confounded by lovers who are sympathetically described as 'tragicall' even while they are denounced for their 'unbridled lust' and for engaging in immoral and illegal activities. The definition of 'seconded' also intimates that the romance as a whole is a debate. The proposition that is seconded, or supported, by the story of Agamio is "The Tragicall History." Indeed, the romance is a debate on the status of women, and like a true debate, it presents both sides of the argument: women are depicted as vicious and virtuous, victim and victimised; they are guilty and innocent of inciting love relationships; and they are both the cause and cure of the disease of lovesickness. The romance presents these and other related conflicting issues for individual readers to adjudicate: readers are accountable for evaluating all the propositions, oppositions, and rebuttals advanced in both cases and for arriving at their own final appraisal.

The negative assessment of love and women in *Turtle Doves* is strengthened in the preface through the use of humoural medical theory: the author configures his narrative as a restorative, medicinal feast that can cure readers of the harmful humoural imbalance of love. Readers are urged to shun love and to

> follow the rules of my Physicke, … to cleare and purge their quesie stomackes from that corrupt humor, which turneth the sweetest Honny into noysome poyson, for before that time, wholesome food can minister no comfort to feeble Nature, but doth rather feede the peevish Malady, and augment the vigor of their dangerous disease.[45]

Terms such as 'cleare,' 'purge,' 'quesie stomackes,' 'corrupt humor,' 'malady,' and 'disease,' combine to pathologise love and to present the author as a physician ministering treatment to lovers. Unless these lovers accept his diagnosis and follow his advice, the narrative will worsen their condition. The corrupt humours that cause love will turn the 'wholesome' narrative 'food' to poison, divesting it of therapeutic power. While some physicians posited that love could, according to the Platonic model, be ennobling, our author sides with the medics who pathologised all forms of love.[46] This prejudicial view of love is consonant with the debate advertised on

---

[45] *Turtle Doves* A2r. Subsequent references to this text are in parentheses.

[46] See Jacques Ferrand, *A Treatise on Lovesickness*, ed. and trans. Donald Beecher (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990); Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1938), 3.2.2.2; André Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight: Of Melancholike Diseases*, trans. R. Surphlet (London: F. Kingston, 1599).

the title-page, later enacted by Morania and Agamio, which presents love as criminal and sinful. The narrative, in which all lovers die tragically, compounds this disapproval: Fidelio is burned to death, lions devour Bellora, and Agamio is tortured and murdered. The saturation of the text with medical language, the provision of negative exempla of love, and the debate's bias towards anti-feminism, enable *Turtle Doves* to be read as anti-feminist and anti-love, and as capable of providing male youth with a remedy for the love of women.

Humoural discourse transcends the paratext. The writer adds it throughout the adaptation to launch a sustained attack on women; female characters are demonised for their abundance of choler, while Agamio is sympathetically depicted as an innocent, lovesick victim. For example, throughout the romance, the severity of the queen's emotional condition is translated into a medical lexicon; her sadness and anger are likened to choleric madness, and presented as an acute medical illness. "Overwhelmed with a sea of sorrow" prior to her daughter's trial, the virtuous queen's tears, sighs, and grief are "perturbations" revelatory of her "disturbed sences and distempered passions" (E3^{r}, E3^{v}). This discourse is absent from the 1556 text and from Flores' original. In the polyglot edition the queen addresses Hortensia:

> roga*n*dola affectuosamente que hiziesse de manera que Isabela fuesse absuelta / prainge her affectuesley with teares and continual praiers that she wroughte so wel that Isabell ware deleuered (E4^{r}),

and in Flores' *Grisel*, she "con lagrimas affectuosamente la encargaua que trebaisse como Mirabella non padeciesse" [with tears she affectionately asked her to begin to speak so that Mirabella not suffer] (343). In contrast, in *Turtle Doves,* the excessiveness of her sorrow is repeatedly stressed and pathologised as abnormal, unreasonable, and disproportionate (I3v, K2^{r}, K4^{v}, L3^{r}). When she fails to move the king to have mercy on Bellora, her "long sorrow was changed into suddaine hate." She becomes "frantick" and "despairing," and she succumbs to "a malady," a "chollericke fit [of] rage" (K3^{r}, L4^{r}). Indeed, following Bellora's death, "the cold blood of the aged q*ueen*, her sorrow-distempered mother, began to be over hot and to boile with furious hatred against Agamio," which infuses her with the spirit of vengeance (N1^{v}). She is "furious," "merciless," and "sorrow madded," suffering from a "tempest of … stormy choler," a "murdering ire," a hot "fierce mind," and a "blood-thirsty humour." She is compared to Hecuba and Dido. Such characterisations expand upon *Grisel*'s description of her addressing the king "con desenfrenada rauia" [with frenzied rage] (359).

This is very unlike the 1556 translation in which "muy piadosamente le supplico /verey humbley she besoughte him" (L1^{r}).

The Queen's ladies succumb to the same disease as their mistress: they are "furious," "inraged," "mad," "merciless," "sorrow-madded," "cruel," and "revenging." Their "tempest of stormy choler" renders them hot, angry, and vengeful (O3^{r}, O3^{v}, O4^{r}). The queen and her ladies are compared to "mad Medea" and "Aceton's hounds" in their "extreame handling" of Agamio (L4^{r}, O3^{r}, O3^{v}). After losing the debate, "the extreame colour of Ladye Morania did rise to so high a tide, and she was overwhelmed with so deep a sea of sorrow … that the violent streames of her passion overflowed and passed the banks of all measure and moderation" (I3^{v}–I4^{r}). The queen's pathology is recalled by Morania's immoderation and vengefulness (I3^{v}–I4^{r}). Yet, unlike the queen, Morania can hide her illness, which renders her a formidable enemy: she is "dissembling," "glozing," "dubble minded," "wily," "faire dissebling," "deepe dissembling," "cunning," "counterfetting," "subtle;" and "by a false resemblance of her chearefull countenance, [she] so cunningly concealed her inward intended mischiefe" (N4^{r}–O1^{r}).

Consonant with this brutal vision of the women, Agamio's ordeals are more exhaustively depicted in *Turtle Doves* than in any other version of the story. The graphic accounts of his torture render the scene especially horrific, and the savagery is intensified by the narrator's shock: "But heere I must make a little pause and wonder, that hellish revenge (yet how savage is the nature of this cruell Monster) should so farre transport trembling harted Women from their mild and modest Nature" (O3^{r}). The women take Agamio to the brink of death, pausing repeatedly to extend the torture and augment his suffering. When the women break for dinner, the narrator interjects: "they had a little labored their teeth, and their tongue had some leasure to talke, for when women meete together alone at a feast they do not use to be mute" (O3^{v}). By invoking the misogynist stereotype of the loquacious woman and coupling it with the stereotypically and "natur[ally]" "mild and modest" woman, the text reminds readers that these vicious, diseased creatures remain human females. Savage beasts like "Aceton's hounds" could be forgiven for such vicious behaviour, but not women (O3^{r}). The emphasis on the bloody ferociousness of Agamio's murder increases the likelihood that readers ultimately will condemn the women and excuse Agamio.

Agamio is further vindicated through the deployment of the same medical lexis that condemns the women. Like his female counterparts, Agamio suffers from a serious ailment: he is "love-sicke with a fierie augue

of doting affection;" he has caught an "infection of [a] strange + new disease," "a doting humor," a "*Quoridan* + *Cupidian* fever," a "hot love" (N1^{v}, N3^{r}). By pathologising love, the narrator relieves Agamio of all responsibility for his feelings: his lovesickness "so dazled his eiesight" that it hinders his cognitive functions, leading him to act "like a foolish fondling …. For indeed the wisest are soon infected with phrenetical foly if they be once affected with doting love" (N4^{r}). The proverbial tone of the latter sentence lends credence to the assessment of the situation, as does the use of the medical term "phrenetical." Agamio has been so "gulled of his wits by the faire dissembling letter of wily Morania" that he is transformed into a "heedless," "careless…silly foole," a "foolish chapman," a "foolish gamester," a "foolish fondling" (N4^{r}, O1^{v}, O2^{r}, O2^{v}). He is no match for the scheming women. Agamio's innocence is intensified when the narrator explains that his love for Morania stems from a "shrewish trick" played on him by "skowling Fortune" and "*Venus'* wanton boy" (N1^{v}). Love is a punishment from the gods; it is an emotion that no sane man would willingly embrace. By pathologising Agamio's love, by rooting it in the supernatural, and by identifying folly as its main symptom, the narrator absolves Agamio from blame: a balanced, healthy man would not love a woman.

The final moral likewise entreats readers to sympathise with Agamio. Immediately following Agamio's horrific and shocking murder, the narrator moralises: "And thus ended the lamentable Tragedy of rash beleeving and credulous *Agamio*, Whose death may be a Caveat for others not hastily to trust the faire wordes of an old foe, making a goodly shew of a fained reconciliation" (O4^{r}). The stress is on Agamio; Fidelio and Bellora are long forgotten. Furthermore, and analogously to the narrative, the moral opposes the idea of credulity and faithfulness to deception and pretence. Agamio is the innocent fool and his death is a "lamentable tragedy." We are encouraged, thereby, to mourn for him. In contrast, Morania is the wily deceiver. While her name is excised from the moral, Morania is indubitably the "old foe" with the "fained" behaviour.

However, readers who disagree with the author's anti-love and anti-feminist sentiments could easily read *Turtle Doves* oppositionally. In fact, many scholars have convincingly argued for the possibility of subversive female reading practices of romance, in which texts are read "against the grain."[47] More specifically, Weissberger argues for "the carnivalization of

[47] Tina Krontiris, "Breaking Barriers of Genre and Gender: Margaret Tyler's Translation of *The Mirrour of Knighthood*," *ELR* 18 (1998): 19–39, p. 26–8; Mary Ellen Lamb, *Gender and*

the sentimental genre, a process which may reflect and reinforce a subversive resistance to the male authority that modern scholars have assumed is upheld in these texts."[48] It is this type of antagonistic reading methodology that I am suggesting for *Turtle Doves* (as well as for *Grisel*). To begin, the debate and trial present a clear case of injustice against the women. Whereas the judges deem women guilty of enticing men into love relationships, the narrative indicates otherwise. Fidelio and another unnamed lover, both of whom break the law in order to see Bellora, woo her. Fidelio even kills his rival to improve his chances of winning Bellora. When Bellora is imprisoned, Fidelio sneaks into her chamber and as the result of his "nightly visitation[s]" Fidelio "so kindled the sparkles of love in her burning hart" (C2^{v}). Likewise, in the case of Agamio and Morania, Agamio is the sole instigator of the relationship. Morania has no amorous feelings for him and has done nothing to provoke his love: his epistolary declaration of love surprises her. Thus, although the narrative blatantly shows that Fidelio and Agamio pursue relationships with Bellora and Morania, respectively, the judges decide otherwise, blaming the women. Upon hearing the judges' verdict, Morania bemoans the fate of all women and the un-attainability of justice: how, she compellingly laments, can women ever expect to win such cases "when [men] sit sole Judges in their own cause, rule and raign without check, as they lust" (I4^{r})?

Following the news of Bellora's condemnation,

> her tender mother and greate troups of many gallant ladies and gentlewom*en, the* voice of their sad laments mingled with gushing teares did not onely breede a relenting compassion in the hardest-harted hearers, but also the very Heavens with their lowring aspect did seeme to have a feeling sence of their excessive sorrow, and Phoebus, putting on his mourning hoode to celebrate againe the funerall day of his wilfull and wofull sonne Phaeton. (I3^{v})

The description of the "tender" and "gallant" women's reaction cannot fail to arouse our sympathy, unless we are "the hardest-harted hearers." Their "sad laments" and "gushing teares" arouse a "relenting compassion" even in the gloomy and threatening Heavens. Indeed, Bellora's death sentence

---

Authorship in the Sidney Circle (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 111–2; Derek B. Alwes, "Robert Greene's Dueling Dedications," *ELR* 30 (2000): 373–95 (390–4); cf. Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

[48] Weissberger, "Role-Reversal," 200.

is so heart-wrenching that Phoebus revisits his grief, re-mourning the death of his son. If this is not enough to inspire sympathy for Bellora, then Morania's lamentation regarding the flawed state of the patriarchal justice system, followed by the queen's emotionally wrought interactions with the king, and Bellora's and Fidelio's final orations and suicides certainly suffice.

Indeed, appeals to the king demonstrate and incite support for Bellora and the female cause. The queen first approaches the king "attended with a great traine of noble Ladyes all bewailing the imminent and instant calamity of condemned Belora." The Ladies, "humbly prostrating themselves on their tender knees … submissively," issue a "pittifull supplication" with "[s]hewers of tears plentiouslie watering their pale cheekes" (K2^{r}). When the king's "hardned heart" remains unmoved, the queen utters a sorrowful and well-reasoned *planctus* in which she appeals to his fatherly sentiments, reminds him that Bellora is their sole heir, urges him to take counsel, demonstrates how his actions will be politically and emotionally damaging, and predicts that her own death will swiftly follow Bellora's (K2^{v}). The king's refusal to heed her sound advice demonstrates his irrational belligerence. While his words are couched in the language of political theory, he is so unyielding and devoid of mercy– a quality inherent to good kingship– that sympathy for him is untenable. His subjects oppose his behaviour, siding with the queen: "the sadful day of her unexpected death celebrated with many mourneful shewes, sorrowfull gestures, and ruthfull lamentations … [a]nd before they approched neare the place where dying Bellora should conclude the last act of her wofull tragedy, many patheticall and serious petitions were made to the king" by the queen, her ladies, and "many dukes, and great lords" (L4^{r}). To this anguished mourning is added Bellora's and Fidelio's final exchange in which they each reiterate their declarations of love and express an intense desire to alleviate the other's suffering through death. Their unwavering devotion and calm acceptance of mortality highlight their constancy and intensify the tragedy. The lovers' suicides, which demonstrate their willingness to sacrifice themselves for love, further heighten our sorrow and compassionate response.

Pity for the lovers is also evoked through the addition of traditional romance motifs to *Turtle Doves*, such as the imagery of tempests and storm-tossed ships; the heroine's disobedience of the proscription against love; the judicial combat; and incestuous desire for the heroine. In romance, boats and storms symbolise providential order and suggest the

characters' lack of control of their destinies.[49] The imagery of shipwrecks and storms recurs throughout the text, serving as a constant reminder of the buffeting that the lovers incur from the storms of the king's and Fortune's wrath (C2^{r}, F1^{r}, K1^{r}, M2^{v}, N4^{r}, O3^{r}). For instance, the attack on the lovers is described as a "bitter storme," an "unexpected tempest" and a "violent streame" in the "maine sea, ready to overflowe" (C4^{r}, I3^{v}–I4^{r}). The entreaties to move the king to mercy are as futile as "the pilot [who] undertake[s] to calme the rag[*i*]ng sea and to make the stormy windes to breath gently altogether out of one quarter" (K2^{r}). The queen likens the king's ire to "bitter & ungentle storms," whereas Bellora declares the "tempestuous stormes" which "raine downe thickest" to emanate from Fortune (L2^{v}, M2^{v}). The lovers are stranded in an angry sea, destined to fight against the inhospitable elements. Victim to storms and tempests and cast adrift on a metaphorical boat over which she has no control, Bellora is "shipewracke[d]" and the queen drowns in "a sea of sorrowe" (E3^{r}). The generic expectation is for storms and tempest-ravaged boats to facilitate happy conclusions, indicating God's support of the protagonists.[50] For Bellora and Fidelio, however, anticipation is foiled; their deaths counter romance readers' anticipations, intensifying the tragedy.

Bellora's disobedience of her father's outlawing of love aligns her with the numerous romance heroines who refuse to submit to parental authority. These heroines are typically active and desiring, but pure, and they are always treated sympathetically.[51] Accordingly, beauty and virtue are aligned in Bellora, who possesses a "faire composed bodie" and a "vertuouslie-disposed minde" (B2^{v}). Her impeccable honour and great beauty are stressed throughout the narrative (e.g. B2^{r}, D1^{r}, D1^{v}, K4^{r}). While her love for Fidelio may be sexual and passionate, it is equally virtuous and moderate; they are a pair of truly devoted turtledoves. Moreover, through the deployment of the trope of the judicial combat, Bellora and Fidelio's love seems divinely sanctioned. Fidelio is not afraid to fight his rival, because, as he declares: "For I knowe in bloodie warrs and peaceable lots, the celestiall dieties will doe them most good whose cause hath the most goodnes, and disfavour them greatest whose actions surpasse in badness" (C2^{r}). His victory indicates God's approval of the relationship, and further

[49] Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 106–136.

[50] Cooper, *English Romance,* 110, 119–128.

[51] Cooper, *English Romance*, 218–68.

encourages our compassion. Their idealised love is exemplary, pure, and providential; it stands in stark contrast to Agamio's pathological lovesickness.

Bellora and Fidelio's love is equally opposed to the king's sinful love for his daughter. The incestuous father is a common figure in romance, appearing in texts such as *Huon of Burdeux, Apolonius of Tyre,* and *Emare*. This character type is also usually tyrannical, and heroines like Bellora, who disobey them, are habitually rewarded.[52] In *Grisel*, Mirabella "era dell tanto amada" [was so loved by him] (Matulka 335). This is expanded in the 1556 translation to "loue without measure / la amaua sin mesura" (A6^{r}), which is further amplified in *Turtle* and transformed into an allusion to incestuous desire:

> the excellent parts of her faire composed bodie, and the hopefull inclinations of her vertuouslie-disposed minde so fired the affections of her tenderharted father towards her, that his love could not bee contained within the limits of any meane, nor his pleasure hee tooke in her presence, satisfied with any measure so that being loath to forgoe a gemme, of such worthy price, and to want the cordiall comfort, which he received by the daily sight, of his onely Daughter: hee made a hopelesse refusall to espouse her to any of those noble Strangers. (B2^{v})

The language suggests that the king is aroused by Bellora: his "affections" are "fired" by his daughter's "faire composed bodie." The inability to contain his love within reason, "within the limits of any meane," indicates that his emotions exceed those proper to a filial relationship. Moreover, preventing Bellora's marriage so that he can keep her nearby configures the king as a surrogate suitor or husband and again gestures towards the impropriety of his feelings. His sinful desire evokes romance expectations, and accordingly, compassion for Bellora.

These familiar tropes of romance suggest particular interpretative strategies to the readers of *Turtle Doves*, almost guaranteeing that the work will be a well-received narrative sympathetic to women and lovers. The flawed trial and debate, the sentiments evoked for the lovers and the queen, and the familiar tropes of romance encourage an interpretation that considers the perspective of women and lovers. Bellora and Fidelio are pitiful because their love is ideal but tragic. Moreover, all women deserve our compassion because they have no recourse to true justice. Yet, as previously discussed, the title page and prologue orient the narrative in

[52] Elizabeth Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

the opposite direction, offering *Turtle Doves* as a misogynist cure for love. According to this anti-feminist reading, women are savage, angry beasts; men are innocent victims, guilty of nothing but folly; and love of women is a debilitating chronic disease. The romance can be read both ways.

Turtle Doves, like *Grisel*, highlights the romance genre's flexibility and affirms what critics have suggested about romance's varied readership: romances speak to diverse audiences diversely. They appeal to men and women, proto-feminists and misogynists, lovers and sceptics, orthodox and resisting readers, and they provide each one of these groups and each individual reader with a distinct narrative experience. *Grisel*'s ambiguity results from its participation in the debate tradition—the formal woman debate and the academic debate, which valued the presentation of opposing sides of an argument. The romance's polyvocality is replicated in the seventeenth-century adaptations, namely *Turtle Doves, Women Pleased*, and *Swetnam, the Woman Hater*. Although these texts emanate from a vastly different cultural context, similarly to *Grisel*, they emerge at an historical moment when interest in women's social status peaked: the woman controversy raged in late fifteenth-century Spain and in early seventeenth-century England.[53] *Turtle Doves* shares *Grisel*'s awareness of the debate's ineffectuality; they challenge the very terms of the debate by demonstrating the inapplicability of arguments rooted in stereotypical notions of sex difference to real women and men. They reveal the impossibility of a female victory or of an impartial hearing in any forum—be it legal, moral, medical, or academic—which is infused with such stereotypes. By emulating and celebrating *Grisel*'s polyvocality, therefore, the adaptations function as powerful interrogations of the use and function of the debate over women; they point to the incongruities between its theoretical nature and the real lives and concerns of women, suggesting the need for an alternative discourse in order to discuss women's rights and social position. Somewhat ironically, these adaptations more accurately capture *Grisel*'s spirit than the "faithful" translations. Contrasting with the adaptations, the translations in the 1556 and 1608 quadrilingual editions re-craft *Grisel*, making it conform to set, yet often conflicting, positions regarding women. This interpretative flux is clearly exemplified by comparing the two polyglot editions, which, as demonstrated above, use the same romance text and Classical exempla to articulate polarised views of women. For the 1556 translator, the romance is a suitable gift for a young woman and her family

53 Cf. Boro, "John Fletcher's;" Jordan, "Gender."

since it glorifies female power. The translation provides him with a vehicle to laud Margarita's female excellence while comparing her to a host of impressive, admirable Classical women. The 1608 edition surrounds the romance with new paratextual material that condemns women. Female achievement and strength are disparaged as sources of shameful corruption and, accordingly, the romance is introduced as a misogynist *exemplum*. The range of approaches visible in the editions of *Grisel* points to the romance's argumentative sophistication. It eludes interpretation as it simultaneously points in multiple directions, thereby encouraging interpretative dissent. It asks readers to debate, while showing them the futility of the debate itself. This dialectical ambiguity and polemical refinement can explain *Grisel*'s longevity and its continued popularity with such historically, geographically, and culturally varied groups of readers. Like the romance genre itself, *Grisel*'s readership is extensive.

PART TWO

TRANSLATION, FICTION AND PRINT

LEARNING STYLE FROM THE SPANIARDS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Barry Taylor

In 1588 Abraham Fraunce, friend of Sir Philip Sidney, brought out his rhetorical manual on Ramist principles:

> The Arcadian rhetorike: Or the praecepts of rhetorike made plaine by examples, Greeke, Latin, English, Italian, French, Spanish, out of:
> Homers Ilias, and Odissea,
> Virgils AEglogs, Georgikes, and AEneis,
> Sir Philip Sydnies Arcadia, Songs and Sonets,
> Torquato Tassoes Goffredo, Aminta, Torrismondo,
> Salust his Iudith, and both his Semaines,
> Boscan and Garcilassoes Sonets and AEglogs.[1]

Known in a single edition of which ESTC has registered only four copies, Fraunce's book was not a best-seller. For the history of the reception of Spanish literature in England in the context of the study and teaching of style its significance lies in its inclusion, apparently for the first time, of Spanish poets in the European canon as understood by Englishmen. After the Greek and Latin classics come the moderns (for some of Sidney's works this was their first appearance in print), among them Juan Boscán (d. 1542) and Garcilaso de la Vega (d. 1536), the introducers of the new Italian poetry into Spain:[2]

> Cap. 7. Of a Metaphore.
>
> There is no trope more florishing than a Metaphore, especially if it be applied to the senses, & among the senses chiefly to the eie, which is the quickest of the senses.

---

[1] (London: Thomas Orwin, [1588]) (STC 11338). See also *The Arcadian Rhetoricke Edited from the Edition of 1588 by Ethel Seaton*, Luttrell Society Reprints, No. 9 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1950), 15–16. For a recent study see Alessandra Petrina, "Polyglottia and the Vindication of English Poetry: Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetorike*," *Neophilologus* 83 (1999): 317–29.

[2] For an overview of the Spanish Renaissance, see for example, the chapters on Spain by R.W. Truman in *The Continental Renaissance, 1500–1600*, ed. A.J. Krailsheimer (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).

> Sir Philip Syd. 23. Son
> Alas the race
> Of all my thoughtes, hath neither stop, nor start,
> But onely *Stellaes* eyes, and *Stellaes* hart.
>
> Boscan. I
> Amor, dolor, y cuydado,
> sus penas en conueniencia
> publicaran la sentencia,
> yo que foi el condenado,
> porne solo la presencia.

Fraunce's work is all the more significant because the reception of Spanish poetry in sixteenth-century England was limited, so far as can be judged from the record of published translations.[3] Having pointed to this example of the recognition of the rhetorical exemplarity of Spanish verse, in the remainder of this essay I shall address the more voluminous output of English translators of Spanish prose.

What did early modern English readers know of Spanish literature? The *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1640* and *Spanish-English Translations 1500–1640* provide the figures found in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.[4]

These are the most printed literary translations: of course, numerous other works, often paraliterary (such as history, political propaganda, or practical writing), were also translated. These best-selling translations have various features in common. The originals were composed in the period 1491–1559; they are all in prose; they are mostly fiction; and most of that fiction is of an amorous nature, the genre often termed "sentimental novel." A contemporary source recognized the amatory nature of these works: the Genevan printer Jean de Tournes published Guevara's moralistic *Menosprecio de corte* in three languages (1591) because

> Ie voyoy que presques tous les livres qu'on publioit pour le soulagement & profit de ceux qui prennent plaisir à apprendre les [langues] vulgaires de

[3] Remigio Ugo Pane, *English Translations from the Spanish 1484–1943: A Bibliography* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1944) and Robert S. Rudder, *The Literature of Spain in English Translation: A Bibliography* (New York: Ungar, 1975) include translations which were not separately published.

[4] http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/index.php and http://www.ems.kcl.ac.uk/apps/index.html. (I am not concerned whether the translations were done direct from the Spanish or, as was often the case, via a French intermediary.) For an overview with extensive bibliography see Fernando Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana: Five Centuries of Authors, Publishers and Readers between Spain and the United Kingdom*, http://www.mcu.es/publicaciones/MC/AngloHispana/Capitulos.html.

Table 4.1. Chronological order of translations.

1535	Antonio de Guevara, *Libro aureo del emperador Marco Aurelio / Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius.* The Spanish original was first printed in 1528. English translations of 1535 (twice), 1537, 1539, 1542, 1546, 1553, 1557 (twice), 1559, 1566 (twice), 1573, 1586. A fictional (nay, fanciful) life of Marcus Aurelius, predating by thirty years the *princeps* of the *Meditations*, edited by Xylander in Greek and Latin in 1558.
1543	Diego de San Pedro, *Arnalte y Lucenda / The Pretie Historie of Arnalt and Lucenda.* A courtly romance, first printed in the original in 1491. There were English editions of 1543 and 1639.
1546	Juan de Flores, *Grisel y Mirabella / Historie of Aurelio and of Isabelle.* Also a courtly romance. The Spanish original was first printed in 1495; the English was printed from 1546-1608, always with the Italian version (see Table 4.3).
1548	Diego de San Pedro, *Carcel de amor / Castell of love.* Another courtly romance first printed in Spanish in 1492. There were English editions of 1548, 1552, 1555, and 1564 (this last known from references only).
1548	Antonio de Guevara, *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea / A Looking glass for the court.* A moralistic contemptus mundi, first published in Spanish in 1539; the English translations are of 1548, 1566, 1573, and 1586.
1557	Antonio de Guevara, *Relox de principes / Diall of princes.* The *Relox* (first edition 1529) was Guevara's rewriting of the *Libro aureo*; the English editions are of 1557, 1568, 1582, and 1619.
1572	*Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce* (1572?) was an anthology of choice passages from the foundational romance of chivalry.
1574	Antonio de Guevara, *Epistolas familiares / Familiar Epistles*, printed in Spanish in 1542, and in English in 1574, 1577, and 1584, was an ancestor of the essay.
1578	*Espejo de principes y cavalleros / The mirrour of princely deedes and knighthood: wherein is shewed the worthinesse of the Knight of the Sunne, and his brother Rosicleer, sonnes to the great Emperour Trebetio: with the strange loue of the beautifull*

(*Continued*)

Table 4.1. (*Cont.*)

	and excellent princesse Briana, and the valiant actes of other noble princes and knightes. Now newly translated out of Spanish into our vulgar English tongue, by M.T. Not a mirror of princes but a romance of chivalry, as the long title makes clear. Divided into four parts, it first appeared in Spanish in 1562 and came out in English in 1578, 1580, 1585, 1586, 1598, 1599, and 1601.
1586	*Lazarillo de Tormes,* the father of the picaresque, was first printed in Spanish in 1554, and appeared in English in 1586, 1596, 1624, 1639.
1588	*Palmerin de Inglaterra / Palmerin of England.* A romance of chivalry, first printed in Spanish in 1547 and in English in 1588, 1596, 1597, 1602, 1609, 1615, 1616, 1637, and 1639.
1589	*Primaleon de Grecia / Primaleon of Greece.* A romance of chivalry which first appeared in Spanish in 1512. The English translation was printed in 1589, 1595, 1596 and 1619.
1590	*Amadis de Gaula.* Book I was first printed in Spanish in 1508. Various books appeared in English in 1590, 1595, 1598 and 1619.
1595	Melchor de Santa Cruz, *Floresta española de apotegmas o sentencias / Wits, fittes and fancies.* Apothegms and quick answers, first printed in Spanish in 1574 and in English in 1595, 1596, and twice in 1614.
1596	*Lazarillo de Tormes*, part II. This is the anonymous continuation (in name but not in spirit: a Lucianesque satire in which Lazarillo takes up residence in the Ocean and becomes king of the Tunny-Fish), first published in Spanish in 1555; there were no more English editions.
1598	Jorge de Montemayor, *La Diana / Diana*. The pastoral romance, printed in Spanish from 1559 onwards, appeared in English in 1598.
1598	*Belianis de Grecia / The honour of Chivalrie.* The Spanish original is 1547; the English was reprinted and extended from 1650 to 73.

Table 4.2. Importance of English translations based on number of editions.

Guevara, *Golden Book*; 14
Palmerin cycle; 9
Espejo de principes cycle; 7
Amadis cycle; 4
Primaleon cycle; 4
Guevara, *A Looking glass for the court*; 4
Guevara, *Diall*; 4
Lazarillo; 4
Flores, *Aurelio and Isabelle*; 4
Melchor de Santa Cruz; 4
Guevara, *Familiar Epistles*; 3
San Pedro, *Castell*; 3
San Pedro, *Arnalte*; 2
Lazarillo Part II; 1
Montemayor, *Diana*; 1
Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce; 1

> nostre siecle, estoyent traictés d'amour, peste, & ruïne de la ieunesse d'autant plus pernicieuse, que cest aage corrompu la repute & tient pour une espece de vertu.[5]
>
> [I saw that almost all the books published for the relaxation and benefit of those who take pleasure in learning the vulgar languages of our century were treatises on love, the plague, and the ruin of youth, all the more pernicious because this corrupt age reputes and regards it as a type of virtue.]

The moralistic objection to these best-selling genres is well known. It is worth citing the disparaging comments of Juan Luis Vives because they are made in the context of the reception in England of a certain vein of Spanish literature. They occur in the *Institutio feminae Christianae* of 1523, addressed to Catherine of Aragon for the education of Princess Mary. In book I, chapter V he prescribes "which books should be read and which

[5] *Libro llamado Menosprecio de corte y alabança de aldea* (Geneva: De Tournes, 1591), fol. †2v (BL, 8404.a.27). Guevara had himself attacked licentious books: see Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge: University Press, 1920), 170 (including mention of '[Arnalte y] Lucenda').

not." Those which are not to be read by the Princess correspond closely to those which – after Vives' time – entered the English market, the sentimental romance and the romance of chivalry:

> Hoc ergo curare leges & magistratus congruit. Tum & de pestiferis libris, cuius modi sunt in Hispania Amadisus, Splandianus, Florisandus, Tirantus, Tristanus quarum ineptiarum nullus est finis, quotidie prodeunt nouae. Celestina lena, nequitiarum parens, carcer amorum. In Gallia Lancilotus a lacu, Paris & Vienna, Punthus & Sydonia, Petrus prouincialis, & Margalona, Melusina, domina exorabilis. In hac Belgica, Florius, & Albus flos, Leonella & Canamorus, Curias & Floreta, Pyramus & Thisbe. Sunt in vernaculas linguas transfusi, ex Latino quidam: uelut infacetissimae facetiae Poggij, Euralius & Lucretia, Centum fabulae Boccaccij. quos omnes libros conscripseruut homines ociosi, maleferiati, imperiti, vitijs ac spurcitiae dediti ....
>
> [The laws and magistrates should take account of pestiferous books such as, in Spain, *Amadis, Esplandian, Florisandro, Tirant, Tristan*, whose inanities are endless, new ones appearing daily; the procuress *Celestina*, the mother of wickedness, and *Carcel de amor*. In France, *Lancelot of the Lake, Paris and Vienne, Pontus and Sidonia, Pierre of Provence* and *Magalonne* and finally *Melusine*, that easily persuaded lady. Here, in Flanders, *Floris and Blanchefleur, Leonel and Canamor, Curias and Floret, Pyramus and Thisbe*; there are others translated from the Latin into the vernacular languages, such as the far from eloquent *Facetiae* of Poggio, *Eurialus and Lucretia*, the *Decameron* of Boccaccio; all of them books written by idle, workshy, uneducated authors, given to vices and low tricks.]

He objects to exaggerated plots:

> Quae potest esse delectatio in rebus, quas tam aperte & stulte configuntur? hic occidit solus uiginti, ille triginta: alius sexcentis vulneribus confossus, ac pro mortuo iam derelictus, contemptus surgit protinus, & postridie sanitati uiribusque redditus, singulari certamine duos Gigantes prosternit.
>
> [What pleasure is to be taken in things which are so clearly and stupidly made up? One killed twenty men alone; another killed thirty; another, stricken by six hundred wounds and left for dead, jumps straight up and the very next day, restored to health and strength, defeats two giants.]

and to love-talk:

> Deinde argutum nihil est, preter quedam verba ex penitiss. Veneris scrinijs deprompta, que in tempore dicuntur ad permouendam, concutiendamque, quam ames, si forte sit paulo constantior. Si propter haec leguntur, satius erit libros de arte lenonia (sit honos auribus) scribi.
>
> [Their wit is non-existent, apart from some words taken out of the most abstruse escritoire of Venus, which are spoken on the right occasion, to move and defeat the heart of the lady whom one loves, if she should resist with

> constancy. If such products are read for this purpose, it would be better to write manuals of procurers (I beg pardon of pious ears).][6]

The question of language and translation forms part of the background to Vives' words. Although he was a latinist by profession, he and his patroness were of course Spaniards: he was from Valencia and his mother tongue was likely Valencian Catalan; Catherine was born in Alcalá de Henares in Castile. Princess Mary knew enough of her mother's language to use Spanish in secret correspondence with her.[7] As a result, Diego de San Pedro's *Arnalte y Lucenda* and *Carcel de amor* and Rojas' *Celestina* must have had a bad reputation in England before they were ever translated into English: Vives is writing in 1523; San Pedro's *Arnalte y Lucenda* is translated by John Clerc in 1543 (London: R. Wyer) (STC 546) and his *Carcel* by Lord Berners in 1548 (London: [R. Wolfe for] J. Turke) (STC 21739.5) while Mabbe's *Celestina* was not to appear in English till 1631 (London: J. B[eale]) (STC 4911). Vives' reference to *Tirant* could be to the Catalan original or the Spanish translation of 1511 but in any case there was no early English translation.

To my mind another very important feature which these works share is a mannered, what we would call rhetorical, style, which is the subject of this paper. I think it is noticeable that the more plain-speaking and colloquial *Lazarillo de Tormes* (London: A. Jeffes) (STC 15336), translated by David Rowland in 1586 and more to modern taste, is very much the odd man out.

In their choice of texts the translators and printers are thus in disagreement with modern criticism. The sentimental novels are backward-looking, rehearsing the romances of Chrétien de Troyes of the twelfth century, interspersed with lyrics in troubadour vein. Modern criticism

---

[6] *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini De institutione foeminae Christiane, ad Inclytam D. Catherinam Hispanam, Angliae Reginam, libri tres, ab autore ipso recogniti, aucti, & reconcinnati* (Basileae: per Robertum Winter, 1538), 24–25. My translation is based on the Spanish of Lorenzo Riber, Juan Luis Vives, *Obras completas*, 2 vols (Madrid: Aguilar, 1947), I, 1003. The references to *Carcel de Amor* and *Boccaccio* are not in the earlier edition of 1524: *Io. Lodovici Vivis Valentini De institutione foeminae Christianae* (Antuerpiae: apud Michaelem Hillenium, 1524), C3v-C4r. For Vives' comments on bad literature elsewhere in his works, see Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, 161–66. The only example of Vives' toleration of fiction in the vernacular is his endorsement of the tale of patient and abused Griseldis of Boccaccio (*De ratione studii puerilis*, I; *Obras completas*, II, 323).

[7] Linda Porter, *Mary Tudor: The First Queen* (London: Portrait, 2007), 28.

sees the picaresque novel, such as *Lazarillo*, as a trail-blazer of Realism. In English *Lazarillo* was nowhere near as popular as in his native Spanish.[8]

In fact, all these translated works were already best-sellers in Spain.[9] This is hardly surprising, as publishers then as now only translated books which had a proven record of sales. The only works in my tables which are not mentioned by Keith Whinnom in his study of Spanish best-sellers are Juan de Flores' *Grisel y Mirabella* and San Pedro's *Arnalte y Lucenda*. However, there was a considerable time-lag between England and Spain. Henry Thomas comments on this in his discussion of the English translations of the books of chivalry: "It was precisely when these romances were dying out in Spain that they began to flourish in England."[10] A further curious element is that, in Thomas' words, "those who were responsible for the Englishing of the new romances seem to have worked on the principle that the first shall be last and the last first."[11] Indeed, the originals appeared in the following order: *Amadis, Primaleon, Palmerin, Espejo de principes*; however, they were published in English in the reverse order, as Table 4.1 shows. This table also neatly matches the material in Table 4.3, showing which Spanish works were printed in bilingual or multilingual editions.[12]

These multilingual editions were hardly ever printed in Spain or in England: they were most commonly printed in France, Italy and the Spanish Netherlands. They were however used by English readers. As some of these editions brought Spanish and French together, an English speaker had the possibility of reading the Spanish via a more familiar intermediary such as French.

---

[8] To 1640 there were seventeen Spanish editions and five in English.

[9] Keith Whinnom, "The Problem of the 'Best-seller' in Spanish Golden-Age Literature," in *Medieval and Renaissance Spanish Literature: Selected Essays by Keith Whinnom*, ed. Alan Deyermond, W.F. Hunter and Joseph T. Snow (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994), 159–75 (first published in the *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 57 (1980): 189–98).

[10] Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, 248–49.

[11] Ibid., 248.

[12] On bilingual editions, see Barry Taylor, "Latin-Iberian Bilingual Editions, 15th–18th Centuries," in *Latin and Vernacular in Renaissance Iberia, II*, ed. Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu (Manchester: Department of Hispanic Studies, 2007), 149–69, and "Éditions bilingues de textes espagnols," *K výzkumu zámeckých, měšťanských a cirkevnich knihoven, "Jazyk a řeč knihy," Opera romanica* 11 (2009): 385–94; Joyce Boro, "Multilingualism, Romance, and Language Pedagogy; or, Why Were So Many Sentimental Romances Printed as Polyglot Texts?," in *Tudor Translation*, ed. Fred Schurink (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 18–38.

Table 4.3. Bilingual and multilingual editions.

1546	Juan de Flores, *Aurelio e Isabella* [=*Grisel y Mirabella*], went through twenty-six editions in two or more languages from 1521 to 1616: fifteen in Italian and French; four in Spanish and French; two in Italian, French and English (London, 1586 and 1588); five in Italian, Spanish, French and English (*Histoire de Aurelio et Isebelle, fille du Roy d'Ecoce, nouvellement traduict en quattre langues, Italien, Espagnol, François et Anglois* (Antwerp, 1556), (Lyon, 1574), (Paris, 1581), (Rouen, 1581), (Lyon, 1582), (Brussels, 1608).[13]
1552	Diego de San Pedro, *Carcel de amor,* had fifteen editions in Spanish and French from 1552 to 1650.[14] The Paris 1552 edition declares: "en deux langages, Espaignol & Francois, pour ceulx qui vouldront apprendre l'un par l'autre." The translation is attributed to the pen of Gilles Corrozet, for whom it was printed.
1552	Diego de San Pedro, *Arnalte,* had seven editions in French and Italian from 1552 to 1591. It appeared three times in Italian and English. *The pretie and wittie historie of Arnalte & Lucenda, with certaine rules and dialogues set foorth for the learner of th'Italian tong* was included in Claudius Hollyband [Claude de Sainliens], *The Italian Schoole-master* (London, 1575, 1597, 1608).[15]
1591	Antonio de Guevara, *Menosprecio de corte*, had one edition in Spanish, French and Italian (Lyon, 1591); and two in Spanish, Italian, French and German (Geneva, 1605; Geneva, 1614).[16]

(*Continued*)

[13] On Flores, see Barbara Matulka, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion* (New York: Institute of French Studies, 1931), 176–78, 472–75. For publishing information, see Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano. Segunda edición, corrigenda y aumentada por el autor* (Barcelona: s.n., 1948–77), Nos. 92510-16; and Maria Colombo Timelli, "La Première édition bilingue de *L'Histoire d'Aurelio et d'Isabel* (Gilles Corrozet, 1546) – ou: Quelques problèmes de traduction d'italien en français au XVIe siècle," in *Traduction et adaptation en France à la fin du Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, ed. Charles Brucker (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997), 299–317.

[14] Palau, Nos. 293357–71. *See also La Prison d'amour* (*1552*), ed. Véronique Duché-Gavet, Textes de la Renaissance, 119 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), xxxiii-xxxv.

[15] Palau, Nos. 293332–39.

[16] Palau, Nos. 110280, 110296–97.

Table 4.3. (*Cont.*)

1603	Jorge de Montemayor, *Diana,* was printed in Spanish and French (Paris, 1603 and 1613).[17]
1633	Fernando de Rojas, *Celestina,* was printed in Spanish and French in four editions from Rouen 1633 to Rouen 1644.[18]

Before proceeding to a discussion of the stylistic characteristics of the Spanish originals and their English translations, I shall provide two examples that demonstrate the style typical of these works:

> *Carcel de amor*:
> En tus palabras, señor, has mostrado que pudo Amor prender tu libertad y no tu virtud, lo cual se prueva porque segund te veo, deves tener mas gana de morir que de hablar, y por proveer en mi fatiga forçaste tu voluntad, juzgando por los trabajos pasados y por la cuita presente que yo ternia de bevir poca esperança…[19]
> *Castell of love*:
> Thy wordes shewe well that love hath taken and occupieth thy libertie but not thy vertue, the whiche I prove by that I se in the to be more redyer to dye then to speke. How be it, thou hast forced they will to prove the werynes of my lyfe, judgynge what for travels passyd and for my solycitude present that I have but small hope to lyve.[20]

> O bondad acusada con malicia! O virtud sentenciada con saña! O hija nacida para dolor de su madre! Tu seras muerta sin justicia y de mi llorada con razon; mas poder ha tenido tu ventura para condenarte que tu inocencia para hazerte salva; bebire en soledad de ti y en conpañia de los dolores que en tu lugar me dexas… (135).
> O bountie, by malice accusyd! O vertue, by ire condemnyd! O doughter, borne of thy mother to sorow! Thou shalte dye withoute iustice and I must wepe by reason. Thyne unhappe hath more pusance to condempne the then thyn innocency to save the. Without the I shall lyve accompanyed with doloures, the whiche in thy stede thou shalt leve me. (139)

> Guevara, *Relox de príncipes*:
> Que nucleo de nuez, que oro de escoria, que grano de paja, que rosa de espina, que cañada de huesso y que hombre tan heroyco alli se descubrio! Que razones tan altas, que palabras tan concertadas, que sentencias tan bien

[17] Palau, No. 177694.
[18] Palau No. 51169. See also D.L. Drysdall, "La *Celestina* dans l'édition bilingue de 1633," *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 45 (1971): 208–21.
[19] Diego de San Pedro, *Cárcel de Amor*, ed. Keith Whinnom (Madrid: Castalia, 1982), 92.
[20] *The Castell of Love: A Critical Edition of Lord Berners's Romance*, ed. Joyce Boro (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 101.

dichas, que verdades tan verdaderas y aun que malicias tan descubiertas alli descubrio![21]

Diall of princes:
Howe think ye my frendes, what kernell of a nut, what gold of ye myne, what corne of straw, what rose of rosary, what mary of bones, and howe noble and valiaunte a man hath he shewed him selfe! What reasons so hye, what wordes so wel couched, what truth so true, what sentences so well pronounced, and also what open malyce hath he discovered![22]

Relox de principes: O!, maldita seas Asia, y maldito el dia que contigo tomamos conquista; porque el bien que se nos ha seguido de ti hasta agora no le emos visto, y el daño que de ti nos vino para siempre en Roma sera llorado. O!, Asia maldita, gastamos en ti nuestros thesoros y tu empleaste en nosotros tus vicios; a troque de hombres fuertes, embiastenos tus regalos; expugnamos tus ciudades y tu triumphaste de nuestras virtudes; allanamos tus fortalezas y tu destruyste nuestras costumbres; triumphamos de tus reynos y tu degollaste a nuestros amigos; hezimoste cruda guerra y tu conquistastenos la buena paz; de fuerça tu fueste nuestra y de grado nos somos tuyos; injustos señores somos de tus riquezas y justos vasallos de tus vicios; finalmente eres, O! Asia, un triste sepulcro de Roma, y tu, Roma, eres fetida sentina de Asia. (771)

Diall of princes
O cursed Asia, we spent our treasours in the, and thou hast geven to us thy vices. In chaunge of our valiaunt men thou hast sent us thy mineons, we have wonne thy cities, and thou triumphest of our vertues. We battered thy fortes, and thou haste destroyed our maners. We triumphe of thy realmes, and thou diddest cut the throtes of our friendes. We made to the cruel warre and thou conquerest from us the good peace. With force thou were ours and with good will we are yours. We are unjuste Lordes of thy richesse, and just tenaunter of thy vices. Finally thou Asia art a woful grave of Rome, and thou Rome art a filthy sinke of Asia. (180)

What San Pedro and Guevara share is a schematic style made up of endlessly repeated balanced phrases, either antithetical or synonymous.[23] Although older critics often disparage the accuracy and care of Renaissance translations,[24] and although translators often worked from intermediate

[21] Antonio de Guevara, *Relox de príncipes*, ed. Emilio Blanco (Madrid: ABL Editor, 1994), 712.

[22] *The diall of princes* (London: [T. Marshe for] J. Waylande, 1557) (STC 12427), facsimile, The English Experience, 50 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1968), 163.

[23] Sylvia Adamson, "Synonymia: or, in Other Words," in *Renaissance Figures of Speech*, ed. Sylvia Adamson, Gavin Alexander and Katrin Ettenhuber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 16–35, 253–55.

[24] For example, W.G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance: The Formal Basis of Elizabethan Prose Style* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 119.

versions, in these examples at least the English successfully reproduces the style of the originals.

Belief in the influence of Spanish style on English has declined over the last century. In 1881 Friedrich Landmann, *Die Euphuismus, sein Wesen, seine Quelle, seine Geschichte,* argued that the source of the Euphuism of John Lyly (*Euphues* is 1578–80) was the work of Antonio de Guevara. The following passage is typical of Lyly's style:

> I can not tel, Alexander, whether the reporte be more shamefull to be hearde, or the cause sorrowfull to be beleeved! What! is the sonne of Phillip, king of Macedon, become the subject of Campaspe, the captive of Thebes? Is that minde, whose greatnes the world could not containe, drawn within the compasse of an idle alluring eie? Wil you handle the spindle with Hercules, when you should shake the speare with Achilles?[25]

Nowadays the critical consensus keeps Guevara out of the picture. Much excellent work on rhetorical education in England such as that of Eugene Kintgen or Peter Mack has concentrated on Latin models and precept.[26]

As W.G. Crane commented, the narrative element in these works is outweighed by their inclusion of the epistle and the oration.[27] Much of the *Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius* consists of letters and speeches by the emperor. The title-page of the Lisbon 1529 edition alludes to this: *Libro aureo del eloquentissimo emperador Marco Aurelio.* A mark of the continuity between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is that the love letters written in his youth by Marcus Aurelius were lifted by Guevara from San Pedro's *Arnalte*.[28]

This element of eloquence is clearest in the *Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce* (London: H. Bynneman for T. Hacket, [1572?]) (STC 545), translated from the French *Trésor des Amadis*.[29] It appeared only once in English, but the French original was a best-seller from 1559 to 1606. Paradoxically, romances of chivalry were criticised in Spain for their bad

---

[25] *Campaspe*, act II, scene ii, in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed R. Warwick Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1902), II, 329–30.

[26] Eugene R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 1996); Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Mack does mention Guevara on several occasions.

[27] W.G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric*, 163, 169.

[28] Augustin Redondo, "Antonio de Guevara y Diego de San Pedro: las 'cartas de amores' del *Marco Aurelio*," *Bulletin Hispanique* 78 (1976): 226–39.

[29] Véronique Benhaïm, "Les *Thresors* d'*Amadis*," in *Les Amadis en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Editions rue d'Ulm, 2000), 157–82.

style,[30] yet the French author of the *Trésor* saw it as a rhetorically sophisticated work full of good examples of discourse, and this is reflected in the English: *The most excellent and pleasaunt Booke, entituled: the treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce; Conteyning eloquente orations, pythie Epistles, learned Letters, and feruent Complayntes, serving for sundrie purposes* …. (title-page). The translator's *Epistle dedicatorie* adds that it is full "with most delectable matter for all causes, as well incouraging the bashfull person and cowarde to bee valiant, as the worthie ladies and damselles in their amorous Epistles, feruente complaintes of Injuries handled most excellently" (¶2^{v}–3^{r}). (We are reminded that it was precisely this sort of imitable love-talk which Vives found so objectionable in the romances of chivalry.) It is curious that the *Treasury of Amadis* appeared in English before *Amadis* itself, which was published in separate parts between 1589 and 1618. Indeed, *Amadis* itself was published in English only after less famous works in the same genre, *Espejo de principes, Palmerin* and *Primaleon*, as was said above.

The encomia pronounced by translators in their prologues and publishers in their title-pages of course run the risk of being commonplaces. They commonly praise the work translated both for its style and morals; but I believe some comments are more substantive, as for example those found in J. Clerc's "Dedication" to his 1543 translation of *Arnalte* and C. Hollyband's "Address to the Reader" prefacing his 1575 version of the same work:

> your Lordshyp … wyll rather prudently … regarde and consyder the wytty deuyse of the thynge, the maner of Locucyons, the wyse sententes and the subtyll and dyscret answeres made on bothe parties. (*A certayn treatye*, 17/3/1543, [π]1^{v}) (STC 546)

> And then let him repayre to this Historie. In the reading whereof vsing a good discretion, he maye attayne great profite, aswell for th'vnderstanding of any other Italian booke, as for his entraunce to the learning of the same tongue: and maye also gather therein many pretie and wittie phrases, sentences, and deuises, agreable to the same Argumente, and apte for the lyke or any other speache or writing. (*Pretie and wittie Historie of Arnalte & Lucenda*, [π]2v–3^{r}) (STC 6758)

Deuyse and *deuise* in these two texts must be something more elaborate than a phrase or a sentence or sententia. The word could be used in the French sense of "talk, chat" (*OED*, 5, documented from 1489 onwards), or more likely "a fanciful, ingenious, or witty writing or expression, a 'conceit'" (*OED*, 10, documented 1576 on).

---

[30] Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías, *Libros de caballerías castellanos: una antología* (Barcelona: DeBolsillo, 2004), 44–45, 486–91.

The value of Guevara's epistles as a model is also stressed by his translator, Edward Hellows, in his "To the reader" prefacing *The familiar epistles* (London: H. Middleton for R. Newberry, 1574) (STC 12432). It is:

> furnished so fully with sincere doctrine, so rare eloquence. Wherein he delicately toucheth, with most curious sayinges and no less Philosophy, how to write or talke with all men in all matters at large …. (¶3^{v})

In the second edition of Berners' translation of San Pedro's *Castell of love*, probably published in 1552 (STC 21740), one Andrew Spigurnell added marginal headings indicating the rhetorical parts of the epistles and orations: "note the writing of letters" (c4r), "note her advisement" (c2^{v}).[31]

The style of such works as these was held up for admiration by the Erasmian Miguel de Salinas in his *Rhetórica en lengua castellana*, published anonymously in 1541. The passage is much indebted to the *De copia*:

> La abundancia de palabras consiste en tener muchos vocablos de una mesma significación simplemente o por figuras, como es de la metáphora y de las otras que está dicho hablando de la elocución; y también en tener figuras para mudar una mesma sentencia en diversos colores. Si desta copia o abundancia se dixesse todo lo que se podría dezir sería cosa muy larga y provechosa, pero no tan necessaria en la lengua vulgar como es en la latina, y assí se puede escusar porque, con ser tan usada la lengua común, qualquier de mediano natural sabe en esta parte della lo que podría bastar. Y si quisiesse poner más diligencia o por sentir falta en sí o por estar más proveído, demás de la conversación de hombres polidos en hablar, es muy bueno leer siempre en autores que escrivieron bien en castellano como es Torres Naharro, Hernando del Pulgar, y no es menos buena la *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, y otros; especialmente son buenos algunos trasladados de latín en romance como *Marco Aurelio, Enchiridión* de Erasmo etc. Y quando en ellos o en otros que hablan bien vemos alguna cosa dicha por buenas palabras, notarla y procurar ponerla en uso escriviendo o hablando quando uviere ocasión.
>
> [The abundance of words consists in having many terms of a single meaning either literally or figuratively such as metaphor or others mentioned in the discussion of *elocutio*; and also in having figures for turning a single sense in diverse colours. If everything that could be said about this *copia* or abundance were to be said it would be something lengthy and beneficial, but not as necessary to the vernacular as to Latin, and so discussion can be spared, because, being as it is so much used in common speech, anyone of middling wit knows sufficient about this section. And if he wished to take the matter further, either because he felt a shortcoming in himself or in order to be

[31] W.G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric,* 167. These are recorded by Boro in the footnotes to her edition.

> better instructed, in addition to the conversation of men of polished speech, it is very good to read those authors who have written well in Spanish, such as Torres Naharro, Hernando del Pulgar, and the no less good *Comedy of Calisto and Melibea* [*Celestina*], et al.; especially good are some works translated from the Latin, such as Marcus Aurelius, the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus, etc. And when in these or in in others which speak well we see something well expressed, it is good to note it and try to put it to use in writing or speech when the opportunity arises.][32]

Recent work on Euphuism has considered various non-Spanish sources, such as the *De copia* of Erasmus or his *De conscribendis epistolis*, both school-books, we should remember.[33] But we should also recall that Erasmus himself taught that *copia* should be handled in moderation:

> We find that a good many mortal men who make great efforts to achieve this godlike power of speech fall instead into mere glibness, which is both silly and offensive. They pile up a meaningless heap of words and expressions without any discrimination, and thus obscure the subject they are talking about, as well as belabouring the ears of their unfortunate audience.[34]

What Lyly and Guevara have in common, and what distinguishes them from Cicero and Erasmus, is their lack of moderation. As George Puttenham says of Guevara in 1589:

> Isocrates the Greek Oratour was a litle too full of this figure [antithesis], & so was the Spaniard that wrote the life of Marcus Aurelius, & many of our moderne writers in vulgar use it in excesse & incurre the vice of fond affectation: otherwise the figure is very commendable.[35]

Every style, however popular, eventually goes out of fashion. The death knell for the amplificatory style was sounded by Francis Bacon in the *Advancement of Learning* of 1605:

---

[32] Miguel de Salinas, *Rhetórica en lengua castellana*, ed. Encarnación García Sánchez. Pubblicazioni della Sezione Romanza, Dipartimento di Studi Letterari Linguistici dell'Occidente, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Testi, XI (Napoli: L'Orientale Editrice, 1999), 162–63; my translation. Salinas accepts the *Marcus Aurelius* at face value as a translation from the Latin; the admired translation of the *Enchridion* of Erasmus is that of Alonso Fernández de Madrid (1524).

[33] See, for example, Judith Rice Henderson, "Euphues and his Erasmus," *English Literary Renaissance* 12 (1982): 135–61.

[34] Desiderius Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings, 2. De copia; De rationi studii*, edited by Craig R. Thompson, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 24 (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 295.

[35] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: University Press, 1936), 211, cited by Eduard Norden in his *Die antike*

> So that these four causes concurring, the admiration of ancient authors, the hate of the schoolmen, the exact study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching, did bring in an affectionate study of eloquence and copie of speech, which then began to flourish. This grew speedily to an excess; for men began to hunt more after words than matter, and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment …. In sum, the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather towards copie than weight.[36]

In a famous article of 1950, Menéndez Pidal, doyen of Spanish literary history, dubbed the literary output of the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as moving "from rhetoricism to humanism."[37] He was using "rhetorical" in its belle-lettristic pejorative meaning of "wasteful of words." These works may be out of favour today, but their historical publishing success shows that they were undoubtedly to the taste of Spanish and English readers. In this essay I have pointed to some indications that these readers were rhetorical readers as described by Kintgen and Mack.[38] These rhetorical readers, when they read outside the Latin curriculum, looked for a mannered style in which the Spanish excelled.

However, whether or not we reinstate Guevara as a chief source, I think it is clear that English readers could learn a great number of rhetorical devices from the mannered Spanish, either in the original, or in translation, or in bilingual editions.

Kunstprosa vom VI Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance (Leipzig: Tuebner, 1898), ed. in Italian by Benedetta Heinneman Campana as *La prosa d'arte antica Dal VI secolo a.C. all'età della Rinascenza* (Roma: Salerno, 1986), 798.

[36] Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* [1605], in *Francis Bacon: The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 120–299 (139); Sylvia Adamson, "Synonymia," 16–35, 253–55, espec. 20.

[37] "La lengua en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos: del retoricismo al humanismo," *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 13 (1950): 9–24.

[38] Peter Mack says, for example, "I think that anyone who had passed through an Elizabethan grammar school would notice the existence of such elements [moral sentences, stories, examples, analysis of text, arguments, rhetorical topics, descriptions, commonplaces, definition, distinctions] in a text and, as part of his process of reading, would consider how they were used," *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 296.

PRINT, PARATEXT, AND A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY *SAMMELBAND*: BOCCACCIO'S *NINFALE FIESOLANO* IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION[1]

Guyda Armstrong

Amongst Italian authors, Giovanni Boccaccio had by far the greatest presence in English translation during the period covered by this volume. Those works of his which were translated included both Latin reference works (such as his *De casibus virorum illustrium* and *De mulieribus claris*, both rendered in English verse in the first half of the fifteenth century), and his vernacular fictions, and culminated in the translation of the entire *Decameron*, printed in 1620. However, the greatest concentration of this dedicated activity occurred in the later part of the sixteenth century.[2] In the thirty years between 1567 and 1597, in particular, three of his Italian vernacular works on erotic themes were translated into English and printed in London: the 1567 *Pleasaunt disport of diuers noble personages* translated by H. G[ranthan], printed by H. Bynneman and followed by three re-editions in 1571, 1575 and 1587 (STC 3180–3182); the 1587 *Amorous Fiammetta* translated by B. Young and printed by John Charlwood for T. Gubbin and T. Newman (STC 3179); and the 1597 *Famous tragicall discourse of two louers, Affrican, and Mensola*, translated by Jo. Goubourne [Golburne] and printed by James Roberts for W. Blackman (STC 3184.4).[3]

---

[1] I am indebted to Dr Alex Davis and Dr Joanna Parker of Worcester College Library, University of Oxford, for their help and advice in the preparation of this essay.

[2] See my publications concerning these editions: "The Translated Boccaccio in Early Modern England," in *Caro Vitto: Essays in Memory of Vittore Branca*, ed. Jill Kraye, Laura Lepschy and Nicola Jones (London: Warburg Institute, 2007), 49–70; "Paratexts and their Functions in Seventeenth-Century English Decamerons," *Modern Language Review* 102 (2007): 40–57; "Translations as Cultural Facts: The History of Boccaccio in English," in *Translation, Transfer, Text and Topic*, ed. Pierluigi Barrotta and Anna Laura Lepschy (Perugia: Guerra, 2010), 53–68; "A Bibliography of Boccaccio's Works in English Translation: Part I. The Minor Works," in *Studi sul Boccaccio* 38 (2011): 167–204 and chapter 3 of my book, *The English Boccaccio: A History in Books* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming). On the English edition of the *Fiammetta*, see my essay "The Framing of Fiammetta: Gender, Authorship and Voice in an Elizabethan Translation of Boccaccio," in *Elizabethan Translation and Literary Culture*, ed. Gabriela Schmidt (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

[3] In addition to these, many *Decameron* novellas were translated and circulated in compilations such as William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure*, published in two volumes in 1566 and 1567 (STC 19121, 19124).

These three works have several characteristics in common: all date from the first part of Boccaccio's literary career, and are thus thought to predate the *Decameron* (first composed c. 1351); all are examples of Boccaccio's literary experimentation in a variety of historical or imported romance genres (respectively, the 'Questions of Love' genre, derived from the French *jeux partis*, the Ovidian female-voiced lover's lament, and the verse pastoral romance); and all enjoyed notable popularity outside Italy in the early modern period, especially in France and Spain.

This essay will take as its subject the last of these translations to be made in the sixteenth century, the *Famous tragicall discourse of two lovers, Affrican and Mensola*, translated by one 'Jo. Goubourne,' and published in London by 'Ia. Roberts' (customarily identified as James Roberts) for William Blackman (STC 3184.4).[4] This little-known and little-studied translation owes its invisibility to the vagaries of the archive and the accidents of historical survival: only one copy of the translation is now extant, held in the library of Oxford University's Worcester College.[5] The absence of this work from any major research collection therefore constitutes an important factor in its relative obscurity: for example, the book is not currently included in the Early English Books Online in digitized form, and in fact only recently acquired its own Short-Title Catalogue number (as an extension to another text of Boccaccian derivation, *A notable historye of Nastagio and Trauersari* (STC 3184)). But rather than bewailing the book's absence from the best-known physical and digital repositories of early English printed material, we intend to take advantage of the one surviving copy, which offers us a unique way into early modern reading and collecting practices, and by extension, into a deeper understanding of Boccaccio's meaning and importance in the textual cultures of the time. Unusually (and uniquely, to my knowledge), the Boccaccio translation survives not as a single free-standing volume (like the other English printed translations of Boccaccio), but instead bound in a *Sammelband* with six other contemporary English popular romances.[6] The Boccaccio translation is

---

[4] I discuss the transmission history and features of the translation itself in more detail in Chapter 3 of my forthcoming monograph. On Roberts, see David Kathman, "James Roberts," in the *ODNB*.

[5] It has been edited in *Two Tracts: Affrican and Mensola, an Elizabethan Prose Version* (*by Io Goubourne*) *of Il Ninfale fiesolano by Giovanni Boccaccio, and Newes and Strange Newes from St Christophers by John Taylor the Water Poet*, ed. Cyril H. Wilkinson (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1946).

[6] These are "Pheander, The Maiden Knight," "Fragosa & his 3 Sons," "Ornatus & Artesia"; "Titana & Theseus," "Dorastus & Fawnia," and "Cleocryton & Cloriana" (titles are taken from the handwritten table of contents, "Histories in this Collection" on the leaf following the last printed page of the volume).

the only work translated from another language to be included, and is the final work in the volume.

In the first part of this essay I shall therefore give a brief account of the source edition used for the *Famous tragicall discourse*, of the translation's production context, and of some of its paratextual features that reframe it to suit the anglophone receiving culture. In the second part I shall move to a discussion of this book-object as a whole, considering the possible relations between the Boccaccio text and the other texts with which it is located in this volume, and between this book and others in its owner's collection. Understood in terms of Robert Darnton's 'communication circuit,' this unique book-object thus allows us, not only to explore the translated edition in terms of its production context and producers, but also to draw some conclusions about it in terms of its specific historical consumers, as expressed in the library of a contemporary reader.[7]

1. *Boccaccio's Ninfale fiesolano and A famous tragicall discourse of two lovers, Affrican and Mensola*

Boccaccio's *Ninfale fiesolano* is nowadays not one of his better-known works, although it enjoyed some popularity in Italy and abroad in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[8] Written (like the other vernacular works translated in the sixteenth century) before the *Decameron*, probably between 1344–46, it is a pastoral romance featuring nymphs, shepherds, and the goddess Diana, which culminates in the mythological foundation of Fiesole. The plot draws on the more sensational elements of classical myth, and is informed especially by Ovid in its transformations:

---

[7] Darnton first posited his seminal 'communications circuit' theory in a 1982 article, "What is the history of books?," *Daedalus* 111(1982): 65–83, republished in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2002), 9–26, and now updated in "'What is the history of books?' Revisited," *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007): 495–508, in which he acknowledges the importance of the 'survival' element proposed by Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Barker, and which allows the afterlife of the object (i.e., in libraries) to be added to the model.

[8] The ISTC records seven editions of the text printed before 1501; there were further Italian editions in 1518 (Venice: Zorzi di Rusconi Milanese; Florence: Giunta) and 1519 (Venice: Tacuino da Trino), with a French translation in 1556 and this English rendering in 1597. For discussion of the *Ninfale*, see Armando Balduino's introduction to his edition, *Ninfale fiesolano*, in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, 3 vols (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1974), III, 273–421, and Victoria Kirkham's summary of the life and works of Boccaccio in the *Encyclopedia of Italian Literary Studies*, ed. Gaetana Marrone, 2 vols. (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), I, 239–44 (242). On the early printed history of the text, see Wilkinson's introduction to *Two Tracts*.

the shepherd Africo sees the beautiful nymph Mensola bathing in the forest; disguising himself as a nymph, he infiltrates the group, then rapes her when they are alone together. Dishonoured, Mensola abandons him, despite his protestations of love, and Africo eventually kills himself, and his name is given to a river. Mensola gives birth to their child, and fleeing Diana's wrath, is turned into water by the goddess, becoming another river. The child, Pruneo, is raised by Africo's parents and founds the legendary lineage of Fiesole.

Relatively little is known about the English translator of *A famous tragicall discourse*, John Golburne.[9] The Boccaccio text is his first published work, and he published several more translations on various religious and devotional topics between 1598 and 1602, all translated from French and Spanish.[10] From this we can at least deduce that Golburne was not a specialist in the translation of European romance literatures, unlike, for example, Bartholemew Yong, the preceding English translator of the *Fiammetta*.[11] (This observation might also suggest that this particular translated book was not undertaken with a particular interest in furthering the English dissemination of the works of Boccaccio as author, a position which will be discussed further in Part 2 of this essay.)

In comparison with the other Boccaccio texts which work their way into English in the early modern period, *A famous tragicall discourse* is notable for a number of reasons. First of all, we know that the English version was made from a single source text in a single identifiable source edition, unlike the other translations, which have more complex transmission histories. And significantly, this text comes to England via an intermediary French source edition—not directly from the Italian—, as is clearly stated on the title-page:

> A Famous tragicall discourse of two louers, Affrican, and Mensola, their lives infortunate loues, and lamentable deaths, together with the of-spring of the

---

[9] I follow the STC in giving Golburne's name in that form, although it is often spelled 'Goubourne' in the critical literature (following the title-page of the *Famous tragicall discourse*). On his biography, see the Introduction to *Two Tracts*, xxiii–xxiv, and Herbert Gladstone Wright, *Boccaccio in England: from Chaucer to Tennyson* (London: Athlone Press, 1957), 108.

[10] For a list of Golburne's printed translations, see *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2, 1550–1660*, ed. Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 514.

[11] Apart from Boccaccio, Yong also translated Montemayor's Spanish romance *Diana* and added a translation of Book IV to George Pettie's translation of Stefano Guazzo's *Civil Conversation*. On Yong, see *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2*, 470, and the entry by L.G. Kelly in the *ODNB*.

> Florentines. *A History no leße pleasant then full of recreation and delight*. Newly translated out of Tuscan into French by Anthony Guerin, domino Creste. And out of French into English by Io. Goubourne. AT LONDON Printed by *Ia. R.* for William Blackman dwelling neere the great North doore of Paules. 1597.[12]

The intermediary translation identified on the title page is Antoine Guercin's *Nymphal Flossolan*, which was printed in Lyon in 1556 by Gabriel Cotier.[13] The close relations between the two can be seen in the title-page text of the French edition, which is reproduced virtually unchanged in the English book:

> LE NYMPHAL FLOSSOLAN DE M. Iean Boccace. *Contenant le discours de deux amans, African & Mensole, avec leur vie, & mort, ensemble l'origine des Florentins, histoire non moins belle, que recreative.* Nouuellement traduit de Tuscan en Francoys, par Antoine Guercin du Crest. *A LYON Par Gabriel Cotier.* M.D. LVI.

Much of the description of the text is translated virtually word for word, with the only significant changes being the removal of the original title and the author's name, and their substitution with the melodramatic 'Famous tragicall discourse,' plus the addition of a further line detailing the English translator. Source and target editions differ, however, in format: the French edition is a tiny sixteenth, measuring about 8 by 12cm, while the English edition is a larger, quarto edition. In both cases, the format is indicative of the way in which the text was intended to be situated within the wider literary field: both the tiny French book and larger English quarto signal the translated text's genre as fictional 'romance' reading. There appears to have been no contact with any Italian source edition at any stage of the production of the English version.

Secondly, and more significantly, this intermediary text between Boccaccio's Italian and the English translation completely changes the shape of the target text. The 473 *ottava rima* stanzas of Boccaccio's poem are transformed by the French translator into nineteen chapters of prose, in which some stanzas are completely omitted and other episodes are developed. This textual structure is then imported virtually unchanged into the English book. In terms of our contemporary notions of translation

---

[12] In my transcriptions from primary printed sources, I have reproduced variations of type and capitalization, but do not indicate line divisions. Long 's' has been standardized to short 's' throughout.

[13] On Guercin's prose version of the *Ninfale*, see Henri Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions françaises de Boccace* (*XIVe –XVIIe siècle*) (Bordeaux: Feret et Fils, [1909]), 43–49.

norms, such wholesale alteration of the source text's prosody and amplification of the content could appear overly interventionist, and lacking in basic equivalence, yet this is, of course, a common strategy in the sixteenth-century French literary field. The French prose rewriting thus provides evidence of the perceived function of Boccaccio's text in this specific French context, and its implied interrelation to home-grown genres. If translation is conceived of as a way in which to meet a hitherto-unmet need in the receiving culture (perhaps in this case a voracious reading public's 'need' for ever more erotic pseudo-classical romance narratives), then it is perfectly natural that the translated version would not only assume the stylistic characteristics of the dominant narrative form of the genre (a richly adjectivized, eventful, and sometimes rather steamy prose), but also the physical form in which this genre travels in that literary polysystem.[14]

With the substantial remodelling of the Boccaccio text (from verse to prose) having happened some forty years prior to the English rendering, in Guercin's move, Golburne's version can be seen as an entirely typical late Elizabethan translation of its kind. His English rendering follows the source edition extremely closely, not only for the text itself, but in its paratextual material as well.[15] However, the book he translates is not so much Boccaccio's *Ninfale fiesolano* as this new French invention, which has very little to do with Boccaccio's Italian verse pastoral, and much more to do with the print and narrative conventions of the French prose romance genres.

The translated text of the English *Famous tragicall discourse* is framed by a range of paratextual elements, housed together in the first quire of the book (A). Only the first two of these paratexts have been constructed primarily with the English audience in mind (the title-page (fol. [A]) and Golburne's dedicatory letter (fol. A2)), while the rest are imported from the French book. The title-page provides an initial—and explicit—demonstration of where the text can be situated within English prose with its retitling as *A Famous tragicall discourse of two lovers, Affrican and Mensola*. This title firmly places this work alongside other popular prose translations from the French and Italian, most prominently perhaps

[14] For the polysystem theory as applied to translation by Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury, see "Polysystem Theory" in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies,* ed. Mona Baker (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 176–78.

[15] On Guercin's translation, see Henri Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions*, 43–49.

Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine tragicall discourses writtten* [sic] *oute of Frenche and Latin, by Geffraie Fenton, no lesse profitable then pleasaunt, and of like necessitye to all degrees that take pleasure in antiquityes or forreine reapportes* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1567, with a further edition in 1579).[16] The shared generic associations between these two texts, and the wider English prose romance genre, can be seen also in the fact that in both cases the title-pages signal their 'pleasant' qualities, the pleasure of such reading matter indelibly associated with their erotic content (even if ostensibly mitigated by their 'tragicall' ends, in these two cases).[17]

The second English paratext is the dedicatory letter from the translator, "To the vertuous Gentleman Maister Frauncis Verseline, I.G. wisheth continual health and perfect happiness." Francis Verseline was the son of the London-based Venetian glassmaker Jacopo Verzelini, and Wright has suggested that this selection of dedicatee shows that 'Goubourne's patron was an Englishman of Italian descent who had some taste for the literature of Italy.'[18] The dedication is conventional in form, deploying the usual protestations of gratitude and poverty concerning the author's gift and skills, but it provides some further indications about the commissioning of this translation and how it was considered:

> I have presumed to present you with this little Pamphlet, translated out of French into our vulgar tongue, at the speciall instance of sundry Gentlemen, whereof I craue acceptance, not in regard of the gift (being of small moment nor the stile thereof, which is ragged, bare, and barren:) but the good minde of the giuer, as forward in affection towards you, as his abillity is small in performance (A2)

The book is described as a 'pamphlet,' a term which was used in the sixteenth century for an unbound short printed literary work, and which would come to be used in the seventeenth century to indicate specifically popular printed material.[19] In fact, the dedication is more striking for what

---

[16] STC 1356.1, 1356.3.

[17] On the development of 'pleasure reading' and popular romance, see Lori Humphrey Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 8 ff.

[18] Herbert Gladstone Wright, *Boccaccio in England*, 109. On Verzelini, see his entry in the *ODNB*.

[19] The OED states "In the 17th cent. used variously of issues of plays, romances, chapbooks, etc., and also of newspapers and newsletters." Note also that the same term is used to describe the translation *Amorous Fiammetta* in the bookseller's dedication in that volume. On the striking correspondences in the *mise-en-page* between these two Boccaccio translations, see Chapter 3 of my forthcoming monograph.

it lacks than for what it says. The mention of the 'sundry Gentlemen' who had requested a translation of this book may indicate the historic circumstances of its commissioning, but could simply be a conventional dedicatory formula. It does however correspond to what we know of the actual readerships of popular prose in the late 1590s, a genre which, despite its stereotyped associations with women, was largely written by and for men.[20]

Once again, we notice a distinct difference between this book's marketing strategies and those of the other Boccaccio translations of the period. Here, there are no overt attempts to present the book according to the typical ways in which Boccaccio was valued in the second half of the sixteenth century; no references to Boccaccio the scholar or poet, and no implicit moralizing framework such as that found in other Boccaccio translations of the sixteenth century (as seen, for example, in the *Amorous Fiammetta*, where the text is presented on the title-page as a "caueat for all women to eschewe deceitfull and wicked Loue").[21] The interest of the text to the English audience is found entirely in its generic qualities as a Franco-Italian Continental romance, a "tragicall discourse" of two lovers, presented to a male friend of Italian origins, and intended for a readership of "sundry Gentlemen." In fact, if it was not for the mention of Boccaccio in the translated address to the reader which follows on the next page, we might wonder if Golburne even had any idea of the identity of the original author; as it is, this is not a feature which he (or the other agents involved in the book's production) sought to emphasize.

The next section of the book is the translator's address to the reader—the French translator's, that is. Since it is unsigned, Golburne translates the whole text into English, and thus is able to assume ownership/authorship by implication. This is the only part of the paratextual framework that seems to directly engage with the Boccaccian text, and with the processes of transformation from Italian verse to prose. The translator claims to have begun translating a part of the text for his own pleasure, rather than for glory, but persuaded by others, he completed it:

---

[20] On the association of women with the romance genre, female authors and female readerships (both historic and invented), see Helen Hackett's invaluable study *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[21] On the exemplary function of the *Amorous Fiammetta*, see my "Framing of Fiammetta."

> This small Treatise happening to my hands, formerlie compiled in Tuscan meeter, by M. Iohn Bocace a Florentine Poet, contayning a briefe discourse of loue, made by a young Flossolan sheepheard to one of Diana's Nimphs, their famous succession, with the of-spring of the Florentines, and the foundation of their Citty. I attempted to translate some part thereof, for mine owne recreation, more then any desire I had to publish the same: But since, at the earnest request of some (who had power to commaund me) I prosecuted my attempt to the end. (A2^{v})[22]

The address to the reader is then followed by a further prefatory text, whose title foregrounds a fictional amorous relationship between the author and his beloved, and by extension, an invented female reading public: "The Author desireth the favour of his Mistris in his ayde to the effecting of this Booke, and the like of all amorous Ladies for defence of his work, against the slaunderers thereof" (A3^{v}). This is in fact a translation of Guercin's Chapter 1, extracted from the source text and placed here out of sequence to serve as an authorial preface before the table of contents (A4–A4^{v}) and the commencement of the narrative proper with the start of the next quire (B).[23] Its physical 'translation' from the main text of the French book into the front-matter of the English one underlines the attempts of the English book producers to situate the work within as the amatory genre, and perhaps to recall a Pettie-like model of the author as seducer (itself wholly Boccaccian).[24]

Moving to the translation of the *Ninfale* itself, we must remember that it has therefore undergone a two-fold translation process: first from Italian verse into French prose, and then from French prose into English. Hauvette has suggested that the French translator first of all took a general view of the poem, then rendered it freely in sections of a regular length, which he made into nineteen chapters, with no attempt to render it stanza by stanza. Guercin does not translate all parts of the text, but varies the attention given to various parts of the action, amplifying the opening sections and abridging or even cutting whole stanzas during later parts of the text.[25] The structure and organizational devices found in the English

---

[22] The corresponding passage in the French source text is found at fols. a2$^{r\text{-}v}$.

[23] The title is a translation of the French rubric to Book 1: 'Icy l'Auteur souhette la grace de sa dame pour luy ayder a l'accomplissement de son liure, & inuoque la faveur des dames amoureuses pour defendre son oeuvre contre les mesdisans' [Here the author desires the grace of his lady to help him accomplish his book, and invokes the favour of amorous ladies to defend his book against malicious gossips] (a4^{r}).

[24] On George Pettie's gendered narrative strategies, see Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction*, 48–54.

[25] Henri Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions*, 45.

book (the divisions into its prose chapters, the numbering, the descriptive rubrics) are also derived from Guercin and/or those agents involved in the production of the French book, and Golburne simply translates the whole product into English.

Interestingly, both the style of the free translation and the new organizational paratexts created by Guercin have the effect of amplifying the sexual content of the source text.[26] The amorous hinterland of this text had been, of course, highlighted in the titles of the earliest Italian editions, where formulations along the lines of "Ninfale fiesolano damore" were common, but Guercin goes far beyond a simple titular repositioning in his French version.[27] What is left implied in Boccaccio's verse is spelled out in graphic detail in the prose rendering, starting with the superimposed chapter headings: for example, "African acoustré en grace forçà & rau[i]st finement son pucellage a la belle Mensolle contre sa volunté en la vallée de l'estang" [African, advantageously dressed, cunningly took the fair Mensolle by force and stole her virginity against her will in the valley of the pond] (g8^{r}), which becomes in the English: "How Affrican disguised as a Mayd, deflowered the faire Mensola vnwilling in the valley of the Pond" (G^{r}). The French prose retelling is more sensational than the original verse, lingering, for example, on the voyeurism of Africo spying on the nymphs and his living among them as a woman.

It is thus clear that Guercin's French translation represents a profound reorientation of Boccaccio's pastoral into the narrative codes of prose romance (both home-grown French chivalric forms, and the imported Iberian romances such as *Amadis de Gaule*). This can be seen in the narrative insistence on the erotic content, both at the syntactic level (e.g., in the stylized and conventional tropes of battering rams and forced entry to the castle for the pivotal rape scene) and in the deployment of many of the clichéd plot devices of romance (such as male cross-dressing, the miraculous birth and the foundation myth). The reworked narrative is then supported in the French edition by a suite of paratextual features which articulate this generic identity. And it is this version of the text—and more importantly, this *style* of book—that is recognized as having a potential audience in English translation, within the burgeoning field of popular printed English romances.

---

[26] On this, see Henri Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions*, 46–48.
[27] Ibid.

2. *Books within Books: A famous tragicall discourse and the Sammelband*

Part 1 of this essay has shown us that the sixteenth-century translation history of the *Ninfale fiesolano*, from Italian verse to English prose, is most usefully understood in terms of its textual and material history, and we have seen how each rendering has been substantially remade and reproposed in and for its different linguistic and production contexts. In Part 2, I shall approach the Boccaccian text from a different perspective, not as a stage in the history of the author's reception in English (and thereby foregrounding his author-function), but instead as one text among others collected in a composite book, the seventeenth-century *Sammelband* held in Worcester College Library.

A focus on this particular book-object offers a powerful way of reframing our understanding of early modern translation and reading practices, precisely because it is quite unusual to encounter a book of this type. It is not always realized that the early modern books which we encounter now as twenty-first-century readers have often themselves undergone major physical alterations during their long afterlives. In particular, the bibliomaniacal frenzy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century led many old composite books to be broken up and rebound as individual items, either for sale at auction, or within private or public libraries, with the net effect that relatively few examples of these contemporary collections now remain.[28] Furthermore, we are sometimes still not sufficiently attuned to the historicized practices of selection and organization that informed the collections in which we now meet these books, or to the ways in which these have governed—and continue to govern—our modern assumptions about the texts themselves.[29]

As a primary artefact of early modern reading practices, this *Sammelband* thus raises many questions: what are the compositional criteria which govern the creation of this mid-seventeenth century collection? Where is the value of the Boccaccian text located in this volume: in the author, or in its genre as a pastoral romance? What does it mean when Boccaccio is made to stand alongside these other works? And what

[28] Two valuable recent studies on this subject are Alexandra Gillespie, "Poets, Printers, and Early English *Sammelbände*," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67.2 (2004): 189–214, and Jeffrey Todd Knight, "Fast Bind, Fast Find: The History of the Book and the Modern Collection," *Criticism* 51.1 (2009): 79–104.

[29] Jeffrey Todd Knight, "Fast Bind," 95–96. He also reminds us that "historical objects and documents do not come down to us ready at hand, but through processes of selection and rationalization that are far from objective or value-free," 96.

can this tell us about early modern notions of print, translation and literature?

The *Famous tragicall discourse* is the final text of seven in this Worcester College fat quarto volume (Shelfmark LR: 4. 7), which measures approximately 150 × 186 × 45mm. The book is bound in leather, and has been rebound at some stage: the boards seem to be original, while the spine is slightly newer. On the spine are embossed the words "HISTORY OF PHEANDER AND OTHER TALES" and the date "1661."[30] The preservation of this book in the library of Worcester College provides us with a provenance history dating back to a named seventeenth-century reader. We know that the book was left to the college by the politician and architect George Clarke (1661–1736) on his death in 1736, and that it was previously in the possession of his father, Sir William Clarke (1623/4–1666), a prominent military administrator at the time of the English Civil War and later Secretary-at-War at the Restoration.[31] William Clarke's name is written on the title-page of the first text in the volume, *Pheander*, while it is his hand that lists the seven texts at the back of the book under the title "Histories in this Collection."[32] We can therefore safely state that these romances were collected together into a *Sammelband* at the time of William Clarke's ownership, and the making of these seven texts into a single volume can therefore be narrowed down to a specific period of time, between 1661, the publication date of the latest text in the volume, and 1666, the year of Clarke's death. However, it is unclear whether the texts were in this binding during Clarke's lifetime, or if they were bound or rebound while in his son's possession. George Clarke's ownership of the book after his father's death is indicated by his bookplate on the inside back cover of the volume.

All the texts in the volume, including *A Famous tragicall discourse*, share similar design features. They are all printed in quarto format, with the 'story' set in black letter type. The title-pages tend to use a range of different types and sizes, intermingling capitals and lower case, and italic and roman, while their prefatory paratexts tend to be printed in roman or

---

[30] This label is newer than the spine itself, while the date given seems simply to have been derived from the title-page of the first text in the volume. Henceforth, this book will be referred to as the "Pheander" volume.

[31] See Timothy Clayton, "Clarke, George," and Frances Henderson, "Clarke, Sir William," in the *ODNB*. On the history and accessions of the college library, see C.H. Wilkinson, "Worcester College Library," *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings & Papers* I (1927): 263–320.

[32] I am grateful to Dr Joanna Parker for her assistance in identifying the various hands in the volume.

italic, providing a contrast with the standardized blackletter used for the narrative. A number of the texts have woodcut illustrations in their frontmatter or on their title-pages.[33] In fact, these material features of size, typography, and illustration are an immediate marker of their genre as prose fictions, as both imported translated Continental romances and home-grown English ones were published in this quarto format from the sixteenth century onwards.[34]

In all cases, the title-pages of the texts in this *Sammelband* offer discursive summaries of the content, and often an indication of the text's diversionary or exemplary function. In order, they read:

1. The famous History of PHEANDER the Maiden Knight, how Disguised under the habite and Name of Armativs a Marchant, he forsooke his Kingdome of *Carmania* for the Love of Amoretta, the most Incomparable Princesse of *Trebisond*. Whose Love by his matchless Valour and haughty attempts in Armes, he at the last obtained, and was afterwards made King of *Trebisond*. Together with a true Narration of the rare fidelity of his Tutor *Machaon*, who had travelled through divers Kingdomes in the pursuance of him, and the Counsels which they joyntly entertained for his Repossession into his Ancient, and native Kingdome of *Carmania. Intermixed with many pleasant Discourses, wherein the Graver sort may take delight, and the Youthfull be encouraged by honourable and worthy adventures to gaine Fame.* London, printed by Thomas Favvcet, and are to bee sold by *Fr. Coles*, at his Shop at the signe of the Lamb in the Old-Baily, 1661. (WING R1597A)[35]
2. The Renowned History of FRAGOSA King of ARAGON; and His three Sonnes: or, The mirrour of Magnamity, and Cupid's Conquest. *shewing*, The strange Adventures, heroical Exploits, and admirable Atchievements, of the three magnanimous princes; Dorosa, Feraro, and Pleudippo. Together with the worthy presidents of Love, in the three vertuous and unparalel'd Ladies; Albina, Flermia, and Lucibella.

[33] The Boccaccian text has no woodcuts of its own, although the title-page benefits from a facing page illustration of a knight on horseback, printed on the verso side of the last-page of *Cleocreton*. There appears to have been an attempt to place the illustrations between the various texts in the book.

[34] Lori Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance*, 2.

[35] *Pheander* has two title-pages: the first a half-title with woodcut illustration, reading "PHEANDER THE MAYDEN-KNIGHT *OR*, LOVES HEROICK CHAMPION," which is signed by William Clarke.

Right pleasant for the Aged to drive away melancholly, and profitable for Youth, to behold the often variations of the fickle world. In Two Parts. *Written*, by W.C. *Gent*. London, Printed by E. Alsop, over against the Upper Pump in Grubstreet. 1656. (WING C166)[36]

3. The Most Pleasant History of ORNATUS and ARTESIA. shewing, The Tyrannical and Wicked Reign of Thœon King of *Phrygia*; Who having slain his lawful Soveraign, Usurped the Kingdom, and grieviously oppressed the People, was afterwards murthered by one of his own Servants. With the manner of his Son's Lenon's falling in love with the beautiful *Artesia*, his several strange and unheard of Plots contrived to attain his Desires, and the miseries she endured thereby; till by the Prudence, Valour and Fortitude of *Ornatus*, she was set at Liberty. Also, How by the assistance of the King of Armenia, and the Policy of *Phylastes, Ornatus* recovered the Kingdom (to which he was right Heir) and afterwards he and *Artesia* (being Royally married together) crowned King and Queen of *Phrygia. The Fifth Edition; Exactly corrected and amended*. London, Printed by *E. Alsop*, dwelling near the Upper Pump in *Grubstreet*. 1656. (WING 1541aA)
4. THE HISTORIE OF TITANA, AND THESEVS. Very pleasant for age to avoide drowsie thoughts: profitable for youth to avoide wanton pastimes: so that to both *it brings the mindes content. Written by W. Bettie*. *london* Printed for *Robert Bird*, and are to be sold at his shop in *St Laurence Lane*, at the Signe of the Bible, 1636. (STC 1981)
5. The Pleasant HISTORY of Dorastus and Favvnia. Pleasant for Age to shun drowsie Thoughts, profitable for Youth to avoyd other wanton Pastimes, and bringing to Both a desired Content. By *Robert Green*, Master of Arts in *Cambridge*. *london*: Printed for *Samuel Speed*, at the Printing-Press in *Paul*'s Churchyard, and are to be sold by *Charls Tyus*, at the three Bibles on *London* Bridge. 1660. (WING G1834a)
6. The Famous and Delectable HISTORY of Cleocreton & Cloryana; Wherein is set forth The Noble and Heroick Actions of Cleocreton Prince of *Hungary*, His Wonderful and Warlike Atchievements in sundry Kingdoms. Herein is also declared, His constant love to the most beautiful Princess Cloryana, the onely Daughter of the Emperor of

[36] The author, W.C., has not been identified. This 1656 edition is a reprint; the first extant edition, in two parts, appeared in two separate parts in 1618 (STC 4319, 4320). Once again the main text is set in blackletter, with paratextual material (rubrics, verse, titles, etc) in roman or italic.

Persia. London, Printed by J. *B*. for *Charls Tyus*, at the three Bibles on *London*-Bridge. (WING C121)[37]

7. A Famous tragicall discourse of two louers, Affrican, and Mensola, their lives infortunate loues, and lamentable deaths, together with the offspring of the Florentines. *A History no leße pleasant then full of recreation and delight*. Newly translated out of Tuscan into French by Anthony Guerin, domino Creste. And out of French into English by Io. Goubourne. AT LONDON Printed by *Ia. R*. for William Blackman dwelling neere the great North doore of Paules. 1597. (STC 3184.4)

Seeing the title-page of the Boccaccio translation alongside the other components of this composite book allows us to speculate on its mid-seventeenth categorization, and the thematic or other concerns which governed the compilation of the volume. *A famous tragicall discourse* is the last work in the volume, and its concluding placement here may be significant in itself. It may suggest that this text was conceptualized as the culminating example of these sensational romances, or quite the opposite, that it is an afterthought or appendage to the other texts, somehow different from them by virtue of its status as a translation. The Boccaccio text is the only one to be printed in the sixteenth century, and so it may have been put at the end for simple chronological reasons. Its title, too, shows a degree of difference: all the other texts are announced as 'Histories' (Famous, Renowned, Pleasant, and Delectable), while this is a 'Discourse,' albeit a 'Famous and tragicall' one.[38] In other respects, though, the title of the Boccaccio translation does cohere with the others: the first two romances have single named male protagonists, while the other five have pairs of named lovers.

The texts also show substantial further correspondences, not only in genre and plot devices, but also in their originating contexts and date of composition. Four of the seven were first published in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, and enjoyed on-going popularity and republication into the seventeenth century, and even beyond in some cases.

---

[37] This work also appears as STC 4302. Its date of 1665 is conjectured. Interestingly, both copies reproduced in EEBO from the Huntington Library volumes include a frontispiece full page woodcut illustration, entitled 'The Portraiture of the Renowned Cleoreton and the vertuous Cloriana' and showing a crowned King and Queen, the King holding a heart pierced by an arrow. In the Worcester College copy, this illustration has been bound elsewhere in the volume, interleaved into the front-matter of *Ornatus and Artesia*.

[38] Margaret Spufford, cited in Newcomb, has shown that by the later seventeenth century, the term 'histories' was used by booksellers to "denominate longer books in quarto," with the term designating price, not genre (Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance*, 267, n. 3).

Pheander, the mayden-knight (London: T. Creede, 1595) was written by Henry Roberts, identified on the title-page of this first edition only as "H.R." (STC 21086), although not named at all on either the title-page of the 1617 edition (STC 21087) or that of the 1661 one (WING R1597A).[39] *The Renowned History of Fragosa King of Aragon* was written by 'W.C. *Gent*.,' who has not been identified; its debt to the Iberian romances can be clearly seen in its titular protagonist, the King of Aragon. The third text is an edition of Emanuel Forde's *Ornatus and Artesia*, although the author is unidentified on the title page by this stage in its print fortune. Emanuel Forde was a prolific writer of 'derivative and formulaic romances,' active c. 1585–99, whose work remained very popular even into the eighteenth century.[40] The first edition of *Ornatus and Artesia* was published around 1599, and this is the fifth reprint.[41] The fourth book to be included is William Bettie's *Titana and Theseus*, closely derived from the text that follows it in the volume, Robert Greene's *Dorastus and Fawnia*.[42] These are the only two works in the *Sammelband* to bear an author's name on the title-page. Greene was the preeminent writer of popular prose fiction and drama of the 1580s and early 1590s, and *Dorastus and Fawnia* is the title by which his most famous work, *Pandosto* (first published 1585), was known after 1635.[43] The title-page also contains an additional explicative paratext in the form of a large woodcut illustration, first added to the text in the 1648 edition.[44] A couple, the titular protagonists, are depicted holding

[39] Roberts was an author of "verses and pamphlets celebrating maritime expeditions and skirmishes … elegies, occasion pieces, and romances" according to Helen Moore, "Roberts [Robarts], Henry," in the *ODNB*.

[40] Helen Hackett notes that Forde's romances "read … like compendiums of the more pornographic episodes from the *Arcadia* and the Iberian romances, and within this, it is notable that Forde finds the imprisonment and beating of the princesses especially congenial to recycling," *Women and Romance Fiction*, 128.

[41] On Forde's writings, see Helen Moore's entry in the *ODNB*. The 1656 edition described above is not included in EEBO, but others are, including the 1599 first edition (STC 11168). See also Helmut Bonheim, "Emanuel Forde: *Ornatus and Artesia*," *Anglia* 90 (1972), 43–59, where he notes another occurrence of *Ornatus* and *Pheander* being bound together in a volume in the British Library (48).

[42] Lori Newcomb states that "Bettie's *Titana and Theseus* lifts its plot, much of its narration, and even its title-page motto directly from *Pandosto*," *Reading Popular Romance*, 82.

[43] For a biography of Greene, see Lori Newcomb's entry in the *ODNB*. Newcomb discusses the retitling of *Pandosto* and the history of the work's print fortune in *Reading Popular Romance,* 111–17, while a considered reappraisal of Greene's whole output is found in Katherine Wilson, *Fictions of Authorship in Late Elizabethan Narratives: Euphues in Arcadia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). On the paratextual association of Boccaccio's translated works with Greene's writings, see my "The Framing of Fiammetta."

[44] Lori Newcomb discusses the Royalist associations of this image, *Reading Popular Romance*, 114–17.

hands, while behind them a baby in a basket floats down a river and a shepherdess looks on from a hill. More than any of the other texts in this collection, this text (and its material presentation) strongly suggests plot similarities with the Boccaccio translation *Affrican and Mensola*. The sixth work to be included in the volume is the undated and anonymously-authored romance *Cleocreton and Cloryana*. Interestingly, the author of this text is either female or pretending to be, since the Dedication is addressed 'To her Discerning and most Knowing Brother, Mr E.C.,' and signed 'S.C.' This work is then followed by *A famous tragicall discourse*, which closes the volume.

The translation of the *Ninfale fiesolano* is therefore situated physically and ideologically within the main strains of popular literary production of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century: products of the same taste for chivalric, 'Iberian'-style romance which provided the impetus for the translation of the *Nymphal Flossolan* into English.[45] The texts collected here form part of an extensive canon of popular prose fictions, emerging in the late sixteenth century and subsequently reissued and repackaged throughout the seventeenth century. It is too simplistic to explain the decline in the status of romance by attributing it solely to the broadening of the readership and the cheapening of the product over this period, yet it is clear that what was fashionable in the 1580s and 1590s was decidedly not so a few decades later. None the less, we now know that, despite their decline in status, prose romances continued to be read by a mixed readership and enjoyed by both elite and less-educated readers well into the mid-seventeenth century. The presence of this book in the collection of Sir William Clarke can therefore be used to demonstrate the ownership of such books by a highly literate, but non-literary-specialist audience.[46]

---

[45] On these Iberian romances, see Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction*, 55–75. Much work has been done recently on Elizabethan prose romances and print culture; as well as Lori Newcomb's above-mentioned *Reading Popular Romance*, see, for example, Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003) and Steve Mentz, *Romance for Sale in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). For a stimulating introduction to the translation of Continental romances, see Helen Moore, "Ancient and Modern Romances," in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol. 2*, 333–46.

[46] The wider questions of class, literacy and readerships of romance are beyond the scope of this essay, but on notions of 'elite' and 'popular' in relation to historic popular romance readerships, see Lori Newcomb's "Introduction" to *Reading Popular Romance*. For a study of the various formats of cheap print and the ways in which they circulated in seventeenth-century England, see Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981).

George Clarke's 1736 bequest to Worcester College supplied an extraordinarily rich—and extensive—collection, which is important not only for its range of books and papers, but also for its status as an archive representing the early modern collection and reading practices of two generations of a single family.[47] From the accession records, we are able to reconstruct more of William's reading tastes. He seems to have particularly favoured contemporary mid-seventeenth-century literature, although some of his books date from the sixteenth century (in particular theological works), and his library included a considerable quantity of plays, and an extensive collection of seventeenth-century pamphlets of "about 150 quarto volumes and a few folio volumes."[48] The pamphlets "comprise much of the popular literature of the seventeenth century down to the Restoration, with the addition of some other pieces of a more ambitious nature, including plays, which would appeal to a gentleman of education [...] sermons, petitions, proclamations, speeches, litanies, characters, accounts of battles, prophecies, complaints, &c."[49]

As we already know from the presence of this *Sammelband* in the Clarke bequest, William's collection also included a number of English seventeenth-century popular romances, all in the same quarto format as the bulk of the pamphlet collection.[50] Wilkinson notes eighteen of these in the Worcester collection: *"Euphues, Clodoaldus, Tom a Lincolne, Ornatus and Artesia, Reynard the Fox, Pheander, Fragosa, Titania* [sic] *and Theseus, Dorastus and Fawnia, Cloacretin* [sic] *and Cloryanda* [sic], *Parismus, Palmendos, Don Bellianis of Greece, Valentine and Orson, Montelion, The Seven Champions of Christendom."* It is possible to reconstruct which of these editions belonged to William, rather than his son, in order to situate this *Sammelband*—and by extension, the Boccaccio translation – in his wider personal library.

There are four romance *Sammelbände* in total, three of which are presented as books of the same size, with similar binding and naming conventions for the spine title of each. To judge from the dates of publication,

---

47 "George Clarke inherited a large library from his father. To this he added, and though neither he nor his father bought illuminated manuscripts or had any particular interest in early printed books, the library which reached Worcester in 1736 must at that time have been one of the half-dozen richest private collections in England." C.H. Wilkinson, "Worcester College Library," 271.

48 C.H. Wilkinson, "Worcester College Library," 280. For a detailed description of William Clarke's books, see 270 ff.

49 C.H. Wilkinson, "Worcester College Library," 280.

50 C.H. Wilkinson, "Worcester College Library," 283.

all three seem to have been compiled around the same period, between 1659 and 1666. The first is the "Pheander" volume, with the Boccaccio translation (Shelfmark LR: 4.7); the second is labelled on the spine "THE HISTORY OF PARISMUS, PALMEDOS AND DON BELLIANIS | 1661" (henceforth, the "Parismus" volume), containing *The Most Famous, Delectable and Pleasant History of Parismus, The most Renowned Prince of Bohemia*, parts I and II (1661), *The famous History of Palmendos son to the most Renowned Palmerin D'Oliva* (1653) and *The Honour of Chivalry. Or the famous and delectable History of Don Bellianis of Greece* (1650) (Shelfmark LR: 4:8); and the last is labelled "VALENTINE & ORSON AND OTHER HISTORIES | 1659" (henceforth, the "Valentine" volume) and contains *Valentine and Orson, The Two Sonnes of the Emperour of Greece* (1659), *The Famous History of Montelion Knight of the Oracle and Son to the most Renowned Persicles, King of Assiria* (1658), *The Most Pleasant History of Tom A Lincoln, That ever renowned souldier* (1655), *The Famous History of the Seven Champions of Christendom* (Part I), and Part 2, *The Famous History of the Seven Champions of Christendom …. Likewise Shewing the Princely Prowesse, Noble Atchievements, and strange Fortunes of Saint George's three Sonnes, the lively Sparks of Nobility* (Part 2, both parts undated) (Shelfmark LR: 4:3) Between them, these three volumes contain all but three of the eighteen romances listed by Wilkinson.[51] Two of these three romance *Sammelbände* bear William Clarke's marks of ownership: the previously-discussed "Pheander" and "Valentine" volume.[52] In both, his name is inscribed on the title-page of the first tale in the volume, with a concluding table of contents, titled "Histories in the Collection," on the last leaf in the book. The absence of his name on the title-pages of the other texts in each *Sammelband* suggests that they were not in his library as separate items before being bound together. The "Parismus" volume does not contain a handwritten list of contents within it, as do the other two, but one is pasted onto the inside cover of the volume, in an unknown hand. This volume also lacks a Clarke bookplate, and so we are not able to say with certainty

[51] Of Wilkinson's eighteen romances listed above, *Euphues* and *Reynard the Fox* show no provenance link to the Clarke family, while all the others are contained in these four *Sammelbände*.

[52] There is also evidence that William's son George read the "Valentine" volume at a young age: his signature "Georgius Clarke suum librum 1669" appears in a rather unsteady hand on the recto of the first leaf in the volume after the modern endpapers. This must have been written three years after his father died, when he was seven or eight years old. Of the three larger romance volumes, this is the only one to contain extensive woodcut illustrations of the chivalric narrative, set within *Valentine and Orson*, and so may have been particularly appealing to a younger reader of adventure stories.

whether it belonged to William or his son, but the physical similarities between this volume and the other two *Sammelbände* which bear his signature do suggest an early association between the three volumes.

The fourth romance *Sammelband* in the collection is a noticeably slimmer volume, with a different binding. The spine has been labelled in the same way as the other three romance volumes (albeit with a green, not red label) and is titled "ADVENTURES OF CLODOALDUS &c." with the date 1634 (Shelfmark LR: 4:4). The binding has three gold stamped ornaments in the centre of the front cover and the initials 'C' and 'P' with a decorative device in between. The first page of the first text bears William Clarke's signature, as do the "Pheander" and "Valentine" volumes. This "Clodoaldus" volume contains three romances, two of which are earlier editions of texts contained in the other *Sammelbände*: *A Saxon Historie of The Admirable Adventures of Clodoaldvs and his Three Children. Translated out of French, by Sr. T.H.* (1634); *The Most Pleasant History of Tom A Lincolne* (1635); and *The Most Pleasant History of Ornatus and Artesia* (1634). The earlier dates of publication and the personalized binding stamped with other initials suggest that this *Sammelband* was made up for a previous owner before coming into William Clarke's possession, and one possible identification of the owner is King Charles II when he was Prince of Wales.[53] Clarke may have acquired his collection of royal books when the royal library was sold off in the 1650s. We know that after the Restoration, he was asked to deliver back to the crown various of the King's goods, including "fifty-six books of Greek and Latin" as well as pictures and furniture. He claimed he had long before disposed of the goods in Scotland, but offered to pay £20 in compensation.[54] If this royal book did indeed come into his possession in the 1650s, this would be roughly contemporaneous with the dates of some of the printed texts which are contained in his other romance *Sammelbände*.

In conclusion, then, what can the presence of this Boccaccio translation, in this book, in this library, tell us about translation, print and culture in Britain in the early modern period? First of all, that translation can be understood as a series of material practices, which shape the dissemination of texts between different linguistic cultures in different times and spaces. The history of this book-object gives us a window onto those

[53] I am very grateful to Dr Joanna Parker and colleagues for this suggestion, and the supporting documentary evidence in footnote 55.

[54] *Report on the manuscripts of F.W. Leybourne-Popham Esq., of Littlecote, Co. Wilts* (Norwich: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, 1889), 194.

transactions at different temporal moments: in Lyon in 1556, when Boccaccio's verse pastoral is turned into prose and published as a generic erotic romance; in London in 1597, when the French *Nymphal Flossolan* is Englished as part of the wave of imported Continental fiction and home-grown popular romance; or the 1660s, when *Affrican and Mensola* is bound in with other, similar stories to create a collection of popular histories. William Clarke's *Sammelbände* may be early examples of the development of a classificatory culture towards the literatures (and books) of the past, a deliberate gathering and ordering of 'histories' and romances in order to create an anatomy of popular culture seen from a distance.[55]

Unarguably, though, the further we move away from the Boccaccio translation itself, into the book in which it is housed, then into the wider collection, the more diluted his authorial importance becomes. Boccaccio's text (like *Clodoaldus*, the only other translated text in this collection) is dissolved into the generic. While the value of the 1556 French translation, the *Nymphal Flossolan*, is still bound up in Boccaccio's status as an author, even if the verse form of the work is lost, by 1597 the English translation is a textual production which sees no need to advertise the author's identity on the title page, preferring instead to signal its associations with popular prose genres. In the 1660s, *Affrican and Mensola*'s relegation to the end of the "Pheander" volume further neutralizes Boccaccio's historic specificity, and he is virtually lost from sight when we see this work situated within the collection of romances held in the four *Sammelbände*. While our interest nowadays in this translated text is probably governed by its status as a rare early translation of a work by one of the great figures in the canon of world literature, the book-object itself tells a very different—but no less instructive—story.

[55] The inveterate romance reader (and bookseller and translator) Francis Kirkman, for example, provides lists of romances in his translation of *Don Bellianis of Greece* (1671), staged as a reading-list for those wishing to explore the genre, and in his autobiographical work *The Unlucky Citizen* (1673), while Samuel Pepys compiles his collection of chapbooks in the 1680s. On Kirkman, see Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance*, 63–71 and Lori Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance*, 150–56; on Pepys, see Lori Newcomb, 156–61, and Margaret Spufford, *Small Books*, Chapter 6.

PART THREE

INSTRUCTION THROUGH TRANSLATION

VERSIFYING PHILOSOPHY: THOMAS BLUNDEVILLE'S PLUTARCH

Robert Cummings

Thomas Blundeville's *Three morall treatises* appeared under William Seres' imprint in 1561.[1] The title-page gives a basic account of its "no lesse pleasaunt than necessary" three parts: "the one is called *The learned prince*, the other *The fruites of foes*, the thyrde *The porte of rest*." It gives no indication of authorship, which is revealed only in the dedicatory poems that separately preface all three "treatises". Nor is there any indication in the title that the works are translations. The fact that there is no pagination and that the register of signatures is separate for each of the constituent "treatises" may suggest they were only brought together as an afterthought. The volume is a collection united, if it is united at all, by some undeclared principle. All three works are translations from pieces in Plutarch's *Moralia*, and the Greek originals and the Latin intermediaries that Blundeville used are all in prose. The most obvious characteristic of the volume is that two of its component parts are in verse. These two, *The learned prince* and *The fruites of foes*, are the focus of this essay.

The order of these pieces in the volume probably reverses their order of composition. *The port of rest* was written first. Though the dedication to John Astley "mayster of the Queenes maiestyes Jewell house" and John Harington was certainly finalized after 1558 when Astley became Master of the Jewel House, the essay itself is well adapted to the disillusion that would have been appropriate to the period around 1550 when both Astley and Harington got themselves involved in Seymour's plan to marry Elizabeth and found themselves in the Tower. Harington's translation of Cicero's *De amicitia* belongs to 1550, when he found his imprisonment an "exempcion from the world, to be a contempt of vanitees: and in the ende quietnes of mind."[2] Its title may allude to Francis Bryan's translation of

---

[1] *Three* [*morall*] *treatises, no lesse pleasau*[*nt*] *than necessary for all men to read*[*e,*] *wherof the one is called the learned prince, the other the fruites of foes, the thyrde the porte of rest* (London: William Seres,1561) (STC 20063.5). The title-page of the only surviving copy (Huntington Library) is mutilated. The 1580 printing by Henry Denham (STC 20064) is almost as rare as the first. A.H. Bullen's old *DNB* article records printings in 1568 and 1609, now untraceable.

[2] John Harington, *The booke of freendeship of Marcus Tullie Cicero* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1550), A2^{v}.

Guevara, writing of Pericles' retirement: "I haue founde the porte of rest [*puerto de holganza*], fye of hope, and fortune farewell."[3] *The fruits of foes* was the first of the two verse translations, written (and possibly printed with or without the dedication to Queen Elizabeth) no later than 1558 when it was licensed to Richard Tottel. It was in any case current before 1561, for Jasper Heywood commends it in the catalogue of English writing in his 1560 version of Seneca's *Thyestes*: "And there [among the poets of the Inns of Court] the gentle Blunduille is by name and eke by kynde, | Of whome we learne by Plutarches lore, what frute by Foes to fynde."[4] Blundeville also refers to it in his dedicatory poem prefacing *The learned prince*, his verse "[p]resuminge of the fauor whyche she fownde," as he puts it, "When that she sange, what fruites of foes myght ryse."[5] A manuscript presentation under copy survives under Erasmus' less tendentious Latin title *In principe requiri doctrinam* (BL MS Royal 18 A, XLIII).

Plutarch wrote in Greek, and he was indeed quite self-consciously Greek; however, he was also of course a Roman citizen and Blundeville met him in modern Latin. *The port of rest,* which rounds up the collection, although as we said written first, was translated into English prose from Budé's Latin translation. Blundeville acknowledges his source as Budé's 1505 *De tranquillitate et securitate animi* (*Moralia* 464E–477F) ($A4^v$); it had earlier been Wyatt's.[6] For the two verse translations he went to Erasmus' versions. *The learned prince,* which appears first in the volume, is translated and politely retitled from Erasmus' *In principe requiri doctrinam* (the Greek is Plutarch's *Moralia* 779D–782F); *The fruits of foes* is translated from Erasmus' *Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem* (*Moralia* 86 B–92F).[7] These first appeared in a collection of eight translated "essays" put out by Froben in 1514 and much reprinted. Some of them, including the two picked up by Blundeville, appeared sometimes as an appendix to

---

[3] Francis Bryan, *A dispraise of the life of a courtier* (London: Richard Grafton, 1548), M 6v. On the currency of the epigram see R.H. Smith, " A Well-Known Epitaph," *N&Q* ser 9, 2 (1899): 41–2.

[4] John Heywood, *The seconde tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1560) $*8^r$.

[5] *Three morall treatises*, $A3^r$.

[6] Guillaume Budé, *De tranquillitate et securitate animi* (Paris: Josse Badius Ascensius, 1505); *Tho. wyatis translatyon of Plutarckes boke, of the quyete of mynde* (London: R. Pynson, 1528).

[7] Erasmus' translations from Plutarch are edited by A.J. Koster as "Ex Plutarcho Versa," in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*, 9 vols (Amsterdam and New York: North-Holland, 1977), vol. 4, t. 2, 101–322. All references are to this edition and are found in parentheses in the text.

the *Institutio principis Christiani*.[8] Other of Erasmus' translations from Plutarch appeared later, including the 1525 the *De curiositate* (printed with the Greek text), which was Queen Elizabeth's source for her own verse or quasi-verse translation done some thirty years later.[9] Erasmus presented Plutarch as a writer relevant to modern princes: his version of *In principe requiri doctrinam* appeared in a volume dedicated to Henry VIII; his *Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem* was dedicated to Wolsey. Erasmus' Plutarch was morally immediate, easily accommodated to a tradition of advice books for great men. And so was Blundeville's Plutarch. The political bias of his selection and its dedication encourages Schurink's view that their occasion was Elizabeth's accession in 1558.[10]

To this public function of the publication I shall return. However, there is a private dimension to the composition to which I want to turn first. Blundeville seems to disavow any but the formal occasion of New Year and presents his translations to Elizabeth (though not to Astley and Harington) as *strenae* or New Year's gifts. Peculiarly, Erasmus seems to regard this as an English habit.[11] Far from being specifically English, it was most strenuously practised in France: Marot sent forty-one *estreines* to court ladies in the New Year of 1541; Charles Fontaine's *Estreines* of 1546 are addressed to more than seventy-five people.[12] This is not to say that such gifts are inevitably trivial. New Year, especially for princes, may well be a time of moral strenuousness. But what emerges from Schurink's article on the origins of Blundeville's translations, and what ties the three essays together, is their common source in a reading community actual or imagined whose focus is Elizabeth and whose guiding spirit is Ascham, Elizabeth's tutor from the late 1540s. The actual community included Astley, who had been Elizabeth's tutor in the middle 1540s and who recalls in a letter to Ascham their "frendly fellowship" and "our pleasant studies in reading together" with Elizabeth at Hatfield, and it may have included Harington.[13] The jokey verses that Ascham contributes to Blundeville's *Fruit of foes* (A2^{r}) argue an easy relationship with Blundeville himself and, since they immediately

---

[8] See Koster's introduction to "Ex Plutarcho Versa," 106–7.

[9] In *Elizabeth I: Translations 1592–1598,* ed. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 369–447.

[10] Fred Schurink, "Print, Patronage, and Occasion: Translations of Plutarch's *Moralia* in Tudor England," *YES* 38 (2008): 86–101.

[11] Desiderius Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami,* ed. P.S. Allen, 12 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906–58), Vol. 1, No. 1, 8.

[12] The examples are from Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 38.

[13] Schurink, "Print, Patronage, and Occasion," 98.

precede the latter's dedicatory verse to Elizabeth (A2v), an easy one with her. In the dedicatory verse to *The learned prince* (A2^{r}), Elizabeth is reckoned already familiar with Plutarch: "this Boke, your highnes oft hath redde, | In Grekyshe prose." She is offered a reminder of something more like an extended social occasion or a social practice. This gives Blundeville's contribution to the large body of advices to princes a distinctly private dimension. He offers a stylistic experiment that Ascham and she herself would appreciate. His translation is not an aid to understanding the "Grekyshe prose" since Elizabeth well enough understands it already. It is offered as a transformation of the original into something else, a specimen of what Ascham calls "metaphrase," a kind of exercise that is "all one with *Paraphrasis*, saue it is out of verse, either into prose, or into some other kinde of meter: or els, out of prose into verse."[14] Though he distrusts it, he canvasses its use as a stylistic exercise – and one that Elizabeth was educated in. Few obviously academic examples survive, perhaps none in English: a mid-seventeenth-century school manual gives examples from the neo-Latin poet Gaspar Barlaeus versifying passages from Livy and Sallust.[15] Metaphrase, however, has an old pedigree: it was, Ascham says, the dying Socrates' pastime to translate Aesop's *Fables* into verse. Used this way, it is quite without pretensions. As Plato reports the story, Socrates' versifying answers rather desperately an imagined obligation to distinguish himself in some area other than philosophy.[16] Cicero, also cited by Ascham, advises against the cultivation of prose based on the poets, but he has nothing to say of verse based on prose.[17] Its educational value is in the practice of stylistic virtuosity. It transforms an original, almost at the original's expense: "we may specially select certain thoughts and recast them in the greatest variety of forms," says Quintilian, "just as a sculptor will fashion a number of different images from the same piece of wax."[18]

Plutarch submits to this treatment because he is like a guest at one of the literary house parties presided over by Ascham. He can serve as a counsellor to princes with the authority of antiquity, "Scholemaister and Counsailour" says John Hales translating the *De tuenda sanitate praecepta*,

---

[14] Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: John Day, 1579), 39^{v}.

[15] Thomas Horne, *Cheiragogia, sive Manuductio in aedem Palladis quâ italissima methodus authores bonos legendi indigitatur* (London: Robert Young, 1641), 115–16.

[16] Plato, *Phaedo*, 60D.

[17] *De oratore*, 1.34.154; *Brutus*, 55.203.

[18] *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, ed. H.E. Butler, 4 vols (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), Vol. 4, 10.5.9.

"vnto the most vertuously disposed Emperoure of all Gentiles *Traianus.*"[19] But he is a modern writer, one of us. The number and range of translations is well documented.[20] The priest at Delphi, which Plutarch was, became a spokesman for Christian humanist culture. Even the Spanish translators of Plutarch writing in a culture often intent on "depaganization" of pagan classics, found in Plutarch a writer easily accommodated to their Catholicism. Sometimes Blundeville defies orthodoxy by rejecting the doctrine of God's immanence in favour of Platonic transcendence: "Of god some would a mixture make | and hyde hym theare [sc. in matter] which is full straunge" (*The learned prince,* B4^{r}). But he takes the strangeness in his stride: Erasmus had said only that the idea of God dwelling in matter is "nec consentaneum neque decens."

Plutarch is easy and familiar, a writer "who of all the authors I know," says Montaigne in his essay *Of Coaches*, "hath best commixt arte with nature, and coupled judgement with learning" and whom he took as his own literary model.[21] Quentin Metsys paints a diptych with an anxious and wide-eyed Peter Gilles close to his copy of Plutarch, facing his friend and mentor Erasmus. The portrait of Plutarch in André Thevet's *Vrais pourtraicts* shows an amiably distracted scholar, one hand holding a book open, the other clutching his brow. He is very ordinary. He writes letters to his friends: the "treatise" behind Blundeville's *Fruits of foes* is a letter to Cornelius Pulcher, developed from a remark in Xenophon and recycled apparently from a lecture. He explains his own casualness. Asked by his friend Paccius for some wise words on spiritual tranquillity (and some others on obscure places in the *Timaeus*), he discovers he has no time and sends *faute de mieux* some notes randomly collected previously for his private use. Dedicating his *Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem* to Wolsey in 1514, Erasmus writes that Greece has produced nothing "neque doctius neque venustius." Plutarch is "venustus"—he has charm.[22]

---

[19] John Hales, *The preceptes of the excellent clerke & graue philosopher Plutarche for the preseruation of good healthe* (London: Richard Grafton, 1543), *5^{v}. André Thevet, in *Les vraies pourtraicts et vies des hommes illvstres grecz, latins, et payens* (Paris: G. Chaudière, 1584), also makes much of Plutarch's role as Trajan's praeceptor (90^{v}–91^{v}).

[20] See especially Schurink, "Print, Patronage, and Occasion," and for the content, Robert Aulotte, *Amyot et Plutarque: la tradition des « moralia » au XVIe siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1965); Alicia Morales Ortiz, *Plutarco en España: traducciones de Moralia en el siglo XVI* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2000).

[21] John Florio, *Essays written in French by Michael Lord of Montaigne* (London: Melch. Bradwood for Edward Blount and William Barret, 1613), 504.

[22] Koster, "Ex Plutarcho Versa," 169.

It is hardly true in the event, but not inconceivable, that Blundeville aims to be charming, a quality easily transmissible in Tudor English. The most famous early characterisation of Plutarch's style in English is in the advertisement to Wyatt's *Quyete of mynde* (perhaps by Wyatt, perhaps by his printer Richard Pynson): the readers are asked to indulge a charmless and difficult "shorte maner of speche" for the sake of the pleasure that will follow on understanding when it eventually comes.[23] Wyatt's immediately following dedicatory letter to Queen Catherine excuses the "rudeness" of his style as a consequence of "seking rather the profite of the sentence than the nature of the wordes," a supposedly Plutarchan attention to matter that he contrasts with Petrarch's "plentuous diuersite of the spekyng" on a single topic, impossible to reproduce in English "for lacke of suche diuersyte in out tong." It was the poverty of the stylistic resources of English, Wyatt says, that moved him to abandon the translation of Petrarch's *De remediis* that the Queen had commissioned him to write, and taken instead to translate Plutarch. He is of course talking here not about Plutarch but about Budé, whose Latin is notably difficult. According to Ascham, Budé writes "roughlie and obscurelie" and is complacently and excessively unCiceronian, and on his own account of the matter inadequate to the variety of Plutarch's Greek.[24] Wyatt found Budé's Latin difficult because of its concision or abruptness, but he evidently found in Budé's pared down Latin something more manageable as well as more profitable than Petrarch's "diuerste".

Blundeville, too, in his dedicatory verses to Astley and Harington, found Budé's Latin hard to "turne into our vulguer speche" and characterized it as "more grave than gaye."[25] Budé's Plutarch is a more or less dry recorder or abridger of opinions and observations on various topics with a style, as Amyot puts it in the Preface to the *Lives*, "rather sharpe, learned, and short, than plaine, polished and easie."[26] Indeed, Plutarch's Restoration translator Matthew Morgan suggests that Plutarch's "way was that of Common-Place-Book;" but Morgan also acknowledges that such commonplace-book habits of composition may make Plutarch appear "like a piece of Mosaic

---

[23] Quoted from Appendix B in Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson, eds, *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969), 440.

[24] Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 49^{v}. Budé apologises for his difficulty in balancing the weight of the Greek in the dedicatory epistle prefacing *Plutarchi Cheronei De placitis philosophorum libri a Guilielmo Budeo latini facti* (Paris: s.n., 1506), a2^{v}.

[25] *The porte of reste*, E6^{r}.

[26] As translated in Thomas North, *The lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes* (London: Thomas Vautrouillier, 1579), *8^{r}.

Work, which consists of several Parts, but all extremely Beautiful."[27] He is acknowledging Erasmus' characterisation of Plutarch here – less speech than cento he calls it, "or to put it better, you'd think it a mosaic work, fitted together from the most exquisite ornamental insets."[28] And indeed, the margins of Erasmus' version call attention not just to the "sentences" but to "similitudes" and "comparisons" and quotations from the poets. Erasmus' description of Plutarch's style might have provoked the movement into verse on a translator's part. But Blundeville's drab style is ill-adapted to catch any sense of mosaic. The verse of both *The learned prince* and *The fruits of foes* effaces the alternation in Plutarch of poetic quotation and spare prose that Erasmus is concerned to highlight, but it might still invite attention to his supposedly characteristic stylistic intricacy. Or it might offset the "gravity" that Budé discovers in him. Both these translations are after all New Year's presents for the Queen: the sort of lightness that is supposed to be characteristic of verse would be apt.

For the group at Hatfield, even for those on the edge of it, metaphrase was a private game. It may then be odd that the title-page of the *Three morall treatises*, so short on ordinary information, should display so prominently the formula *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum*; in fact it appears three times in the volume, repeated on the title-page of *The fruits of foes* and in the colophon of *The port of rest.* The standard sense was and is still generally taken to be that the privilege advertised was for sole or exclusive printing, a right that conferred considerable commercial advantage.[29] Almost a century ago A.W. Pollard raised the possibility that the formula implied a restriction on the privilege and that the intended sense could rather be "only for printing" – that is, not for the protection of an exclusive right to print but to state a reservation on the part of the licensers. The formula, dating only from 1538 and so little more than twenty years old when the *Three morall treatises* was published, was designed in the first instance not to serve "the interests of the printers, of how desirable it was to encourage them to print books by protecting them from unfair competition;" it was rather to safeguard the royal licensers' right to

---

[27] Matthew Morgan, *Plutarch's Morals translated from the Greek by several hands*, 5 vols (London: Printed for John Gellibrand, 1684), Vol. 1, a3^{v}.

[28] Koster, "Letter to Alexius Turzo" prefacing *De cohibenda iracundia*), in "Ex Plutarcho Versa," 264.

[29] A.W. Pollard, "The Regulation of the Book Trade in the Sixteenth Century," *Library* ser. 3, 7 (1916): 18–43; E.M. Albright, "*Ad Imprimendum Solum*," MLN 34/ 2 (1919): 97–104; Pollard's response is in "*Ad imprimendum solum*," *The Library* ser 3, 10 (1919): 57–63, and Albright's return in "*Ad Imprimendum Solum* Once More," *MLN* 38/ 3 (1923): 129–40.

deal with a book even after it had obtained a privilege.[30] Pollard's reading was immediately contested by E.M. Albright. The details of their quarrel suggest a prevailing measure of uncertainty in the period about the legal force of the formula. In effect, it seems unlikely that the same privilege is being claimed on all occasions when the formula is used.

The primary or at least the ascendant sense of the formula *ad imprimendum solum* must be that the printer had sole rights on the printing of the texts with a privilege qualified in this way. By 1559 Seres had recovered the rights, lost during Mary's reign, on all prayer books and psalters.[31] The Latin *Orarium seu libellus precationum per Regiam maiestatem, Latinè aeditus* (1560), originally prepared by Henry VIII, and an English *Primer of* [sic] *boke of priuate praier* (1560) duly carry the formula on their title-pages, but of the dozen or so titles that appeared under Seres' imprint in 1560–1561, the declaration of this privilege is unpredictable. It appears on the title-pages of Thomas Artour's paraphrastic abridgment of Erasmus' *Enchiridion* (1561) and Bishop James Pilkington's anti-papist *True report of the burnyng of the steple and churche of Poules* (1561) and as part of the colophon of an anonymous translation of Calvin's *Two godly and notable sermons preached in 1555*, probably published in 1560, and of another work by Pilkington, *Aggeus the prophete declared by a large commentarye* (1560). It is lacking on a set of *Interrogatories* or diocesan visitation articles (1560), perhaps because the work was thought to constitute no temptation to piracy. More confusing still, it is lacking on Blundeville's own 1561 *A newe booke containing the arte of rydinge*, yet it appears on the title-page of his later work, the 1565 *Fower chiefyst offices belongyng to horsemanshippe* which contains the 'Arte of ryding.' It is also missing from Hoby's version of Castiglione's *Courtyer* (1561). That is, works with which the *Three morall treatises* would seem to have most in common are unprotected. Securing a privilege for the *Three morall treatises* could hardly have been commercially motivated. That only one copy survives, it not being a book likely to be read to death, suggests a very small print run with the implication, as a later formula had it, that it was "for the use of the author."[32] We are not in

[30] Pollard, "*Ad imprimendum solum*," 60.

[31] See the account of Seres by Bryan P. Davis, "William Seres," in James K. Bracken and Joel Silver, *The British Literary Booktrade, 1475–1700* (*Dictionary of Literary Biography* 170) (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996), 231–38, and the *ODNB* entry by Elizabeth Evenden.

[32] However, Thomas Tusser's much-reprinted *A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* (London: Richard Tottel, 1557), similarly published *cum privilegio ad imprimdum solum*, also survives in only one copy; O. Rogers was fined for pirating it in 1561–62. Matthew Parker's *The whole Psalter translated into English metre* (London: John Day, 1567), printed by

a position to uncover what motives may have operated. But it does not seem bizarre to register the Queen's own right in works gifted to her. The printed book is as much hers as the manuscript presentation copy.

But then again, turning prose into verse need not be entirely a private game. Plutarch himself denies the name of poetry to the verses of Empedocles and Parmenides and the like, that "borrow of Poetrie their loftinesse of stile and measure of syllables, to beare them up mounted on high to avoid the base foote pace (as it were) of prose."[33] There are contexts in which a borrowed loftiness of style might be apt. The schoolroom tradition of metaphrase is at its most vigorous in the merely opportunistic translation of fragments. It allows Shakespeare to versify the account of Cleopatra's barge in North's Plutarch, while Jonson turns whole paragraphs of Seneca and almost whole speeches of Cicero into blank verse.[34] Out of the schoolroom, it is at its most sustained in the translation of Italian *novelle*: under the shadow of Chaucer and Lydgate, verse is the natural habit of narrative. English translators translate into stanzaic verse (normally ballad verse) what they tend to call Boccaccio's or Bandello's 'histories.' From Boccaccio, we have Edward Lewicke's *The most wonderful and pleasaunt history of Titus and Gisippus* (1562) and from Bandello, Arthur Brooke's *The tragicall historye of Romeus and Juliet* (1562), Thomas Peend's *The moste notable historie of John Lorde Mandosse* (1565) and Thomas Achelley's *A most lamentable and tragicall historie* [of Violenta and Didaco] (1576). These stories have moral weight, of which verse may be a marker. They may even advertise it: John God offers his translation from Bandello, not as a 'history,' but as *A discourse of the great crueltie of a widowe* (1570).

Versified philosophy is not wholly exceptional. The example of Boethius would have been pressing in the period. That of Cato's *Distichs* would at a lower level have been even more so – though Richard Taverner observes of

---

Seres' one-time associate John Day *cum gratia et privilegio Regiae maiestatis, per decennium,* has been taken, despite the *per decennium*, as intended for private circulation. See Hallett Smith, "English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and their Literary Significance," *HLQ* 9.3 (1946): 249–71. It is nevertheless not true that it survives in few copies: fifteen are listed in the ESTC.

[33] *De audiendis poetis* 16, as translated by Philemon Holland, in *The philosophie, commonlie called, the morals* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1603), 20.

[34] *Antony and Cleopatra,* 2.2. For Jonson, see the appendix of source materials in *Ben Jonson: Poems,* ed. Ian Donaldson (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 391–93, which includes samples of Jonson's sources in Seneca's prose. Camden, who was Jonson's master at Westminster, learned the metaphrastic system at St Paul's according to Wyman H. Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context* (Woodbridge, Sussex: Boydell and Brewer, 2007), 51–52.

that book "that of the most part it is rather borne in the handes, then imprynted and fixed in the memorie" and that because "the moste parte of thys boke is composed not in solute oration, but in metre, which to the rude chyld must nedes be obscure and full of difficultie, and consequentlye vnpleasaunt and vnsauerye."[35] To versify Plutarch is not unknown. But it is rare. The poet Guillaume Haudent is the only other committed versifier of Plutarch I know of.[36] His achievement is very limited: he turns a single sentence from Plutarch's *Apophthegmata* into more than forty lines of couplet verse. Not only would his source be unrecognisable without other clues, but its genre would be too. Whatever else it is – an oration of some kind – it is no longer an apophthegm. Edmund Elviden's 1569 *Closet of counsells* contains commonplaces from "divers wise philosophers," including Plutarch, most likely collected at second hand and versified into more or less memorable fourteener epigrams. Again Elviden's sources are rendered unrecognisable. The memorability of verse, on which he writes rather eloquently, is the justification for the move – the verse, he says, repairs "the obliuious weakenes of mortal nature and memory" and is that "wherby thou mightest be the soner moved to peruse them, as also the more effectually and redely to print them in thy thought."[37]

Elviden writes in verse, as he puts it earlier in the same Preface and in what looks like a slap at Taverner, that "you may print the same in youre heart." But he specifies the heart and not the head. For rhyme may be designed to by-pass the intelligence. Metre, says Robert Fletcher before his versification of Archbishop Freake's translation of a pseudo-Augustinian tract, "is more acceptable to some then prose, and may with lesse capacitie be comprehended, as of children, young men and maides."[38] It is at some level more easily understood; it is also at some level more easily composed. Edward Hake supposes yet more, claiming to have versified Erasmus' *De pueris instituendis* first because "prose requireth a more exact labour then meeter doth" and more time than he could afford, and secondly (the more customary reason) because "because meeter vnto the vnlearned (whom I heartily wish to be followers of this booke) doth seeme a great deale

---

[35] *Catonis disticha moralia ex castigatione D. Erasmi Roterodami vna cum annotationibus et scholijs Rechardi Tauerneri Anglico idiomata conscriptis in vsum Anglicae iuuentis* (London: Nicholas Hill for R. Toye, 1553), A2^{v}.

[36] See Aulotte, *Amyot et Plutarque*, 83–85.

[37] Edmund Elviden, *The closet of counsells* (London: Thomas Colwell, 1569), sigs A2^{r}–A4^{v}.

[38] Robert Fletcher, *An introduction to the loue of God* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1581), A5^{r}.

more pleasaunt then prose, and doth mitigate (as it were) the harshnes of the matter."[39] John Fowler's version of Petrus Frarinus's anti-Protestant *Oration* against unlawful insurrections includes a scurrilous table of contents, illustrated and in rhyme "to the eye and sight of the Christian Reader, and of him also that cannot reade."[40] The translation proper is in prose but the illustrated summary is in verse ostensibly with children in view, but more probably designed to impress itself on knowing adults.

Blundeville offers Plutarch in a form that could plausibly be learned by heart and although he attempts at some level to import into his verse the virtue of prose that makes ordinary sense, he has set up his selections from the *Moralia* so as to invite singing. He generically dislocates Plutarch's prose; he forces distortions on its purposes and its effects. But adaptation to childish ears and memories may not be the point, or there may be a point of greater importance. What is that we are enjoined to remember, however mindlessly? Erasmus calls Plutarch charming, but he also says that he busied himself with Plutarch because beyond his *linguae peritiam* he was morally improving – and that after scripture he had read "nothing holier than this author."[41] "What is to prevent the same man being a theologian and a poet too?" asks Erasmus, thinking of Prudentius.[42] Sidney almost complacently absorbs the tradition of ancient philosophical poetry, rejected by Plutarch, into a tradition not of "right poets" but, still, of poets who deliver "the sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge."[43] However ill-equipped he may be to manage it, Blundeville may be aiming at something like the sweetness of knowledge, or something beyond the purely mnemonic.

Blundeville's versified treatises use long measure, octosyllabic quatrains cross-rhymed, one of the more insistent of English verse forms. Webbe gives this, set as sixteen-syllable couplets, as "the longest verse which

---

[39] Edward Hake, *A touchestone for this time present* (London: W. Williamson for Thomas Hacket, 1574), E4^{v}–5^{r}.

[40] John Fowler, *An oration against the vnlawfull insurrections of the protestantes of our time …. By Peter Frarin* (Antwerp: John Fowler, 1566), K4^{r}.

[41] Desiderius Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 8. See also Koster, "Ex Plutarcho Versa," 173n.

[42] Desiderius Erasmus, *Apologia de In Principio erat sermo* in *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia*, 10 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum: cura & impensis Petri Vander Aa., 1703–06), Vol. 9, 118. Erasmus sometimes had doubts, as when in a note to Jean Desmarez (Paludanus) he calls theologians a class to whom "iniquae sint Musae" (*Opus Epistolarum*, Vol. 2, No. 497).

[43] Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry, or The defence of* poesy, ed. Robert W. Maslen, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 86.

I have seene vsed in English."[44] The rhymes recur with unusual frequency (common measure normally rhymes only once), and in Blundeville's hands it is resolutely iambic. This is not the most obvious metre to have chosen to carry ordinary sense. Blank verse was available from Surrey or from Grimald's contributions to Tottel's *Miscellany*, a year old at least when Blundeville set about the versification of Plutarch. And Tottel offered a range of other likelier possibilities, *terza rima*, fourteeners, or poulter's measure (an unhappy default option). What is remarkable is that Blundeville manages his metre while not losing track of Plutarch's sense. Against all expectations and odds, Ascham commends *The fruits of foes* because "The woordes of matter here doe rise, | So fitly and so naturally."[45] Ascham's own doggerel limits our trust in his judgment, but "fit and natural" is not a zany description of Blundeville's achievement. He writes in the Preface to his later prose translation of Grisone's *Gli ordini di calvalcare* that he has sought to adapt his original to the exigencies of a *culturally* English readership, "to apply the same to the vse of this our country."[46] And so it is with *The porte of rest*. As both Patricia Thomson and A.N. Brilliant note, Blundeville consistently makes more concessions than Wyatt to an English readership.[47] He is also less independent of his original than is Holland.

There are problems of course. Blundeville sometimes does not quite grasp the whole sense, or his English or his culture are inadequate for conveying it. When Erasmus' Plutarch says that we can sometimes see the "Dionysiacos quos vocant artifices, hoc est cantores" give less than their best "*in theatro*" (176/88–89), Blundeville falls to talking of the "minstrels" in an "open place" (B2^{r}); when Erasmus' Plutarch says that people who go in for slanging matches behave "more colluctantium in palestra", wrestlers who, he goes on to say, neglect to clean themselves up in midfight and get dirtier and dirtier (178/177–79), Blundeville omits it. Most of the more arcane allusions in the work also disappear: when Plutarch says, quoting Homer, that we should not give Priam and Priam's sons cause for rejoicing, that we should not be giving comfort to the enemy (176/86),

---

[44] William Webbe, *A discourse of English poetrie,* in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904), Vol. 1, 268–69.

[45] *The fruits of foes*, a2^{r}.

[46] *The fower chiefyst offices belongyng to horsemanshippe* (London: William Seres, 1566), A2^{v}; the same formula appears on the title page.

[47] Patricia Thomson, "A Note on Wyatt's Prose Style in 'Quyete of Mynde,'" *HLQ* 25 (1962): 147–156, and A.N. Brilliant, "The Style of Wyatt's 'The Quyete of Mynde,'" *E&S* 2 (1971): 1–21.

Blundeville drops the reference altogether. By and large, however, he tracks the proportions of his original, and holds to the development of argument.

The verse creates its own difficulties: there is too much inversion, there are too many expletives designed to fill out the line; too much serves the rhyme and nothing else; too much is merely phatic: "I you assure," even "I do my self assure." Sometimes this filling out brings small rewards: Plutarch observes that sea water is unfit to drink but has benefits in that fish thrive in it and it carries travellers from place to place. Erasmus reads the Greek so as to suggest that it allows trade: "importandis exportandisque rebus seruit" (174/ 37–39), in Elyot's translation, "it serueth in bryngynge in and beryng out wares."[48] In *The fruits of foes* Blundeville is obliged by the constraints of his verse into adding the detail of "things of great price |The shipppes by sea to vs do bring, |Both pleasant silke and holsome spice" (A3^{v}). In Erasmus' Plutarch, when Diogenes is asked how we should best defend ourselves against an enemy, he answers that we should show ourselves good and honourable, "si teipsum honestum et bonum virum prestiteris" (176/101); Blundeville delivers a response structured on an antithesis: "Diogenes right wisely tho | To him gan saye, no dent of knife | Can greue so much thy cruell fo: | As for to see thy perfit lyfe" (B2^{v}). Brilliant says that Blundeville's prose expands on his original in the interests of clarity, pointing up a contrast with Wyatt's brevity and Holland's aureation.[49] The expansion in his verse has different ends in view: there he values energy and neatness.

Blundeville writes with an eye on the possibilities for more or less neat formulations of moral point, for "sentences" and similitudes encouraged by Erasmus' highlighting of passages in Plutarch's more fluid text, but made necessary by the organisation of material into quatrains. When Plutarch says that primitive humanity made do with protecting itself against hostile wild beasts and then found their existence useful and necessary, Erasmus draws attention to the *mira similitudo* with the case of modern men and their social enemies (174/24); Blundeville gives us four quatrains for the historical similitude and one for the application (A3r). When Plutarch says that when the farmer cannot manage all the wilderness, nor the huntsman tame each beast, it is another *similitudo* (174/33), and when he says that fish are sustained by undrinkable sea-water, it is

[48] Thomas Elyot, *Howe one may take profite of his enmyes* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1531), 3^{r}.

[49] Brilliant, "The Style of Wyatt's 'The Qyete of Mynde,'" 5.

another (174/37). Blundeville organises the material into the symmetries of his quatrains (A3^{v}). Sometimes these symmetries are at odds with the point being made. When Plutarch alludes to the satyr who made to embrace the flame and was warned that fire was not to be touched, Erasmus calls it a "fabella lepida" (174/39); in Blundeville's version it becomes an epigram about dangerous love, of the kind found much later in Herrick (A3^{v}–A4^{r}).[50] The original point at any rate is lost. Sometimes Blundeville's concern with the organization of his quatrains forces a kind of conciseness that makes the point impossible to guess at. "For when we erre: malitiousnes | Regardes the foe, more than the frende" (B2^{v}) has the shape of a neat maxim but is impenetrable. Only recourse to his original uncovers the (rather perverse) meaning: "hoc habet peculiare malicia, vt in peccando magis reuereatur inimicos quam amicos" (176/95) [it is the mark of vice that when we go astray, we fear our enemies more than our friends].

Blundeville's medium is insistently stanzaic as well as insistently iambic. Udall uses a feeble version long measure stanzas to translate epigrammatic Greek couplets that he finds in Plutarch.[51] For readers whose ears have been retuned by the subtleties of subsequent English verse, the unvarying pace may be wearisome but it establishes the manner relevant to Blundeville's interpretation of Plutarch. For example, Plutarch writes on the utility of enemies by a way of a relaxed letter to his friend Cornelius Pulcher, expanding on an observation from Xenophon; in Elyot's translation, this is rendered as "It is a substantial wyse mans parte, to take profette of his enmyes."[52] Blundeville discards the whole preamble and substitutes a preachy little proeme:

> By Plutarks lore of mortal foes
> Learne ye that list some fruit to take,
> For fruits inough, he doth discloes
> Wherof I wil, you partners make.

This is a quatrain remarkable for its syntactical ineptness, but it demands for what follows the special kind of attentiveness that listeners might have given to sermons, the kind we give to explications. Blundeville also repairs the abrupt non-conclusion of what were ostensibly Plutarch's lecture

[50] Robert Herrick, *Hesperides* (London: John Williams and Francis Eglesfield, 1648), 237, No. 563, "I played with Love, as with the fire."
[51] Nicholas Udall, *Apophthegmes* (London: John Kingston, 1542), fols.13^{r}, 53^{r}, 66^{r}, 157^{v}.
[52] Elyot, *Howe one may take profite of his enmyes*, 2^{v}.

notes with a compliment to Queen Elizabeth. The register of both the beginning and end of the essay is shifted away from that of the letter-writer at his ease.

Blundeville's choice of verse for his translation established a more congenial context for the immediate reception of these pieces by the new Protestant evangelical culture of Elizabeth's early years than could either Plutarch's letter to Pulcher or his lecture notes.[53] One elementary use of verse, the adapting of difficult matter to childish ears, is refined by the Reformers to suit an evangelical programme. It is most famously set out in Erasmus' *Paraclesis* (here in a Protestant translation):

> I wold to god / the plowman wold singe a texte of the scripture at his plowbeme / And that the wever at his lowme / with this wold drive away the tediousnes of tyme. I wold the wayfaringe man with this pastyme / wold expelle the werynes of his iorney.[54]

The programme was designed to expel not just weariness but the heaps of profanity and rubbish that overwhelmed modern readers. The most extended apology for the procedure is set out in the Preface by Robert Fletcher already mentioned. "I would to God," he says, "these wittie writers would take paines in penning profitable Pamphlets, eyther godlie Meditations, or good Prayers, whether in Prose or in Verse."[55] And so Fletcher supplies a lack, motivated additionally by "the profite that I sawe contained in the Prose, which I hope will be no lesse pleasant in the Meter, beeing plaine, and not much alienated from the former sence." And here, he says, he follows "the example of these godly minded, with whome I will make no comparison, but onelie for endeuour, which haue turned many Bookes of the olde Testament into Englishe meter, as the Psalmes of *Dauid,* the life of *Dauid,* containing the second booke of *Kings,* the fiue bookes of *Moses,* the Prouerbes of *Salomon,* and diuers other, as well Canonicall, as Historicall." He quotes James 5.13: "If any be afflicted, let him pray, if merrie let him sing Psalmes. So he that is disposed to profit in the prose, it is an excellent meditation, if to pleasure, in the meter, it is present for him that feareth God." The godly minded examples of scriptural versification include William Samuel's *Abridgement* of the Pentateuch (enlarged in

---

[53] John King, *English Reformation Literature: the Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 209–31, gives a good account of this material.

[54] W. Roy, *An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture, made by Erasmus Roterodamus* (Antwerp: Hans Luft [i.e., J. Hoochstraten], 1529), $\pi 5^{r}$.

[55] Fletcher, *An introduction to the looue of god*, $A5^{r}$.

successive editions from 1551): "My mynd is that I wold haue my contrey people able in a smale some to syng the hole contents of the byble, and where as in tymes past the musicians or mynstrells, wer wont to syng fained myracles, saints liues, and Robin hode, in stede thereof to sing, vndoutyd truthes, canonycall scryptures, and Gods doynges."[56] The work's final enlargement in 1569 covers the whole Old Testament and comes supplied with alphabetical mnemonic aids; it is printed by Seres.[57]

Among the London printers involved in publishing versified evangelical works and translations, William Seres, the publisher of Blundeville's *Three morall treatises*, occupies an important place. In the hey-day of Edwardian Protestantism, at first in collaboration with Anthony Scoloker or John Day, he had made himself a brand name in the world of Protestant letters.[58] With Day, among other minor stuff of propaganda, he produced two complete editions of the Bible (the Taverner version in five octavo volumes, and the "Matthew" version in folio), and a succession of sermons by Latimer. By 1553, though briefly, he had the royal patent on all primers and private prayer books. Importantly in this context, he also printed versifications of biblical and other religious material. He had been responsible in 1549 for publishing John Hall's *Certayne chapters taken out of the Prouerbes of Salomon* along with a selection of Sternhold's Psalms and paraphrases by Surrey.[59] In 1553, he printed Christopher Tye's *Actes of the Apostles* "to synge and also to play vpon the Lute, very necessarye for studentes after theyr studye, to fyle theyr wyttes, and also for all Christians that cannot synge, to reade the good and Godlye storyes of the lyues of Christ hys Apostles."[60] In the same year, he was also responsible for the "vertuous songes and ghostly psalms" of Francis Seager's *Certayne psalmes*.[61] To all these publications Seres added the printing of moral and controversial verses: the versified propaganda of Robert Crowley's *Confutation* of Miles Huggarde's reply to an anti-papist ballad, Edmund Becke's *Brefe confutatacion* of the Anabaptist views of the incarnation, and the halting couplets

---

[56] William Samuel, *The abridgemente of goddes statutes in myter* (London: Robert Crowley [i.e., Richard Grafton] for Robert Soughton, 1551), A2^{r-v}.

[57] William Samuel, *An abridgement of all the canonical books of the olde Testament written in Sternholds meter* (London: William Seres, 1569).

[58] See Brian P. Davis,"William Seres," 231–38.

[59] John Hall and T. Sternhold, *Certayne chapters of the Prouerbes of Salomon drawen into metre by T. sternholde* (London: J. Case [i.e., Peter Whitchurch] for William Seres, 1549).

[60] Christopher Tye, *The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre* (London: William Seres, 1553?); the quotation is from the title page.

[61] Francis S[eager], *Certayne psalmes select out of the psalter of Dauid* (London: Nicholas Hill for William Seres, 1553), A2^{r}.

of Seager's later *Schoole of vertue,* designed for children, which belongs to Queen Mary's reign.[62]

In the early years of Elizabeth's reign Seres revived his Edwardian role as an anti-Catholic propagandist. He published E.C.'s *A dialogue agaynst the tyrannye of the Papistes* simultaneously with its original, the *Dialogus contra papistarum tyrannidem Interlocutores,* a tract provoked by the first French War of Religion and possibly written by Cecil's client, Walter Haddon; Seres himself may have been responsible for the translation into common metre of the *Precatiuncula* appended to the *Dialogue* ("O God arise, with thy right hand, | Lift vp thy fallinge flocke").[63] From the 1550s Haddon, who was a friend of Ascham's and Cheke's, had been at the centre of English Protestant intellectual life. He is now most famous for his later rebuttal of the Portuguese Bishop Osorius's attempt to recall Elizabeth to the Catholic fold; Seres printed its translation by Abraham Hartwell.[64] He also printed Hartwell's *Regina literata* commemorating the Queen's visit to Cambridge University in 1564 and carrying a prominent title-page dedication to Walter Haddon.[65] It celebrates almost in one breath her command of good letters and true religion. The poem "in effect set forth a programme for the national and religious revival of the Elizabethan era."[66] *The learned prince* is of course part of the same programme.

---

[62] Robert Crowley, *The confutation of the mishapen aunswer to the misnamed, wicked ballade, called the Abuse of ye blessed sacrame*[*n*]*t of the aultare* (London: John Day and William Seres, 1548); Edmund Becke, *A brefe confutacion of this anabaptistical opinion that Christ dyd not take hys flesh of the vyrgyn Mary* (London: William Seres, 1550); Francis Seager, *The schoole of vertue, and booke of good nourture for children, and youth to learne theyr dutie by* (London: William Seres, 1557).

[63] E.C., *A dialogue agaynst the tyrannye of the Papistes* (London: William Seres, 1562); *Dialogus contra papistarum tyrannidem Interlocutores* (London: William Seres, 1562). E.C. is unidentified. Seres' authorship of the translated prayer, "O god arise," is uncertain in spite of the "W.S." printed just below the title; so, too, is his ESTC-assigned authorship of *An Aunswere to the Proclamation of the Rebels in the North*, a satirical response in verse to the Proclamation issued by Westmorland and Northumberland at the time of the Catholic Northern Rebellion that Seres printed in 1569. The clearly familist verses signed *veritatis amator* and printed in Cologne can be neither his nor William Samuel's as the ESTC conjectures.

[64] Walter Haddon, *Gualteri Haddoni pro Reformatione Anglicana epistola apologetica ad Hier. Osorium Lusitanum 1562* (Paris: s.n., 1563), translated by Abraham Hartwell, the Elder as *A sight of the Portugall pearl …* (London: William Seres, 1565).

[65] Abraham Hartwell, the Elder, *Regina literata siue De serenissimae Dominae Elizabethae. …. in Academiam Cantabrigiensem aduentu* (London: William Seres, 1565).

[66] James W. Binns, "Abraham Hartwell, Herald of the New Queen's Reign. The *Regina Literata* (London, 1565)," in *Ut granum sinapis. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef IJsewijn*, ed. Gilbert Tournoy and Dirk Sacré (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 292–304 (304).

Blundeville's *Three morall treatises* are not however works of controversy, and they are books of instruction only on the most generous understanding of the term. It was a bold move to transfer the Reformers' ambitions for the versification of scripture to the versification of pagan philosophy but it conforms to a programme of Protestantization of which he was a main sponsor. He tweaks Sternhold's meter (as William Samuel calls it) to deliver verse that, despite the frequency of its rhymes, is more flexible. It is a surprisingly uncommon variant, but Surrey resorts to it in translating Martiall, as did an anonymous translator of Petrarch's first canzone;[67] Coverdale had experimented with it in his *Goostly psalmes* and so had Whittingham in his contributions to the Geneva Psalter.[68] Blundeville so translates Plutarch's manner, that in its texture the English Plutarch comes to resemble more closely what we understand as the idiom of the Psalms, closer indeed than either Coverdale or Whittingham manages, as demonstrated in the following example: "We see the ample heauen howe he, | With liquid armes do thearth embrace" (*Learned prince*, B1^{r}). These lines are quoted from Euripides by Plutarch, who then proceeds to celebrate, perhaps in his person as a Delphic priest, the generosity of the cosmos "Who first sent downe the sedes" that the earth returns as fruits:

> Some growe by raine, and some by winde,
> By glittringe starres some norissht are
> And some the Moone wyth moystures kinde
> To foster vppe, hath onelye care.
>
> And finallye the louelye Sonne
> Whose shyning beames adorneth all
> His frendly course doth dayly ronne
> And shewes like loue to great and small,

Here is why Erasmus says, at least twice, that outside scripture there is nothing holier than Plutarch.

---

[67] *Tottel's Miscellany* (*1557–1587*), ed., Hyder Edward Rollins, 2 vols. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), Vol. I, nos 3, 24, 27 and 185.

[68] Miles Coverdale, *Goostly psalms and spirituall songes drawen out of the holy scripture* (J. Rastell for J. Gough, 1535?) and William Whittingham, Psalm 51 and the decalogue appended to the Psalms, in *The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments* (Geneva: John Crespin, 1556).

WAR, WHAT IS IT GOOD FOR? SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF ANCIENT TEXTS ON WARFARE

Fred Schurink

It is a commonplace that humanism and war are opposites. Yet, as C.H. Conley noted as long ago as 1927, many classical translations from the Tudor period have a military subject matter and, what is more, claim to instruct their readers in military skills.[1] This is a particularly common feature of translations of histories and, not surprisingly, military manuals, but the same applies to works from a variety of genres, ranging from biography to epic. The comments in the preface to Thomas Stocker's translation of books 18 to 20 of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca historica*, supplemented by Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, are typical. In Diodorus's work, Stocker claims, "may be sene the Stratagemes and pollicies in the facts of war, togither [with] many sundry and diuerse battailles, sieges and enterprises, verie pleasaunt to read and heare: wherein may also be lerned many things apperteyning to that arte."[2] The attitudes of Tudor translators of the classics are neatly summed up by Ben Jonson, who wrote in a prefatory poem to the 1609 edition of Clement Edmondes' translation of, and commentary on, the works of Caesar, *Obseruations vpon Cæsars Comentaries* (first published in 1600 with the revealing subtitle "setting fovrth the practise of the art military, in the time of the Roman Empire … for the better direction of our moderne warres"):

> WHo, *Edmondes*, reades thy booke, and doth not see
> What th'antique Souldiers were, the moderne be?
> Wherein thou shew'st, how much the latter are
> Beholden, to this Master of the Warre:
> And that, in Action, there is nothing new,
> More then to varie what our Elders knew.[3]

---

[1] C.H. Conley, *The First English Translators of the Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), 45–48.

[2] *A righte noble and pleasant History of the Successors of Alexander surnamed the Great, taken out of Diodorus Siculus: and some of their liues written by the wise Plutarch. Translated out of French into Englysh. by Thomas Stocker.* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1569), A4^{r} (STC 6893).

[3] Clement Edmondes, *Obseruations vpon Cæsars Comentaries* (London: n. pub., 1609), A3^{v} (STC 7490.7).

Such claims no doubt overstate the case, but they are not completely empty either. Military historians and historians of ideas have shown how the early modern theory and practice of warfare were shaped by the study of the classics.[4] Edmondes himself reports how Sir Francis Vere offered Prince Maurice of Nassau advice on tactics by citing an example from Caesar's *Commentaries* at the battle of Nieuwpoort in 1600.[5] Maurice, in fact, played a key role in the reform of the Dutch army on the model of the ancient Romans.[6] While histories of war and of ideas can account for the popularity and translation of genres and authors in general terms, they often do not explain why a particular text was translated, and equally importantly published, at a particular point in time by a particular translator or printer. As Brenda Hosington has recently noted, much remains to be discovered about how printing, the book trade, and patronage impacted on translation.[7] If we are to understand the nature and purpose of translation in early modern England, such issues deserve to be studied in much greater detail. Nor are we as well informed as we might like to be about the specific uses that translations served and the kinds of events and circumstances to which they responded. Ancient texts with a military subject matter not only contributed to changes in military thought and practice in a general way; they were also, in the phrase of Jardine and Grafton, "studied for action," that is, read (and, I argue, translated) in preparation for activity in the specific circumstances of Tudor England.[8] Moreover, the conjunctions between translations of the classics and their application to specified goals are often surprising. As we shall see, the uses of ancient texts on war extended far beyond warfare alone.

The potential rewards of a more contextualized reading of the translation of Roman history are demonstrated by the scholarship on Henry Savile's 1591 *The ende of Nero and beginning of Galba. Fower bookes of*

---

[4] See, for example, Henry J. Webb, *Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965); Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. Brigitta Oestreich and H.G. Koenigsberger, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); J.R. Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983); David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, International Library of Historical Studies, 3 (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995); Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[5] Stephen Porter, "Edmondes, Sir Clement (1567/8?–1622)," *ODNB*.

[6] See Oestreich, ch. 5.

[7] Brenda M. Hosington, "Commerce, Printing and Patronage," in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, vol. 2, 1550–1660*, ed. Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 45–57.

[8] Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action:' How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 30–78.

the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The life of Agricola. As successive scholars have shown, Savile's translation of two works by Tacitus concerned with war, accompanied by an appendix on Roman military organisation, were closely linked with the earl of Essex's military aspirations and political outlook, notably his support for a more aggressive foreign policy in support of Protestants on the Continent. They may have also promoted a view of the relation between warfare, politics, and personality that had a specific resonance with the earl's attitude towards, and interventions in, the events of the 1590s – even if Savile could not have foreseen Essex's decision to rebel against the queen a decade later in 1601.[9] Studies of Savile's Tacitus in the context of the earl's actions and ideology have thus added to our understanding of both the mental outlook of the Essex circle and the character and functions of translation in the 1590s.

Until very recently, however, there have been few or no studies of the specific circumstances of the production of translations of ancient texts with a military subject matter during the earlier Tudor period. This omission has started to be addressed by a series of essays in the last few years on classical translations written and published in direct response to the military and political crises of the middle years of the sixteenth century. Thus, Richard Morison's translation of the Roman general Frontinus' military manual, *The Stratagemes, sleyghts, and policies of warre*, was published by the king's printer Thomas Berthelet in the early months of 1539 as part of the government's programme of preparation against an invasion by France and the empire of Charles V.[10] Five years later, Berthelet issued Anthony Cope's *The historie of tvvo the moste noble capitaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio, of theyr diuers battailes and victories* (1544), a rendering of the third decade of Livy's *Ab urbe condita libri*, as a contribution to England's wars against Scotland and France in the mid-1540s.[11] Christopher Watson's *The hystories of the most famous and worthy Cronographer Polybius* (1568), which was translated from an edition of Livy that included Polybius as a supplement, likewise emerged from a conflict with France and Scotland,

[9] See David Womersley, "Sir Henry Savile's Translation of Tacitus and the Political Interpretation of Elizabethan Texts," *Review of English Studies* 42 (1991): 313–42; Malcolm Smuts, "Court-Centred Politics and the Uses of Roman Historians, *c.* 1590–1630," in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 21–43; Paulina Kewes, "Savile's Tacitus and the Politics of Roman History in Late Elizabethan England," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 74 (2011): 515–51.

[10] T.A. Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: The Careers of Sir Richard Morison, c. 1513–1556* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 107–9.

[11] Fred Schurink, "How Gabriel Harvey Read Anthony Cope's Livy: Translation, Humanism, and War in Tudor England," in *Tudor Translation*, ed. Fred Schurink (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), 58–78.

in the early years of the reign of Elizabeth, when Watson composed the work.[12] Two years after Watson's Polybius was printed, Thomas Wilson published his translation of Demosthenes' speeches against Philip II of Macedon as a warning against the military threat posed by Philip II of Spain.[13]

Several of the translations on which I shall focus in this essay – Alexander Barclay's translation of Sallust's *Jugurthine War* (*c.* 1522); John Brende's version of Quintus Curtius' *History of Alexander the Great* (1553); Peter Whitehorne's Englishing of Onasander's *Of the generall captaine, and of his office* (1563); and John Sadler's rendering of Vegetius's *De re militari* (1572) – were similarly published in direct response to military or political exigencies, but they were closely bound up with the wars of sixteenth-century England and Europe in other ways too: through dedications to noblemen with major military appointments; through the involvement of their translators in wars at home and abroad; and through their contributions to the suppression of rebellion and the establishment of empire. They also emerged from a range of different, and perhaps less expected, social and cultural circumstances. A number of translations of military texts in this essay, for example, were concerned with language learning: Barclay's translation, printed in parallel Latin and English columns, helped its readers to improve their Latin, while Whitehorne situated the origins of his translation in his own attempts to master the Italian language. Other social, material, and intellectual conditions that affected the activities of translators included the importation of Continental books, the Inns of Court as centres of literary production and patronage, and printers and printing practices. Translations of ancient texts on warfare, like other kinds of translations, are, in the words of Warren Boutcher, "important sources for intellectual and cultural history in the round."[14]

The poet and clergyman Alexander Barclay's rendering of Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*, entitled *The famous cronycle of the warre / which the romayns had agaynst Iugurth vsurper of the kyngdome of Numidy* (*c.* 1522), was one of the first translations of any classical text printed in England, and certainly the first history.[15] Published by the king's printer Richard Pynson

---

[12] Warren Boutcher, "Polybius Speaks British: A Case Study in Mid-Tudor Humanism and Historiography," in *Tudor Translation*, ed. Fred Schurink, [cf. note 18] 101–20.

[13] Alastair J.L. Blanshard and Tracey A. Sowerby, "Thomas Wilson's Demosthenes and the Politics of Tudor Translation," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 12 (2005): 46–80.

[14] Boutcher, "Polybius Speaks British," 101.

[15] On Barclay, see Nicholas Orme, "Barclay, Alexander (c. 1484–1552)," *ODNB*; David R. Carlson, "Alexander Barclay," in *Sixteenth-Century British Nondramatic Writers: First Series*, ed. David A. Richardson, Dictionary of Literary Biography, 132 (Detroit: Gale, 1993), 36–47.

in parallel English and Latin columns, Barclay's text is advertised on the title-page as "translated into englysshe … at co[m]maundement of the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke."[16] In the dedication, Barclay claims that he had cast around for a suitable work to translate for the duke until he "at last … reme[m]bred that a mercyall matter is moost congruent vnto a mercyall and vyctorious pri[n]ce" (a5^{r}). He then compares the soldier and magnate Norfolk, who had routed the invading Scots at Flodden Field in 1513, with the Roman general Marius, who defeated the Numidian king and enemy of Rome, Jugurtha: "ye … haue vanquysshed the inuasour and vyolent ennemy of the co[m]men wayle of england. In which noble and glorious act ye haue proued your selfe lyke vnto mighty Marius" (a7^{v}). Finally, he claims that the text teaches the English gentry the military skills necessary to achieve fame in war: "a ryght fruytfull hystorie: both pleasant / profytable / and ryght necessary vnto euery degre: but specially to gentylmen / which coueyt to attayne to clere fame and honour: by glorious dedes of chyualry" (a5^{v}).

While Barclay thus positions his translation explicitly and unambiguously in the context of Tudor warfare, there are several features of the work that point in different directions. There is, first of all, something strangely untimely about the publication. Norfolk was in his late 70s when Barclay dedicated the work to him, and the military feat with which it associates him was achieved nearly a decade earlier.[17] There is no sign that the translation is addressed to a specific military emergency at the time of publication, like the later Henrician translations by Morison and Cope for instance. Moreover, the claim that the translation had been commissioned by a major military figure, Norfolk, is brought into question elsewhere in

[16] *Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre / which the romayns had agaynst Iugurth vsurper of the kyngdome of Numidy. which cronycle is compyled in latyn by the renowmed romayne Salust. And translated into englysshe by syr Alexander Barclay preest / at co*[*m*]*maundement of the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke* (London: Richard Pynson, 1522?) (STC 21626). Dr Greg Waite of the University of Otago is producing a modern edition of Barclay's works; his preliminary findings are reported in "Alexander Barclay, Robert Pynson, and an Unnoticed Sheet Printed by Robert Redman," *Notes and Queries* 58 (2011): 193–96 and "Alexander Barclay's Translation of Sallust's Jugurtha: A Note on Sources," *Notes and Queries* 58 (2011): 196–202.

[17] David M. Head, "Howard, Thomas, second duke of Norfolk (1443–1524)," *ODNB*. Barclay's translation of Mantuan's *Life of Saint George* (1515?) and *The Introductory to Write and to Pronounce French* (1521) also claimed to have been written "at the commandment" of Norfolk. His earlier publications, *The Gardener's Passetaunce* (1512?) and *The Tower of Virtue and Honor* (1514?), printed as part of Barclay's *Fourth Eclogue*, 1521?), which praises Norfolk as "the flower of chivalry," had responded directly to the conflict with Scotland and France in 1512–13. See Carlson, 42, 45.

the volume. In the epistle to Norfolk, Barclay describes himself selecting the text as a suitable "present" for his dedicatee, rather than being tasked to translate it by his patron (a7^{v}). In a Latin letter of dedication to John Veysey, Bishop of Exeter – oddly presented in parallel columns to the English letter to Norfolk in the same way as the Latin and English versions of the main text are laid out – he claims that it was Veysey who convinced him to translate the work, while Norfolk only encouraged him in his efforts (a4^{v}-a5^{r}). This doubleness is reflected in Barclay's discussion of the rationale for his translation. On the one hand, he argues that history offers examples of "good princes / which haue ben here in erth the scourges of god to correct tyrannes and synners" (a6^{r}), namely by waging war upon them. On the other, he notes the many other kinds of lessons taught by history: moral, rhetorical, and even religious (*sic transit gloria mundi*). As noted above, his translation was evidently also intended to improve the reader's language skills, since it was printed in parallel Latin and English columns.[18] And while the twin dedications appear to suggest a straightforward bifurcation of audiences for the two languages, martial noblemen like Norfolk for the English and studious clerics such as Veysey for the Latin, Daniel Wakelin has convincingly argued that Barclay consistently blurs the lines between different groups of readers and forms of reading in the preface.[19] Barclay's translation resists a straightforward reading for military, or any other single, use.

Towards the end of the dedicatory epistle, Barclay claims that it is fitting for a priest to translate a military history because by war: "Our fayth agaynst infydels [is] defe[n]ded: rebellers and tyrannes subdued: and fynally all thynges dyrected and to due order reduced" (a7^{r}). It is possible that Barclay specifically had Norfolk in mind, who played a leading role in the suppression of the "evil May day" riots in 1517.[20] The common Tudor concern with heresy, rebellion, and disorder, however, is at the centre of a new letter of dedication added by Thomas Paynell to his edition of Barclay's translation, printed (without the Latin) along with his own version of Costanzo Felici's rewriting of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* in 1557.[21] As

---

[18] On parallel language texts and language learning, see Joyce Boro, "Multilingualism, Romance, and Language Pedagogy; or, Why Were So Many Sentimental Romances Printed as Polyglot Texts?," in *Tudor Translation*, 18–38.

[19] Daniel Wakelin, "Possibilities for Reading: Classical Translations in Parallel Texts Ca. 1520–1558," *Studies in Philology* 105 (2008): 463–86, esp. 478.

[20] Head, "Howard."

[21] *The Conspiracie of Catiline, writen by Constancius, Felicius, Durantinus, and translated bi Thomas Paynell: with the historye of Iugurth, written by the famous Romaine Salust, and*

Geoffrey Eatough has noted, Paynell's translation, originally published in 1541, "converted what had been an exercise in Ciceronian Latin into popular history with contemporary colouring. The destruction of Catiline is Henry's God-given justification for punishment of his own rebels."[22] In the new dedication to Barclay's translation, Paynell praises Sir Anthony Browne, First Viscount Montague – a key figure in the Marian regime, charged with a diplomatic mission to reconcile England with Rome – for his suppression of heresy: "your lordeshyp to your great renowme and eternall fame, hathe at all tymes, and against all the rablemente of heretykes sustained, and moste constantly and christianly auaunced the catholyke fayth of our Sauiour and redemer Iesus Christ" (Y8$^{r\text{-}v}$).[23] He also draws attention to the military achievements of Montague: "What politike feat of war, what instrument or warlyke engine is ther that ye mooste finelye and exactlye can not handle?" (y8^{r}). A related translation of an ancient history published by Paynell shortly after the accession of Mary in 1553, Dares the Phrygian's supposed eye-witness account of the destruction of Troy, prefaced by a spurious letter to Sallust by the alleged Roman translator of the work, Cornelius Nepos, was directed to a similar purpose. In the dedicatory epistle to Sir John Bourne, Paynell highlights "the politike and ingenius feates of martial actes" of Dares' text and wonders: "howe pleasaunt & how profitable a thinge it shulde be vnto the nobilitie of this our realme, most feruentlye in these our dayes geue[n] to the knowledge of forren historyes, and subtell poyntes and stratagemes of warre, to haue [Dares], and to reade it in Englyshe."[24] Paynell evidently had his eye squarely on the military use of classical histories. In the climate of acute religious controversy and political unrest of Marian England, he found a

---

translated into Englyshe by Alexander Barcklaye (London: John Walley, 1557) (STC 10752). Contrary to Paynell's claim that he "perused and corrected" Barclay's translation, "his changes are slight, and further errors are introduced" (Waite, "Sources," 197, n. 1). On Paynell's activity as a translator, see Helen Moore, "Gathering Fruit: The 'Profitable' Translations of Thomas Paynell," in *Tudor Translation*, 39–57.

[22] Geoffrey Eatough, "Paynell, Thomas (d. 1564?)," *ODNB*. On Felici's work, see Patricia Osmond and Robert Ulery, "Constantius Felicius Durantinus and the Renaissance Origins of Anti-Sallustian Criticism," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 1.3 (1995): 29–56.

[23] On Montague, see S.T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, 3 vols (London: Secker & Warburg, 1982), vol. 1, 513–16; Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 112–17.

[24] Thomas Paynell, *The faythfull and true storye of the destruction of Troye, compyled by Dares Phrigius, which was a souldier while the siege lasted* (London: John Cawood, 1553), A2$^{r\text{-}v}$ (STC 6274.5).

newly topical application for a classical translation that had originally been more equivocal about its purpose.

The next two translations I shall consider were likewise dedicated to noblemen who enjoyed impressive military careers, but they emerged first and foremost from the interests and expertise of their translators, who were both soldiers. *The historie of Qvintus Curcius, contayning the Actes of the greate Alexander translatyd out of Laten into Englishe by Iohn Brende* (STC 6141.5) was published by Richard Tottel on 11 May 1553, a few months before the death of King Edward VI. With its dramatic and rhetorical narrative and focus on the life of the greatest military leader of antiquity, it is easy to see why Curtius' *History of Alexander the Great* would have appealed to a sixteenth-century translator, even if its historical value was limited. Moreover, Brende was able to take advantage of the first edition of Curtius to present an integral text of the whole history, with supplements for the lost books 1 and 2 and the lacunae found elsewhere in the work, composed by the Munich humanist Christoph Bruno.[25]

Brende's credentials as a soldier, and the bearing they had on his activity as a translator, are suggested by a comment in the preface to the translation of Caesar's *Gallic War* by Arthur Golding (1565). Golding explains that Brende had started a translation of the work, but having been left unfinished on his death, it was passed to Golding with a request to complete it by no less a figure than William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's secretary of state. In the event, Golding opted for wholesale rewriting in order to achieve stylistic uniformity. However, it is revealing that he felt compelled to apologize for his "owne want of experience [...] in matters of war" in the preface to the translation – a nod, it would seem, to the earlier translator.[26]

Brende certainly boasted an impressive military career. He first appears in the records in 1536 as a servant of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, the son of Barclay's patron. He went to Italy in the early 1540s, where he wanted "to see the wars of Piemont," but was back in England by 1543. In May 1544, he

---

[25] Quintus Curtius, *De rebvs gestis Alexandri Magni regis Macedonvm opvs*, ed. Christoph Bruno (Basle: Hieronymus Froben, the Elder, and Nikolaus Episcopius, the Elder, 1545). On Bruno, see Karl von Reinhardstöttner, "Zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Gelehrsamkeit in München," *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte* 4 (1890): 45–174, 64–74. Brende's reliance on Bruno's edition is noted in Henry Burrowes Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman 1477–1620* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1933; repr. New York: Octagon Books, 1967), 87.

[26] *The eyght bookes of Caius Iulius Caesar conteyning his martiall exploytes in the Realme of Gallia and the Countries bordering vppon the same translated oute of latin into English by Arthur Goldinge G.* (London: William Seres, 1565), *2^{r} (STC 4335).

was attached to the garrison in Newcastle upon Tyne, and in the following six years he was charged with a series of significant military duties in the north of England and elsewhere. Throughout this time, he was closely associated with Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford and lieutenant-general in the north, and, after Edward VI's accession to the throne, duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of the realm. Hertford described Brende as "a wise and expert fellow" in 1545, and from 1547 to 1550 Brende sent him regular reports on the war with Scotland as secretary to the king's lieutenant in the north. Following the arrest of Somerset on a charge of high treason in October 1551, Brende too was committed to the Tower. However, he was released in May 1552 on the orders of Somerset's rival, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, who had supplanted him as de-facto ruler of the realm.[27]

It seems to have been this last event that prompted the publication of Brende's translation of Quintus Curtius.[28] Brende comments in the dedication that the translation was "lately vpon an occasion performed & accomplished."[29] That the "occasion" was his release from prison on the duke's orders is suggested by the facts that the work was published shortly after his release from prison – exactly one year later, in May 1553, in fact – and that it contained a flattering dedication to Northumberland. Brende eagerly seized upon the opportunity presented by Curtius' history to praise his dedicatee by comparing him with one of the great leaders of the ancient world, Alexander the Great, whose description Sir Thomas Elyot had called "a spectakle or marke for all princes to loke on."[30] The idea of matching pairs of remarkable men was, of course, familiar from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, where Alexander is paired with Julius Caesar, the author and subject of the other translation attempted by Brende. Brende's immediate source, however, is the letter of dedication to Christoph Bruno's Latin edition, which similarly draws a parallel between Alexander and its dedicatee, Albrecht V of Munich.[31] Brende borrows extensively from Bruno's dedication, especially in this section, but the departures from his source

---

[27] Harold Davis, "John Brende: Soldier and Translator," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 1 (1937–38): 421–26; *House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol. 2, 492–94; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie, 23 vols in 38 (London: HMSO, 1862–1932), vol. 18, pt. I, 505. I am grateful to Alan Bryson for this reference.

[28] See *House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol. 2, 493.

[29] *The historie of Quintus Curcius, conteyning the Actes of the greate Alexander translated out of Latine into Englishe by Iohn Brende* (London: Richard Tottell, 1553), A4^{r} (STC 6142).

[30] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Governour* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1531), E7^{v} (STC 7635).

[31] See Henry Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*, 87.

are equally notable. In particular, he puts much more emphasis on Alexander's military achievements in the comparison with his dedicatee than does Bruno. In contrast to Bruno, as well as to Elyot, Brende also prudently omits any mention of the vices into which Alexander fell after his great conquests.

Brende's comments in the dedication also reveal, however, that the translation was conceived and started some time before the events of the early 1550s: "I did a fewe yeares paste attempte the translacion of Quintus Curtius" (A4^{r}).[32] This strongly suggests that the work originated in the context of Brende's active military service, perhaps most likely the Scottish campaign from 1547 to 1550. In the preface, indeed, Brende invokes his shared experience of warfare with Northumberland during the reigns of Edward and Henry, and seemingly refers to his own experience of the duke's bravery as a soldier, in order to make a personal appeal to Northumberland: "What partes of this be in your grace, let them iudge that haue knowen your actes in the warres, and your excellent seruice done, both in the time of the kinges maiestie that nowe is, and also in his fathers dayes of most famous memorye" (A4^{v}). Northumberland had held various military appointments, most notably Lord High Admiral from 1543 to 1547, and Brende might have encountered him on any number of occasions during the conflict with France and Scotland. Certainly, they both fought in the battle of Pinkie in 1547, where Northumberland had been lieutenant and commander of the cavalry under Somerset and "distinguished himself by his personal courage."[33] In Brende's Quintus Curtius, we see how deeply embedded classical translation was in the military enterprises and politics of Tudor England.

Another Tudor soldier whose translation of a classical text was closely bound up with his involvement in the wars of the sixteenth century was Peter Whitehorne. His translation of the little-known treatise *Of the generall captaine, and of his office* by the Greek philosopher Onasander, dedicated to Quintus Veranius, Roman governor of Britain 57–58 AD, was published in 1563.[34] Like Frontinus's *Strategemata*, translated by

[32] Lathrop argues that the translation must have been written after 2 September 1551, when Northumberland was created earl marshal, but there is no reason why the letter of dedication could not have been added to a translation that existed, or was at least started, earlier. Henry Burrowes Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*, 86–87.

[33] David Loades, 'Dudley, John, duke of Northumberland (1504–1553),' *ODNB*; *House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol. 2, 493.

[34] *Onosandro Platonico, of the Generall Captaine, and of his office, translated out of Greke into Italyan, by Fabio Cotta, a Romayne: and out of Italian into Englysh, by Peter Whytehorne* (London: William Seres, 1563) (STC 18815).

Richard Morison in 1539, Onasander's work was a handbook on military strategy and tactics for a general, but it lacks Frontinus' practical examples from Greek and Roman history.[35] The title-page declares that Whitehorne's translation was based on an intermediary version, Fabio Cotta's Italian *Dell'ottimo capitano generale, et del suo vfficio*, as most translations from ancient Greek in the period were.[36] Whitehorne had a specific reason for basing his translation on the Italian, however. In the dedication, he points out that he produced his text not only to improve his skill as a soldier through the study of the art of war but also to increase his fluency in the Italian language, claiming that he translated Onasander "longe agon … out of the Italion tounge for [his] owne exercise, and for the great delight that [he has] alwayes had in the studiynge of the arte of war" (A3$^{r\text{-}v}$).

Thomas Hoby's travel journal reveals that Whitehorne was in Italy in 1549–50, where he met Hoby in Siena and travelled with him to Rome, where they studied antiquities, and then on to Naples and Amalfi. Hoby last reported seeing Whitehorne in Florence in late July 1550, having apparently continued his travels separately.[37] Further information about the genesis of Whitehorne's Onasander comes from his translation of a second military text from the Italian, Niccolò Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra*. Titled *The Arte of warre,* Whitehorne's rendering was printed with a treatise on warfare drawing on his own experience and on more recent authorities on the subject in 1560–62.[38] In the preface, Whitehorne observes that:

---

[35] Brian Campbell, "Teach Yourself How To Be a General," *Journal of Roman Studies* 77 (1987): 13–29 (13–14); C.J. Smith, "Onasander on How To Be a General," in *Modus operandi: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman*, ed. Michel Austin, Jill Harries, and Christopher Smith, BICS Supplement, 71 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Studies, University of London, 1998), 151–166.

[36] *Onosandro Platonico dell'ottimo capitano generale, et del suo vfficio, tradotto di greco in lingua volgare italiana per messer Fabio Cotta nobil romano* (Venice: Gabriele Giolito De Ferrari, 1546). Even the title of Whitehorne's treatise is a literal rendering of Cotta's.

[37] *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt. of Bisham Abbey, Written by Himself. 1547–1564*, ed. Edgar Powell (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902), 19, 21, 25, 54, 61.

[38] The title page of *The Arte of warre* gives the date as July 1560. The colophon to the appended *Certain waies for the orderyng of Souldiers in battelray, & settyng of battailes after diuers fashions, with their maner of marchyng …*, which has a separate title-page and signings, is dated April 1562. The book was entered in the Stationers' Register as "the arte of Warre" in 1562–63 (*A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554–1640, A.D.*, ed. Edward Arber, 5 vols. (London: privately printed, 1875–94), vol. 1, 201). It thus seems that the composite volume was not issued until 1562 (apparently no separate copies of the two works survive). Given that the month as well as the year on the title-page are different, July 1560 is unlikely to be a simple misprint, which suggests that printing had started on the translation of Machiavelli by that date and the preface was written before

"about .x. yeres paste, in the Emperours warres against the Mores and certain Turkes beyng in Barberie, at the siege & winnyng of Calibbia, Monesterio and Africa, I had as well for my further instruction in those affaires, as also the better to acquainte me with the Italian tongue, reduced into Englishe [this book]."[39] The reference is to the capture of the towns of Kalibia, Monastir, and Africa (Mehedia) from the Barbary pirates, who were allied with the Ottoman Turks, by the armies of Charles V in late 1550.[40] Whitehorne had apparently joined the empire's army to fight the Ottomans following his travels in Italy with Hoby, perhaps when reinforcements were assembled from Florence and other Italian cities following an attack on the empire's forces by the Ottoman admiral and corsair Turgut Reis (Dragut) on 25 July.[41] It may have been as a result of his involvement in the conflict with the Barbary pirates that Whitehorne visited Constantinople and Turkey, as he reveals in the preface to the Onasander translation when he appeals to his personal experience of the organisation of the Ottoman army (A3^{r}). Whitehorne's comments in the dedication to his translation of Machiavelli point to its close relation in content and purpose with his version of Onasander, likewise written "longe agon." As Sidney Anglo has recently pointed out, there is also a more specific reason to suspect Whitehorne's two translations were conceived together.[42] Whitehorne derived the table of contents in his version of Machiavelli from the division of chapters in the French edition by Jean Charrier, which was accompanied by a translation of Onasander.[43] It is thus likely that it was this book that first drew Whitehorne's attention to

---

this. On the sources of *Certain waies*, see Hale, 260–61; Sydney Anglo, *Machiavelli – The First Century: Studies in Enthusiasm, Hostility, and Irrelevance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 190–91.

[39] *The Arte of warre, written first in Italia[n] by Nicholas Machiauell, and set forthe in Englishe by Peter Whitehorne, studient at Graies Inne: with an addicio[n] of other like Marcialle feates and experimentes, as in a Table in the ende of the Booke maie appere* (London: John Kingston for Nicholas England, 1560?), a3^{r-v} (STC 17164).

[40] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols (London: Collins, 1972–73), vol. 2, 907–11. The siege is described in *A Report and Discourse written by Roger Ascham, of the affaires and state of Germany and the Emperour Charles his court, duryng certaine yeares while the sayd Roger was there* (London: John Day, 1570?), B2^{v}–B3^{r}. (STC 830). I owe this reference to Mike Pincombe.

[41] Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Armada española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y de Aragón*, 9 vols (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1895–1903), vol. 1, 283.

[42] Anglo, 191.

[43] *L'Art de la guerre, composé par Nicolas Machiauelli,* [...] *L'Estat aussi et charge d'un lieutena[n]t général d'armée, par Onosander,* [...] *Le tout traduict en vulgaire fra[n]çois, par Iehan Charrier* (Paris: Jean Barbé, 1546).

the ancient author's text and that he read the two works alongside each other during the conflict with the Barbary pirates, perhaps using the French as a crib in his study of the Italian language.

While Whitehorne's translation of Onasander, like that of Machiavelli, thus seems to have been written in the context of his service in the army of Charles V against the Barbary pirates in the early 1550s, his works were not published until a decade later, in the early 1560s. Apart from the reference to his visit to Turkey, no information has come to light about Whitehorne's activities during the remainder of the 1550s. However, he appears on the title-page of his translation of Machiavelli's *The Arte of warre*, dated July 1560, as a "studient at Graies Inne."[44] The environment of the Inns of Court, which were brimming with literary activity in the early 1560s, may have acted as a spur for Whitehorne to put his translations into print.[45] Specifically, his association with the dedicatee of the Onasander translation, Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, very likely derived from Gray's Inn, to which Norfolk was admitted on 28 December 1561.[46] *Of the generall captaine, and of his office* had a particular relevance to Norfolk, who had been lieutenant-general of the north in 1559–60 and, as Whitehorne notes, "hath heretofore executed the office of a Generall" and "in Marshiall feates, and in the profounde knowledge thereof, is thought most expert."[47] In the preface Whitehorne also highlights the martial prowess of Howard's grandfather, the second duke, none other than the dedicatee of Barclay's translation of Sallust.

A related context for the publication of Whitehorne's translation can be traced through the printer of Onasander's treatise, William Seres, and his master, William Cecil. While the exact role of Seres and Cecil in the chain of events leading to the publication of Whitehorne's translation is hard to pin down, the circumstantial evidence of their involvement is compelling. Seres was a household servant of Cecil's in the 1550s (and probably later too), and he remained closely associated with him to the

---

[44] *The Arte of warre,* title-page. Whitehorne is also described as "felow of Graise Inne" on 2E1^{r}; his name is not however listed in Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889, together with the Register of Marriages in Gray's Inn Chapel, 1695–1754* (London: privately printed, 1889).

[45] See Jessica Lynn Winston, "Literature and Politics at the Early Elizabethan Inns of Court" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002).

[46] Michael A.R. Graves, "Howard, Thomas, fourth duke of Norfolk (1538–1572)," *ODNB* (*Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, col. 30). See C.H. Conley, *The First English* Translators, 39.

[47] *Of the generall captaine, and of his office*, A3^{v}–A4^{r}.

end of his life.[48] Cecil himself had studied at Gray's Inn in the early 1540s and continued his involvement with the institution into the 1560s.[49] Seres published the translation of Baldesar Castiglione's *The Courtier* by Whitehorne's Italian travel companion Thomas Hoby, also a social contact of Cecil at this time, in 1561.[50] The other three classical translations that Seres published in the early years of Elizabeth's reign were by Thomas Blundeville, who was associated with the Inns of Court, and Arthur Golding, who was employed by Cecil in the education of his ward, the earl of Oxford, and lived in Cecil House in 1564.[51] The preface to Golding's translation of Caesar, discussed above, suggests that Cecil may have arranged for his servant Seres to print books in which he took a personal interest. Given that Seres printed only a relatively limited number of books other than psalters and primers, for which he had a patent, and religious works in the period from 1558 to 1565, the connections of these four works with Cecil and the Inns of Court suggest a similar association lies behind the publication of Whitehorne's Onasander too.[52]

In contrast to Brende and Whitehorne, both of whom served as soldiers, John Sadler, the translator of *The fovre bookes of Flauius Vegetius Renatus* (1572), was a schoolmaster and parish priest. Like the translations of Brende and Whitehorne, however, Sadler's version of the fourth or early

---

48 Peter Blayney, "William Cecil and the Stationers," in *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550–1990*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), 11–34; Elizabeth Evenden, "Seres, William (d. 1578x80)," *ODNB*.

49 C.H. Conley, *The First English Translators*, 25; Wilfrid R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts, 1590–1640* (London: Longman, 1972), 38.

50 *The covrtyer of covnt Baldessar Castilio diuided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge Gentilmen and Gentilwomen abiding in Court, Palaice, or Place, done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby* (London: William Seres, 1561) (STC 4778). Cecil's connection with Hoby and his possible involvement with the printing of *The Courtier* are discussed in Mary Partridge, "Thomas Hoby's English Translation of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*," *The Historical Journal* 50 (2007): 769–86, esp. 783.

51 *Three morall Treatises, no lesse pleasaunt than necessary for all men to reade, wherof the one is called the Learned Prince, the other the Fruites of Foes, the thyrde the Porte of rest.* (London: William Seres, 1561) (STC 20063.5); *The eyght bookes of Caius Iulius Caesar* (1565); *The fyrst fovver bookes of P. Ouidius Nasos worke, intitled Metamorphosis, translated oute of Latin into Englishe meter by Arthur Golding Gent. A woorke very pleasaunt and delectable* (London: William Seres, 1565) (STC 18955). Blundeville's translation of Plutarch's *Moralia* is included in a list of works produced by men at the Inns of Court in the preface to Jasper Heywood's 1560 translation of Seneca's *Thyestes* (Fred Schurink, "Print, Patronage, and Occasion: Translations of Plutarch's *Moralia* in Tudor England," *Yearbook of English Studies* 38 (2008): 86–101, 95 n. 39); on Golding's relation with Cecil, see John Considine, "Golding, Arthur (1535/6–1606)," *ODNB*.

52 See Peter Blayney, "William Cecil," and Elizabeth Evenden, "Seres".

fifth century imperial administrator Vegetius' treatise on warfare was dedicated to a nobleman who had held a significant military appointment, Francis Russell, second earl of Bedford.[53] Having been governor of Berwick and warden of the Scottish marches from 1564, Bedford served as lieutenant-general in the north from 1565 to 1568 (making him the successor of the noblemen associated with the two previous translations, Hertford and the fourth duke of Norfolk).[54] Bedford was, in fact, one of the major patrons of letters in the period, and received about thirty dedications, several thanking him for his support.[55] Nor was Sadler's Vegetius the only military translation dedicated to Bedford. In 1573, a year after Sadler's treatise was published, Thomas Blundeville dedicated a manuscript version of the Italian emigré Jacopo Aconcio's treatise on fortification to Bedford; Aconcio's involvement in the defenses of the town as a military engineer in 1564 relates it directly to the earl's appointment in Berwick.[56] Like Blundeville, Sadler expresses his "verye bounden dutye" to Bedford in the dedication to Vegetius, explaining that: "nowe manye yeares latelye passed, [I] haue receiued a liberall annuitye or stipende of your honoure, whereby I haue bene the better able to expresse suche poore knowledge as I had, or at least my good will, not onelye in setting forth of this present worke, but also in that trade, which I haue professed a long time."[57] With this last phrase, Sadler refers to his profession as a schoolmaster: it appears

---

[53] On Vegetius, see Campbell, 16–17; Josette A. Wisman, "Flavius Vegetius Renatus," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller et al. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1960–), vol. 6, ed. F. Edward Cranz and Kristeller (1986), 175–84.

[54] Wallace T. MacCaffrey, "Russell, Francis, second earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585)," *ODNB*. Given the connection of the translation with the conflict with Scotland, it is ironic that a copy of Sadler's translation should have been purchased for the education of the young Prince James VI (T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), vol. 1, 533.

[55] M. St C. Byrne and G.S. Thomson, "'My Lord's books:' The Library of Francis, Second Earl of Bedford, in 1584," *Review of English Studies* 7 (1931): 385–405. Byrne and Thomson's claim that he was the recipient of more dedications than the Earl of Leicester, repeated in *ODNB*, is not supported by the more up-to-date figures in Franklin B. Williams, Jr., *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962).

[56] West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, Petworth House Archives, MS HMC 143, partly transcribed by Stephen Johnston: <http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/staff/saj/aconcio/> [accessed 28 July 2011]. See A.G. Keller, "Aconcio, Jacopo (c.1520–1566/7?)," *ODNB*.

[57] *The fovre bookes of Flauius Vegetius Renatus, briefelye contayninge a plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of Martiall policye, feates of Chiualrie, and vvhatsoeuer pertayneth to warre. Translated out af* [sic] *lattine, into Englishe, by Iohn Sadler.* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1572), $\pi 3^{r-v}$ (STC 24631).

that Bedford, who was Lord of the Manor of Oundle, was instrumental in Sadler's appointment as schoolmaster there in 1555 and supported him with a stipend.[58]

Sadler explains that while his translation was dedicated to Bedford, it was produced at the suggestion of Sir Edmund Brudenell (1521–85), who lived in nearby Deene in Northamptonshire.[59] Brudenell is remembered – if at all – for his involvement in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's royally sanctioned scheme for the settlement of America to establish a colony that would give Roman Catholics religious freedom in 1582, and the authors of the *Oxford DNB* entry on Sadler plausibly suggest a connection with his translation of Vegetius.[60] Certainly, his Preface to the Reader invokes the example of the ancient Romans in establishing an empire through warfare:

> yet maye this worke appeare not altogether vnworthye to be knowen of our men of warre, wherein as it were in a glasse they may most clearelye see, … how that the *Romaynes* throughe suche skill and knowledge, and continuall exercise therof as is herein declared, haue vanquished and ouercome so manye barbarous and straunge Nations, subdued so manye prouinces, and become Lordes and rulers of the most part of the world (¶*1^{v}).

Around the same time as Sadler published his translation, moreover, Gabriel Harvey was engaged in a very similar reading of ancient history – in his case, the third decade of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* – with his patron Thomas Smith, the younger in preparation for the latter's colonial venture in Ireland; and there is evidence of the perceived relevance of Vegetius to a New World context.[61]

While it is possible that Brudenell's reading of Vegetius contributed to his involvement in Gilbert's scheme for the colonisation of the New World, however, it seems unlikely that it was one of his concerns at the time when

---

[58] David G. Mateer, "John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5," *Music & Letters*, 60 (1979): 281–95, 283; N.P. Milner and David Mateer, "Sadler, John (b. 1512/13, d. in or after 1591)," *ODNB*.

[59] On Brudenell, see Joan Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene* (London: Cassell, 1953), 51–84; Mary E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540–1640*, Publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society, 19 (Oxford: Printed for the Northamptonshire Record Society, 1956), 143–51.

[60] N.P. Milner and David G. Mateer; *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, ed. David Beers Quinn, 2 vols., Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 83–84 (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1940), 73–74, 256–60.

[61] Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "Studied for Action," 40–42; J. Frederick Fausz and John Kukla, "A Letter of Advice to the Governor of Virginia, 1624," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 34 (1977), 104–129, 123–24.

the translation was conceived and published. A much more direct military context suggests itself, in fact. In the letter of dedication, dated 1 October 1571, Sadler indicates that he had originally composed the translation, "for [Brudenell's] owne priuate vse and reading," some time before its date of publication: "AFter I had first taken in hande … the translation of this worthy and famous writer Flaui[us] Vegetius, at the request of the right worshipfull sir Edmo[n]de Brudenell knight: … he … did *afterwarde* purpose to cause the sayde worke to be printed" ($\pi 2^{r-v}$; emphasis mine). Only a couple of years earlier, in late 1569, one of the major challenges to the Elizabethan regime, the Northern Rising, occurred, and Brudenell was heavily involved in preparations to suppress the rebellion. A letter dated 13 August shows Brudenell, who had been appointed deputy lieutenant of Northamptonshire, engaged in purchasing armour and weapons and raising and training men and organising them into a credible force. After the start of the rebellion towards the end of the year, he attended the training of the soldiers and supervised the purchase of suitable clothing and transportation.[62] With its advice on the selection and training of recruits (book 1), the organisation of the army (book 2), and strategy in battle and sieges (books 3 and 4), it is easy to see how Vegetius' treatise would have presented itself as an extremely practical manual for a country gentleman with limited military know-how. As Sadler writes in the preface, "small experience with diligente readinge and perfecte learninge of feates of ware, maye frame and make manye polliticke Captaynes in a shorter space" (¶*3^{r}). What could have been more natural for Brudenell, therefore, than to turn to the local schoolmaster and newly-appointed vicar of nearby Sudborough – a man "well-versed in Latin and theology" according to a survey of the diocese – to provide an English translation of a Latin treatise for his benefit and that of his fellow commanders?[63]

Sadler's Vegetius illustrates how Tudor translators created what were in effect completely new, and up-to-date, works by applying ancient Greek and Latin texts to the events and circumstances of sixteenth-century England. Classical translations deserve study for the ideas they made available, but they equally merit attention for their dynamic interventions in, and engagement with, the specific historical contexts to which

62 Joan Wake, *The Brudenells*, 62–63.

63 David Mateer, "John Sadler," 281 n. 5. Sadler himself condemns the rebellion in the preface (¶*1r). The argument in Henry J. Webb, "The Elizabethan Translations of Vegetius' *De Re Militari*," *Modern Language Notes* 56 (1941): 605–06, that Sadler saw a specific criticism of the Elizabethan military state of affairs in Vegetius is less convincing.

they were addressed. The translation of ancient Greek and Roman texts on warfare, so pervasive in Tudor England, illustrates this well. This essay has shown how translations grew out of, and responded to, the wars of sixteenth-century Europe in a variety of ways. It has also highlighted the often unexpected intersections of war with a wide range of other activities and contexts and the conditions of writing and publication in the period. Ancient texts on warfare were indeed "studied for action" by their Tudor translators, but such action could take many forms.

CATO IN ENGLAND: TRANSLATING LATIN SAYINGS FOR MORAL AND LINGUISTIC INSTRUCTION[1]

Demmy Verbeke

Thanks to the efforts of Foster Watson and T.W. Baldwin, we are well informed about the curriculum at English grammar schools in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] In the early stages of his training, the school boy – to quote the words of Baldwin – "gets oral composition by memorizing phrases for all the ordinary operations of life, learns the simplest rules of grammar, studies simple authors as models for speaking and writing, and constructs simple themes as his written composition."[3] The keyword here is clearly *simple* and it goes without saying that school boys at this stage of their training were not yet ready to read complicated classical authors such as Vergil, Ovid, or Horace. But which authors, then, were considered suitable for the pupils of the lower grammar school? Almost all the surviving statutes of English schools offered the same reading program: pupils would start with the *Dicta Catonis*, move on to the Latin Aesop, and subsequently turn to Terence. The advantage of these three authors, and certainly as they were presented to the pupils, was that they offered a combination of relatively simple Latin with moral instruction, making them useful, to paraphrase Erasmus' judgment, for the teacher who wants to safeguard his pupils from barbarisms in their language as well as in their behaviour.[4]

This omnipresence of Terence, Aesop and the *Dicta Catonis* in the educational system obviously stimulated the publication of numerous editions and translations once the printing press was introduced into England. A study of the English-Latin versions of Terence has illustrated

[1] I am deeply grateful to Robert Cummings for his insightful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

[2] Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660. Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908; repr. London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968); T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944).

[3] T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, Vol. I, 92–93.

[4] See Erasmus' dedicatory epistle of the *Opuscula aliquot* to John de Neve, published in *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami,* ed. P.S. Allen, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906–58), Vol. 4, No. 298.

how the editors, translators and printers experimented with the mise-en-page to serve the different uses made of Terentian comedies in and outside the classroom.[5] The present essay focuses on one of the two other texts read by basically every English school boy of the Renaissance, namely the anonymous collection of sayings entitled *Dicta Catonis*, which probably dates back to the third century AD and was used as a primary reader from the Carolingian Renaissance until the eighteenth century.[6] The didactic use of this text led to twenty-five printings in England and Scotland before 1640, including more than fifteen editions of the most popular version, namely the edition prepared by Erasmus and printed for the first time in a volume entitled *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore et interprete*, published in Leuven in 1514. These *Opuscula* were an annotated edition of several collections of moral sayings intended for school boys, who – according to contemporary critics such as Vives – would learn valuable life lessons from it, distinguishing the truly good from the truly bad and enjoying its wisdom as an antidote against the caprices of Fortune.[7] Besides the *Dicta Catonis*, Erasmus included the *Mimi Publiani* (a collection of maxims from the first century AD), the *Septem Sapientum celebria dicta* (a collection of prose *sententiae* translated from Greek), a Latin translation of Isocrates' *Ad demonicum*, and other similarly improving texts. Because of their joint publication, the other texts, which could also be used for instruction on a linguistic and moral level, became so closely linked with the *Dicta Catonis* that the title 'Cato' frequently referred to the whole collection rather than to the *Dicta Catonis* alone.[8]

---

[5] Demmy Verbeke, "Types of Bilingual Presentation in the English-Latin Terence," in *Bilingual Europe: Latin and Vernacular Cultures ca. 1300–1800*, ed. Jan Bloemendal (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

[6] For a general discussion of the history and continuing success of the *Dicta Catonis* see, for instance, the introduction in Wayland Johnson Chase, *The Distichs of Cato. A Famous Medieval Textbook. Translated from the Latin with Introductory Sketch*, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History 7 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1922) and Fons van Buuren, *Levenslessen van Cato: het verhaal van een schoolboek* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1994).

[7] See Juan Luis Vives, "De ratione studii puerilis," in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Gregorius Majansius, 8 vols. (Valencia: Benedictus Monfort, 1782), Vol. 1, 265.

[8] See T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, Vol. I, 596 and 603. A description of the 1514 edition is found in Wouter Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 3 vols. (Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923–42), Vol. 1, 199–200; Marie-José Desmet-Goethals, "De *Catonis disticha moralia* uitgegeven door D. Erasmus en door L. Crucius," *Onze Alma Mater* 23–3 (1969): 168–184 (espec. 168–169) and John Archer Gee, "Berthelet's Latin-English publication of the *Apophthegmata Graeciae Sapientum* and other sayings formerly edited by Erasmus," *Studies in Philology*

Besides these editions of the Latin text, we also need to mention four English publications which can be connected with the *Dicta Catonis* but should not be considered editions or translations of it. The first is a bilingual volume entitled *Dicta sapientum* and printed by Thomas Berthelet in around 1527.[9] This book contains an abridged English translation of the *Mimi Publiani* and the *Septem Sapientum celebria dicta* as they were edited, together with the *Dicta Catonis*, in Erasmus' 1514 *Opuscula aliquot*. Since the volume does not, however, contain a translation of Cato's distichs as such, we can leave it aside in this study. The next three publications refer to Cato in their titles, but have for the rest very little to do with the third-century collection of maxims. The first is the *Cato Censorius Christianus* of Théodore de Bèze, a small collection of Latin poems about human vices first printed in Geneva in 1591 and reprinted the following year in Oxford.[10] A second *Cato Christianus* is interesting for our understanding of the English school system because it was written by Richard Mulcaster, who began his teaching career as first headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School in London (where he taught Edmund Spenser) and was appointed High Master of St Paul's School in 1596.[11] The book was intended as a companion to his *Cathechismus Paulinus*, published shortly before as a basic reader for the first year pupils in St Paul's School; the *Cato Christianus*

35–2 (1938): 164–177 (espec. 167–168). For a discussion of Erasmus' textual notes, see Louis A. Perraud, "A Document of Humanist Education: Erasmus's Commentary on the *Disticha Catonis*," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 9 (1988): 83–92 and Marie-José Desmet-Goethals, "Die Verwendung der Kommentare von Badius-Mancinellus, Erasmus und Corderius in der "Disticha Catonis" – Ausgabe von Livinus Crucius," in *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, ed. August Buck and Otto Herding, DFG Kommission für Humanismusforschung Mitteilung 1 (Boppard: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1975), 73–88.

[9] *Dicta sapientum. The sayenges of the wyse men of Grece in Latin with the Englysshe folowyng* (London: Thomas Berthelet, [1527?]) (STC 10478.7). It is discussed in detail in John Arthur Gee, "Berthelet's Latin-English publication of the *Apophthegmata Graeciae Sapientum*."

[10] *Cato censorius christianus* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1592) (STC 2003). A unique copy of this collection is preserved in the Winchester College Fellows Library, and I wish to thank its librarian, Geoffrey Day, for providing me with further information concerning it. For more about the first edition of this collection (and the reprints in de Bèze's *Poemata varia* from 1597 onwards), see Frédéric Gardy, *Bibliographie des oeuvres théologiques, littéraires, historiques et juridiques de Théodore de Bèze. Publiée avec la collaboration d'Alain Dufour*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance XLI (Geneva: Droz, 1960), 204–205.

[11] *Cato Christianus. In quem conijciuntur ea omnia, quae in sacris literis ad parentum, puerorumque; pietatem videntur maxime pertinere* (London: Valentine Simmes, [1600]) (STC 18249.5). For more information concerning the author, see William Barker, "Mulcaster, Richard (1531/2–1611)," in the *ODNB*.

served as a reader in the second year.[12] Mulcaster explains in his foreword that he wished to provide a text which would help the pupils to learn Latin without exposing them to pagan thought. With this in mind, he wrote this book of verses discussing biblical matters and named it after the wisdom of Cato and the truth of Christ, hence its title, *Cato Christianus*.[13] Finally, *The schoole of slovenrie: or, Cato turnd wrong side outward* is in fact an English rendering of Friedrich Dedekind's *Grobianus* by a translator known only by his initials 'R.F..'[14] The book is advertised as a 'reversed' Cato because it is a parody of conduct manuals. It advocates, for example, coughing into one's neighbour's face and belching and breaking wind freely.

This brings us to the subject of the present study, namely the English versions of the *Dicta Catonis* printed before 1641, which are listed in appendix. Basing our corpus on the extant editions catalogued in the ESTC, we can distinguish ten different translations of Cato, most of which were reprinted several times.[15] The earliest English translation made available in print is the verse rendering by Benedict Burgh (Appendix, no. 1), which probably dates back to the 1440s and which circulated in manuscript before it was printed by Caxton in about 1476, 1477 and 1483.[16] It was reprinted once more as a sort of historical curiosity in 1558, annexed to John Bury's English translation of Isocrates' *Ad demonicum*.[17] We are

---

[12] *Cato Christianus*, "Catonem hunc classi in schola Paulina secundae adiucavi, ut Catechismum primae," A4^{r}.

[13] See also the opening poem about the "Catonis Christiani argumentum & methodus" in *Cato Christianus*, 1–2.

[14] *The schoole of slovenrie: Or, Cato turnd wrong side outward. Translated out of Latine into English verse, to the vse of all English Christendome, except court and cittie. By R.F. Gent.* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1605) (STC 6457). This translation is discussed by Barbara Correll in *The End of Conduct. Grobianus and the Renaissance Text of the Subject* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), xii–xiv, who also offers further references for the reception of *Grobianus* in England.

[15] Henrietta R. Palmer, in her *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1911), mentions a number of extra translations licensed to various individuals, but apparently none is extant.

[16] Henry Burrowes Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1477–1620*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature 35 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1933), 18; George D. Painter, *William Caxton. A Quincentenary Biography of England's First Printer* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1976), 93 and Max Förster, "Die Burghsche Cato-Paraphrase," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 115 (1905): 298–323 and 116 (1906): 25–40. We know little about Burgh but see Douglas Gray, "Burgh, Benedict (d. in or before 1483)," in the *ODNB*.

[17] *The godly aduertisement or good counsel, of the famous orator Isocrates, entitled Paraenesis to Demonicus: wherto is annexed Cato in old English meter* (London: William Copland, 1557 [i.e. 1558]) (STC 14276). Whereas the fifteenth-century printings of Burgh's translation maintain the traditional order of the *Parvus Cato* followed by the *Magnus Cato*, the 1558 reprint switches them around and omits Burgh's dedicatory note at the end of the *Parvus Cato*.

informed about the initial audience of the translation by William Caxton, who states in the preface to his own Cato translation of 1484 that "Master Benet Burgh" prepared it for the instruction of William Bourchier, son of Henry, who was created Earl of Essex in 1461.[18] When Caxton reprinted the translation more than 30 years after its composition, he clearly had a more general audience in mind, namely that created by the new world of print.

Burgh's translation has been characterized by Henry Lathrop as "diffuse and stodgy."[19] Each Latin distich is translated into seven verses in "balade ryal" metre, the result being, again according to Lathrop, that "all the force of the original, which depended wholly on the pithy brevity of the axioms, is washed away in the shallow and vapid flood of Burgh's verbosity." The prolixity of Burgh's version, which after all was typical of the didactic writing of its time, is well illustrated by the rendition of *dictum* 3.12: "Uxorem fuge ne ducas sub nomine dotis, / Nec retinere velis, si coeperit esse molesta," translated in a modern English translation as: "For dowry take not thyself a wife, / Nor keep her with thee if she spoils thy life."[20] Burgh's rendering is as follows:

> Wedde not a wyf for hire enheritance
> For she wol cast it ful often in thy berd
> And yf she be noyant and ful of greuance
> Constreine hire neuer to abide in thy yerd
> Of chastisement It is a cursed swerd
> To kepe suche oon that wol ay a twyte
> For he is at ease that of suche oon is quyte. ([20^{r}])

[18] William Caxton, Prologue to the *Caton*: "for the erudicion of my lord Bousher sone and heyr at that tyme to my lord the erle of Estsex" (2^{r}). Biographical details in Linda Clark, "Bourchier, Henry, first earl of Essex (c. 1408–1483)," *ODNB*; William Painter, *William Caxton*, 93–94; Henry Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*, 17–18. It has been suggested that it was actually Burgh himself who had requested the printing of this translation since he might well have known Caxton, given his position as canon of St Stephen's Chapel in Westminster, but this remains unproved. See William Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton, England's First Printer* (London: Trubner & Co., 1877), 203.

[19] Henry Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*, 18. Goldberg's and Förster's evaluation are similarly negative: "Burgh's Gedicht ist durchweg ohne dichterischen Gehalt" (Goldberg, *Die Catonischen Distichen*, 45) and "die dichterische Bedeutung dieser nüchternen, langatmigen und unbeholfenen Reimerei [ist] gering" (Förster, "Die Burghsche Cato-Paraphrase," 298).

[20] Wayland Johnson Chase, *The Distichs of Cato*, 31. I follow the numbering of the standard critical edition by Marcus Boas and Henricus Johannes Botschuyver, *Disticha Catonis. Recensuit ac apparatu critico instruxit Marcus Boas. Opus post Marci Boas mortem edendum curavit Henricus Johannes Botschuyver* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1952).

Another fifteenth-century translation was provided by Caxton himself in 1484 (Appendix, no. 2). As his source Caxton used an anonymous French intermediary translation with a Latin title, *Disticha de moribus*, published by Martin Huss in c.1480.[21] The difference with Burgh's translation, beyond the fact that it is in prose rather than verse, is immediately obvious if one compares the two versions of distich 3.12:

> Thou oughtest not to take a wyf ne to coueyte hir for hyr dowayr / for hir rychesse ne for hir noblesse / but thou oughtest to chese and take hyr for hyr vertues and good condycyons / and for cause of hir good worshypful and honeste lygnage or kyndede / and specyally whan she hath a good moder / for the doughters folowen ofte the condycyone and maners of the moders / but whan thou arte wedded of by aduenture she doeth to the somme moleste or greef / that is to say yf she be an harlotte or an aduoultrere / thou oughtest to flee fro hyr and to put hir oute fro thy felowshyp / and knowe thou after ryght canon and cyuyl that thou ne oughtest for to leue and put hir fro the but onelye for aduoultrye / For knowe thou that it is a souerayn gyfte of god for to haue a good and lawful wyf / ([56^{v}])

In Caxton's own *Cato*, the Latin title of each saying is thus followed by an extensive commentary in English prose, which is translated from the French source. In other words, it is not a translation of simply the text of the *Dicta Catonis*, but of a French translation with commentary. This no doubt accounts in part for Caxton's decision to produce a second translation, where the commentary would strongly enforce the moral content, whereas Burgh's version could simply be read as a collection of English didactic poems. Moreover, the latter was incomplete. Caxton, following the French source, expands his version into a much more substantial text.

Almost sixty years later another translation appeared, Richard Taverner's *Catonis disticha moralia ex castigatione D. Erasmi Roterodami una cum annotationibus et scholiis* (Appendix, no. 3).[22] It is similar to

---

[21] For a brief discussion of Caxton's interdependent activities as a printer and translator, see A.E.B. Coldiron, "William Caxton," in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English. Volume I: To 1550*, ed. Roger Ellis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 160–169.

[22] Taverner translated several of Erasmus' works. See Andrew W. Taylor, "Taverner, Richard (1505?–1575)," in the *ODNB*; Charles Read Baskervill, "Taverner's *Garden of Wisdom* and the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus," *Studies in Philology* 29–2 (1932): 149–159; John K. Yost, "Taverner's Use of Erasmus and the Protestantization of English Humanism," *Renaissance Quarterly* 23–3 (1970): 266–276; E.J. Devereux, "Richard Taverner's Translations of Erasmus," *The Library. Fifth Series* 19 (1964): 212–214; and Doris V. Falk, "Proverbs and the Polonius Destiny," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 18–1 (1967): 23–36.

Caxton's version in that it offers a translation of a commentary accompanying the distichs, although this time they themselves are left untranslated; this is for didactic purposes. Taverner indicates in his preface adressed "to the tendre youth of Englande" that the verse of the original must be "obscure and ful of difficultie" for the common child (a1^{v}). He therefore decided not to translate the Latin distichs word by word (an exercise better supervised by the class instructor), but to offer the pupils help with understanding the Latin through explicatory notes based on the ones prepared by Erasmus. The study of these notes indicates Taverner did not hesitate to add some glosses of his own or to expand on the information provided by Erasmus.[23] This point is illustrated through a comparison of Erasmus' and Taverner's comments on distich 3.12, whereby it becomes immediately clear that Taverner uses more words to get the message across, and that this is not entirely attributable to linguistic differences between synthetic Latin and analytic English:

> Fuge, id est, caue ne ducas uxorem dotis causa. Et si duxeris dotatam, ne dotis respectu eam retineas, si tibi grauis sit sed contempta dote repudies. Quamquam id apud cristianos non habet locum.[24]

> Beware and flee this thyng, that thou mary not a wyfe for the goodes sake that she bryngeth with her. No kepe her not, if she begyn to be greueuse and comberouse unto the, but let her go with that she brought a gods name rather then thou shuldest be disquieted all thy lyfe longe with her. Here shall ye note that by the lawes of the Romaines, afore the religion of Christ came amonges them, they myght at theyr pleasure shyfte a waye theyr wyues, if they lyked them not and take newe. But christen men can not do so. wherfore they ought to be the more diligent and cyrcumspecte to chuse suche as they may lyue in quiet with. (xv^{v}-xvi^{r})

In 1545, another version of the *Dicta Catonis* with commentary based on the same source text appeared under the title *Preceptes of Cato with annotacions of D. Erasmus of Roterodame, very profytable for all men* (Appendix, no. 4). The translator was Robert Burrant, who chose not to include the Latin, but to offer an English translation in rhyming distichs together with a translation of Erasmus' commentary:

> Cato 12: *Beware thou marie not a wife for her dowries sake. / And if she be shrewish, soone her from the shake.*

---

[23] Taverner did the same in his *Garden of Wisdom* and other 'translations' based on Erasmus. See Henry Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*, 70–71 and Charles Read Baskervill, "Taverner's *Garden of Wisdom* and the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus."

[24] *Catonis praecepta moralia recognita atque interpretata ab Erasmo Roterodamo* ([Leipzig: Schumann, 1518]), [25].

> Erasmus: Take hede thou wed not a wife for the sake or cause of her dowrie. And if thou dooe marrie one riche and wel dowred, reteine her not for the respecte of her dowrie, if she be a shrewe but her dowrie set a parte, thou shalt forsake her. How be it emong Christen menne this precepte is not to bee folowed, nor ought to be allowed. (hiiii^{r}-hiiii^{v})

Despite the fact that Burrant's version is based on the same source text as Taverner's, their publications are quite different owing to the fact that they had different audiences in mind. Burrant does not address the "tendre youth of Englande," but instead dedicates his translation to a certain Sir Thomas Caverden of Bletchingly, Surrey.[25] He furthermore explains in his preface to the reader that the *Dicta Catonis* should not only be used for the instruction of schoolboys, but "dooeth worthely deserue to be had in fauour with man woman, and child" (A5r). This intention to reach a broad audience probably explains the omission of the Latin and confirms that there were people in England who read Cato as adults, outside the class room, just as, for instance, they did in Spain.[26]

A completely different intention lies behind the publication of *Cato Construed, or Catos precepts, with a familiar and easie interpretation* (Appendix, no. 5). This is an anonymous English version of the Latin-French edition by Matthew Cordier, an educational reformer who had developed a method to help pupils understand their first Latin texts by providing them with a detailed construing and parsing method.[27] The English version duplicates Cordier's method and replaces the original French with English.[28] The result is a bilingual edition, with a paraphrase of the distich in Latin and English, the *dictum Catonis* in Latin, with some

---

[25] For information on Burrant see J.K. McGinley, "Burrant, Robert (fl. 1546–1553)," in the *ODNB*. His patron is mentioned by James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd ed. 1968), 222, but little is known about him except for the fact that Henry VIII granted him Northumberland House in London.

[26] See Barry Taylor, "Michael Verinus and the *Distichs* of Cato in Spain: a comparative study in reception," in *Latin and Vernacular in Renaissance Spain*, ed. Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu (Manchester: Manchester Spanish and Portuguese Studies, 1999), 73–82.

[27] More information about Cordier's educational methods and his version of the *Dicta Catonis* is found in Jules Le Coultre, *Maturin Cordier et les origines de la pédagogie protestante dans les pays de langue française (1530–1564)*, Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchatel 5 (Neuchatel: Secrétariat de l'Université, 1926) (esp. 75–89) and Elizabeth K. Hudson, "The Colloquies of Maturin Cordier: Images of Calvinist School Life and Thought," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 9–3 (1978): 57–78.

[28] Exactly the same procedure is used in Latin-German versions of Cordier's edition. See for instance *Disticha moralia nomine Catonis inscripta cum Germanica interpretatione & vbi opus fuit, declaratione Latina ... ex postrema Matvrini Corderij recognitione* (Leipzig, Iohannes Beyer, 1581).

of Cordier's commentary, also in Latin, followed by a grammatical analysis which includes translation:

> *Dotis causa uxorem ne duxeris.* Marrie not a wife for her greate dowrie sake.
>
> Vxorem fuge, ne ducas sub nomine dotis:
> Nec retinere velis, si coeperit esse molesta.
>
> *Imo ad mortem usque retinenda est ea, quam semel duxeris, etiam si fuerit molestissima. Nam christiana lege non licet uxorem relinquere, nisi propter eius adulterium.*
>
> Fuge [*sub. tu*] *caue*. Beware thou,
> Ne ducas vxorem, that thou marrie not a wife
> Sub nomine dotis] *id est, causa,* for the cause of a dowrie, for her dowrie sake.
>
> Nec [*sub. tu*] velis] *et noli*. And will not thou
> Retinere] *seruare* [*sub. uxorem quantumlibet dotatam*, keepe a Wife although she haue a good dowrie,
> Si [*sub. illa*] coeperit] *incoeperit*, if she begin
> Esse molesta, to be troublesome (*sub. tibi*) to thee, that is to saie, if she become wicked. (Fv^{v})[29]

Another translation which was clearly intended to serve as a school handbook is the one by the grammarian and spelling reformer William Bullokar entitled *Aesop's Fables in tru Ortography with Grammar-nots. Her-untoo ar also iooined the short sentences of the wyz Cato im-printed with lyk form and order: both of which Autorz ar translated out-of Latin intoo English* (Appendix, no. 6).[30] As a teacher, Bullokar was frustrated with the slow progress of his pupils in reading and writing, which he blamed on the fact that the English spelling contained numerous ambiguities; in other words, there was no one-to-one relation between a letter and its pronunciation. He therefore developed his own reformed alphabet on a phonetic basis, and published a grammar and a reader in this new alphabet so that his system could be taught in schools.[31] The reader prepared by Bullokar

[29] I have been unable to check the first edition (of which the British Library only holds an imperfect copy) and have used the 1584 reprint instead.

[30] For biographical information on Bullokar see Vivian Salmon, "Bullokar, William (c. 1531–1609)," in the *ODNB*.

[31] A succint description of Bullokar's system is provided by Bornstein in her introduction to William Bullokar, *"Booke at Large" (1580) and "Bref Grammar for English" (1586). Facsimile Reproductions with an Introduction by Diane Bornstein* (Dolmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1977), v–xiii. See also R.E. Zachrisson, *The English pronunciation at Shakespeare's time as taught by William Bullokar*, Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl. Humanistika Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala. Band 22 (Uppsala and Leipzig: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri and Otto Harrassowitz, 1927).

contains the *Fables* of Aesop and a continuous translation without any comments of the *Dicta Catonis* in his phonetic spelling. The translator explains in his foreword that he wanted to stay close to the Latin, so that a pupil would be able to compare the Latin text with his translation and immediately see the correspondence between the two:

> I hau translated out-of Latin intoo English, but not in the best phras for englisch, thouh English be capabl' of the perfect senc thaer-of, and miht ben uzed in the best phras, had not my car ben too kep it somewhat ner the Latin phras, that the English laernor of Latin raeding-ouer thaez Autorz in both langages miht the aezilier confer them toogether in their senc, and the better understand the on by the other. (B1^{v})

The result is – again according to Lathrop's judgment – a Cato in crude verse without any literary value.[32] Here is Bullokar's English *dictum* 3.12:

> Tak not a wyf in the
> respect of hir dower,
> [lest repentanc folow]
> if she war too-sower. (21)

Since the *Dicta Catonis* was used as a primary reader in schools, the translations also reflect various educational methods. In Bullokar's case, the publication showcases an experiment which did not enjoy much success, but the *Cato translated grammatically* (Appendix, no. 7) by the schoolmaster John Brinsley offers an example of a teaching method which was more widely accepted.[33] This method is double translation, first described by Quintilian and later advised by humanist educational authors, such as Roger Ascham, for the Latin instruction of school boys.[34] It consisted in translating a Latin passage into English, then after a suitable interval translating it back from English into Latin, a procedure which if repeated regularly quickly increased a student's grasp of Latin. The problem was, however, the application of this method in a classroom of twenty, thirty, or more pupils as it was impossible for the schoolmaster to correct each time the individual translations of all his students. The solution was to provide model English translations of the common school texts so that

---

[32] Henry Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*, 229.

[33] For more on Brinsley see John Morgan, "Brinsley, John (bap. 1566, d. in or after 1624)," in the *ODNB*.

[34] William E. Miller, "Double Translation in English Humanistic Education," *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 163–174; Brinsley's adaptation of this method is explained in Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*, 293–300.

pupils could correct their own versions through comparison with the model translation before translating the text back into Latin. Brinsley thus produced several translations which could be used for this purpose, including the *Cato translated grammatically*, which provides an English summary of each distich followed by a prose translation with glosses and alternative translations in the margin, cued by letters in the text:

> *A wife* [*is*] b *not to be married in hope of* c *Dowrie.*
> Fly thou [or beware] least thou marry, [or that thou doe not marry] a wife, *d* vnder the name, [or in regard] of a dowrie.
> Neither *e* will thou [or bee thou willing] to retaine [her] if she shall begin to be *f g* troublesom.
>
> *b* to be led, or taken.
> *c* portion, or goods.
> *d* in respect of portion, or goods.
> *e* retain thou, or keep her.
> *f* wicked.
> *g* This counsell was Heathenish, not Christian. (19)

The next two translations were not intended to be used as school books. Rather, they are more closely related to Burrant's version in the sense that they aim to reach a wider audience. In John Penkethman's *A handful of honesty, or Cato in English verse* (Appendix, no. 8), the "Aduertisement to the Viewer" that appears opposite the title page states that this is a translation for "yong, and old, high, low and all conditions." Penkethman himself explains in his preface that he is unhappy about the fact that Cato, being in the Latin tongue, is only read by children in school. He feels that the original purpose of the *Dicta Catonis*, namely a general use as a handbook of morals for everyone, should be reinstated and he has therefore translated it into the vernacular so that everyone, even those who do not know Latin, can read it.[35] He offers the following translation of distich 3.12, with an accompanying note:

> For goods beware thou marry not a wife,
> Nor keepe her, if she lead a shrewish life. (B7^{r})

[35] John Penkethman, "The Translators Preface To The benevolent Perusers": "I therefore considering that the Morall Distichs intitled *Cato* being in the Latine tongue, were learned and read onely in Schooles by Children, and desiring to spend my vacant houres in some commendable study for the benefit of my Countrey, (to which ende especially we are borne) conceiud it a worke of worth to translate the same in our Mother tongue, both for the inst<r>uction of such Parents, and others, as were ignorant of the Latine, and for a generall vse for which they were intended" (A5^{r}).

> Nay rather you must keepe her till death, if you once marry her, though she proue neuer so shrewish or troublesome. For by Christian Law, a man may not leaue his wife for any cause except Adultery. (C8^{r})

Penkethman's version is mildly criticized by his successor Richard Baker in his *Cato variegatus or Catoes morall distichs: translated and paraphras'd, with variations of expressing, in English verse* (Appendix, no. 9).[36] Baker states in his preface that by "tying himselfe [Penkethman], strictly to the words, he could not alwaies, either so fully, or so gracefully, expresse the mening: for indeed, the words of one language, cannot alwaies be reached, by the very same words of another" (A3^{r}). His solution to this problem is a *Cato variegatus*, whereby each Latin distich is followed by anywhere between two and eightteen different translations in verse. The translator admits that these different renditions could be considered to be "paraphrases or Collateral Conceits" instead of translations, but argues that he is more interested in translating the sense and that it is better to tender the existing variety of judgements with a variety of expressions. His version of distich 3.12 offers two paraphrases:

> Take heed thou marry not a wife for Portion:
> Nor keepe her longer than she keepes proportion.
> *Or thus*
> Take not a wife for wealth: or if thou doe,
> If once she grow insulting; let her goe. (66)

Closing the list of English translations of the *Dicta Catonis* is *Marcus Ausonius his foure bookes of morall precepts intituled Cato* (Appendix, no. 10) by Walter Gosnold. The book is dedicated to Thomas Bowes, son and heir of the translator's patron, to encourage him to learn Latin. Gosnold tells him:

> And none can I finde (sweet sir) that in my minde will be more pleasing to your gentle nature, for the encouraging of you to the laborious and industrious obtaining of the Latin tongue, where into you are even now entering: or more fitter for your worships tractible disposition, being of very yong, and tender yeeres, and in whom the very sparkes of a philomathy is already seene, then this new translated Poet (A3^{r}).

---

[36] Baker's translation is discussed in Bartlett Jere Whiting, "Sir Richard Baker's *Cato variegatus* (1636)," in *Humaniora. Essays in Literature, Folklore, Bibliography Honoring Archer Taylor on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Wayland D. Hand and Gustave O. Arlt (Locust Valley, NY: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1960), 8–16. Also see G.H. Martin, "Baker, Sir Richard (c. 1568–1645)," in the *ODNB*.

In this version, the summary is quoted in Latin, with a translation into English, followed by the Latin *dictum Catonis* and an English verse translation:

> *Uxor spe dotis non ducenda.*
> A wife is not to be married in hope of dowry, portion, or goods.
>
> *Uxorem fuge, ne ducas sub nomine dotis:*
> *Nec retinere velis, si coeperit esse molesta.*
> Take not a wife for portion sake
> least wicked she doe prove:
> or if she falsifie her troth,
> admit no more her love. (E1^{r})

Despite the youthful dedicatee, this publication most probably did not serve as a handbook in a classroom setting. Gosnold, in the tradition of Burrant, Penkethman, and Baker, indicates that his version could be read by "man, woman, or child" (C1^{r}) and that his main purpose was to bring Latin wit to an English reader: "Methinks some curious Reader, I heare say, / That Latin verse in English, is not fit: / My booke is plaine, and would have if it may, / An English Reader, but a Latin wit" (C2^{v}).

Our survey of early modern English versions of the *Dicta Catonis* shows that this collection of sayings constituted a very flexible text, used for many purposes and addressed to a varied public. Although basically all the printed translated works mentioned in this essay can be labelled as 'English versions of Cato,' closer inspection has brought to light the fact that some are actually original Latin works, some are translations of different Latin source texts, others should be qualified as translations or adaptations of commentaries on the *Dicta Catonis* rather than translations of it, while one, Caxton's, is based on a French intermediary. Moreover, the translations in the strictest sense of the word still show much variation, depending on the intended reading public and whether the translator wanted to stress linguistic instruction, moral instruction, or both. It is this diversity that makes the study of the translation activity during the period under discussion so interesting. At the same time, it is also one of the elements that makes it difficult to identify, qualify and catalogue all relevant publications. A further complication arises from the fact that English translations of the *Dicta Catonis* are frequently published in books which also contain translations of other collections of sayings from the ancients. In any case, the findings of this case study question the existence of a truly 'English Cato' and demonstrate how inter-connected print and translation were in early modern England.

APPENDIX
English translations of the Dicta Catonis printed before 1641[37]

1. Verse translation by Benedict Burgh[38]
   - *Hic incipit paruus Catho* [Westminster: William Caxton, 1476] (STC 4851)
   - *Hic incipit paruus Catho* [Westminster: William Caxton, 1477] (STC 4850)
   - *Hic incipit paruus Catho* [Westminster: William Caxton, 1483] (STC 4852)
   - *The Godly aduertisement or good counsell of the famous orator Isocrates, intitled Paraenesis to Demonicus: wherto is annexed Cato in olde Englysh meter* (London: William Copland, 1557 [i.e. 1558]) (STC 14276)
2. Prose translation by William Caxton
   - *Here begynneth the prologue or prohemye of the book called Caton* [Westminster: William Caxton, 1484] (STC 4853)
3. Prose translation by Richard Taverner
   - *Catonis disticha moralia ex castigatione D. Erasmi Roterodami una cum annotationibus et scholijs Richardi Tauerneri anglico idiomate conscriptis in usum Anglicae iuuentutis* (London: Richard Taverner, 1540) (STC 4843)

---

[37] This list has been checked against Henrietta R. Palmer, *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641* and Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie, "Translations from Greek and Latin Classics 1550–1700: A Revised Bibliography," *Translation and Literature* 18 (2009): 1–42, as well as the online *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1640* (www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc). The first seven translations have been discussed by Henry Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*. The translations by Burgh, Caxton, Burrant, Bullokar and the anonymous *Cato construed* are also discussed in Max Otto Goldberg, *Die Catonischen Distichen während des Mittelalters in der englischen und französischen Literatur. I. Theil: Der englischen Cato* (Leipzig: Joachim & Jüstel, 1883), while those by Burgh, Caxton, Brinsley, Penkethman, Baker, and Bullokar, together with the *Cato construed*, also feature in Ingrid Arvide Brunner, "On Some of the Vernacular Translations of Cato's *Distichs*," in *Helen Adolf Festschrift,* ed. Sheema Z. Buehne, James L. Hodge and Lucille B. Pinto (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1968), 99–125. A bibliographic description of the translations based on the edition by Erasmus is found in E.J. Devereux, *Renaissance English Translations of Erasmus. A Bibliography to 1700* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 188–205. The estimated dates of publication were copied from the *English Short-Title Catalogue*.

[38] Six of the ten translations are in verse. For the practice of translating moral prose texts into English verse, see Robert Cumming's essay in this volume.

- *Catonis disticha moralia ex castigatione D. Erasmi Roterodami vna cum annotationibus et scholijs Rechardi Tauerneri Anglico idiomata conscriptis ìn vsum Anglicae iuuenvis* [*sic*]. *Aliquot sententiae in signes ex variis collectae scriptoribus per eundem Erasmum. Mimi publiani, cum Anglicis eiusdem Rechardi scholiis, recogniti* (London: Nicholas Hill, 1553) (STC 4844)
- *Catonis disticha moralia ex castigatione D. Erasmi Roterodami vna cum annotationibus et scholijs Rechardi Tauerneri Anglico idiomata conscriptis ìn vsum Anglicae iuuentis. Aliquot sententiæ in signes ex variis collectae scriptoribus per eundem Erasmum. Mimi publiani, cum Anglicis eiusdem Rechardi scholiis, recogniti* (London: Nicholas Hill, 1553) (STC 4844.2)
- *Catonis disticha moralia ex castigatione D. Erasmi Roterodami vnà cum annotationibus & scholijs Richardi Tauerneri Anglico idiomate conscriptis in vsum Anglicae iuuentutis. Aliquot sententiae insignes ex varijs collectae scriptoribus per eundem Erasmum. Mimi publiani, cum Anglicis eiusdem Richardi scholijs, recogniti* (London: Robert Caly, 1555) (STC 4844.4)
- *Catonis disticha moralia ex castigatione D. Erasmi Roterodami una cum annotationibus et scholijs Richarde Tauerneri anglico idiomata conscriptis in vsum Anglicae iuuentis. Aliquot sententiae in signes ex varijs collectae scriptoribus per eundem Erasmum. Mimi Publiani, cum Anglicis eiusdem Richarde scholijs, recogniti* ([London: John Waley], 1562) (STC 4845)

4. Verse translation (with prose commentary) by Robert Burrant[39]
   - *Preceptes of Cato with annotacions of D. Erasmus of Roterodame, very profytable for all men* [London: Richard Grafton, 1545] (STC 4853.5)
   - *Preceptes of Cato wyth annotacions of D. Erasmus of Roerodame* [*sic*], *very profitable for all men* ([London: Richard Grafton], 1550) (STC 4853.7)
   - *Preceptes of Cato with annotacions of D. Erasmus of Roterodame vere profitable for all* [...] ([London: Richard Grafton], 1553) (STC 4854)
   - *Preceptes of Cato, with annotacions of D. Erasmus of Roterodame, verye profitable for all menne* ([London: John Tysdale], 1560) (STC 4857)
5. Anonymous prose translation
   - *Cato construed, or Catos precepts, with a familiar and easie interpretation. First done in Laten and Frenche by Maturinus Corderius, and now*

[39] Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie erroneously record an additional reprint of Burrant's translation in 1558 ("Translations from Greek and Latin Classics," 10).

newly englished to the comforte of all young scholers (London: [John Kingston], 1577) (STC 4857.7)

- *Cato construed, or a familiar and easie interpretation vpon Catos moral Verses. First doen in Laten and Frenche by Maturinus Corderius, and now newly englished, to the comforte of all young Schollers* (London: [John Kingston], 1584) (STC 4858)

6. Verse translation by William Bullokar
   - *Aesop's Fables in tru Ortography with Grammar-nots. Her-untoo ar also iooined the short sentences of the wyz Cato im-printed with lyk form and order: both of which Autorz ar translated out-of Latin intoo English* (London: Edmund Bollifant, 1585) (STC 187)
7. Prose translation by John Brinsley
   - *Cato translated grammatically; directing for vnderstanding, construing, parsing, making, and proouing the same Latine: and so for continuall practice of the grammaticall analysis and genesis. Done for the good of schooles, and of all desirous to recouer, or keep that which they got in the grammar-schoole, or to increase therein* (London: H.L[ownes], 1612) (STC 4859)
   - *Cato translated grammatically; directing for understanding, construing, parsing, making, and prooving the same Latin* (London: H.L[ownes], 1613) (STC 4859.5)
   - *Cato translated grammatically. Directing for understanding, construing, parsing, making, and proving the same Latin, and so for continuall practice of the grammaticall analysis and genesis. Done for the good of schools, and of all desirous to recover or keep that which the gette in the grammar-school, or to increase therein* (London: H.L[ownes], 1622) (STC 4860)
8. Verse translation by John Penkethman
   - *A handful of honesty. Or, Cato in English verse. Whereunto is prefixed a proper preface of the translator, and annexed, a three-fold table directing to varietie 1 Of lessons for all sorts of persons. 2 Of copies for writing-schollers. 3 Of poesies for the house and schoole* (London: Augustine Matthewes, 1623) (STC 4861)
   - *Cato in English verse. With a three-fold table directing to varietie. 1. Of lessons for all sorts of persons. 2. Of copies for writing-schollers. 3. Of poesies for the house and schoole. The second edition. With addition of proper titles or heads* (*answering the first table to euery distich for the more profitable vse of this worke, especially in the English schooles* (London: [G. Purslowe], 1624) (STC 4862)

9. Verse translation by Richard Baker
   - *Cato variegatus or Catoes morall distichs: translated and paraphras'd, with variations of expressing, in English verse* (London: Anne Griffin, 1636) (STC 4863)
10. Verse translation by Walter Gosnold
   - *Marcus Ausonius his foure bookes of morall precepts, intituled Cato: concerning the precepts of common life. Translated out of Latin hexamiters into English meter by Walter Gosnold Gentleman, servant unto the right worshipfull Sr. Thomas Bowes of Much-bromley hall in Essex* (London: Edward Griffin, 1638) (STC 4863.5)

PART FOUR

SHAPING MIND AND NATION THROUGH TRANSLATION

JOHN HESTER'S TRANSLATIONS OF LEONARDO FIORAVANTI: THE LITERARY CAREER OF A LONDON DISTILLER

Isabelle Pantin

The modern 'books of secrets' genre, which originated in Italy (at least in its printed form), achieved international success throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1] It was the successor of a first tradition, based on compilations falsely attributed to Aristotle and Albertus Magnus. This first tradition had irrevocably faded in the Renaissance, even if English translations of the *Secretum secretorum* and of the *Liber aggregationis* were still printed in London in the 1560s and 1570s.[2] The new books of secrets allured their readers by making quite different claims: they did not profess to transmit the treasure of a very ancient wisdom, but to disclose the discoveries recently made by resourceful practitioners (alchemists, natural magicians, pharmacists, and empirical doctors) who dedicated their lives to the great "hunt" after the secrets of nature, travelling, inquiring and making experiments without respite.[3] William Eamon and, more recently, Deborah Harkness have even suggested that these "professors of secrets" and their printers collected a body of empirical knowledge that provided a basis, and even (up to a certain point) a methodological model for the new Baconian science.[4]

The books of secrets were essentially compilations of recipes (domestic and cosmetic as well as medical) to which alchemical instructions were often added. Usually organized by materials (such as stones, gems, plants and so on), these small technical encyclopaedias addressed a middle-class readership, eager to obtain practical information, and were for the most

---

[1] William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); John K. Ferguson, *Bibliographical Notes on Histories of Inventions and Books of Secrets*, 2 vols (London: Holland Press, 1959).

[2] The pseudo-Aristotlelian *Secretum secretorum* was translated and printed by Robert Copland in 1528; another edition was printed in 1572 for Anthony Kitson. *The boke of secretes of Albertus Magnus* went through four editions, in 1560, 1565, 1570 and 1595.

[3] See William Eamon, "Science as a Hunt," *Physis* 31 (1994): 393–432.

[4] William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*; Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewell House. Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

part written in the vernacular. The use of the vernacular was mainly due to the fact that they belonged to popular literature, but it can also be explained by their link to alchemy, for alchemy viewed as a science as well as an art, possessed, from the Middle Ages on, a strong tradition of writing in the vernacular.[5] Thus the books of secrets are particularly suitable for the study of translations made from one vernacular language into another.

The genre was launched by the unexpected success of *De' Secreti del reverendo donno Alessio Piemontese sei libri*, first printed in Venice by Sigismondo Bordogna in 1555 and published only two years later in French by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp.[6] A Latin translation followed, printed in Basel in 1559; it had the peculiarity of being signed by a physician, Johann Jacob Wecker, which slightly altered the character of the book.[7] The English version appeared in two stages. William Warde, also a translator of Calvin and of the astrologer Richard Roussat, translated the first three books from the French in 1558 and printed them one part at a time, while Richard Androse translated the fourth book from the Italian in 1569; these all went through many re-editions.[8] Finally, all five parts were issued in one volume in 1595, with an enlarged and a corrected version in 1615.[9]

---

[5] See Michela Pereira, "Alchemy and the Use of Vernacular Languages in the Late Middle Ages," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 336–56.

[6] *Les Secrets de reverend signeur Alexis Piemontois* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1557). Plantin is the author of the dedicatory epistle to Emmanuel Philibert de Savoie and seems to be the author of the translation.

[7] *D. Alexii Pedemontani De Secretis libri sex … ex Italico in latinum sermonem nunc primum translati per Joannem Jacobum Weckerum, medicum* (Basel: s.n., 1559).

[8] Part 1 was translated as *The secretes of the reuerende Maister Alexis of Piemount. Containyng excellente remedies against diuers diseases, woundes, and other accidents, with the manner to make distillations, parfumes, confitures, diyunges, colours, fusions and meltyngs … Translated out of Frenche into Englishe, by Wyllyam Warde* (London: John Kingston for Nicolas England, 1558) and re-edited in 1559, 1562, 1568 and 1580. Part 2 appeared as *The seconde part of the Secretes of Maister Alexis of Piemont, by hym collected out of diuers excellent authours …* (London: J. Kingston for N. England, 1560), re-edited in 1563, [1568?] and 1580. In 1562 *The thyrde and last parte of the Secretes of the reuerende Maister Alexis of Piemont …* (London: R. Hall for N. England, 1562) was published, with a new issue in the same year and new editions in 1566 and 1578. The translation of the Italian text, *A verye excellent and profitable booke conteining sixe hundred foure score and odde experienced medicines, apperteyning unto phisick and surgerie, long tyme practysed of the expert and Reuerend Mayster Alexis, which he termeth the fourth and finall booke of his secretes … Translated out of Italian into Englishe by Richard Androse* (London: H. Denham), existed in two editions, those of 1569 and 1578.

[9] *The secrets of the reuerend Maister Alexis of Piemont, containing excellent remedies … Newly corrected and amended, and also somewhat inlarged in certaine places, which wanted in the first edition* (London: Peter Short for Thomas Wight, 1595), re-edited with a fifth part in 1615.

This continuous series of editions shows that the genre, which was halfway between "daily life books" on household and husbandry and cheap books of medicine, easily found its place in a developing London market.[10] As a result, English authors soon produced original books of secrets, the most successful of which perhaps being John Partridge's *Treasurie of commodious conceits, and hidden secrets*.[11] However, I shall focus on another example of a successful translation, which shows more clearly how that type of semi-popular publication could play a role in the complicated context of the London medical world in the last decades of the sixteenth century, at a moment when it was beset by internal rivalries and conflicts.

Leonardo Fioravanti had revived the character of the wandering empiric, brilliantly created by "Alessio Piemontese," but as a "doctor in medicine and surgery" (as he was called on the title-pages of his books), and not simply as a 'signor,' 'donno' or 'Master.' Besides, contrary to the mysterious Piedmontese, most probably a creature of fiction invented and promoted by Girolamo Ruscelli, a humanist polygraph from Viterba,[12] Fioravanti was a real physician, whose adventurous career has been retraced.[13] He had begun as an itinerant empiric, travelling from town to town, and had obtained no medical degree before the age of fifty, but the success of his cures, which he proudly and repeatedly reported in his numerous books, had made him famous: he had become the friend of renowned physicians and counted princes among his clients.[14]

Assuming with panache the philosophy and rhetoric of the perfect "professor of secrets," he boasted of being the rediscoverer of the immemorial method leading to the hidden treasures of nature. Experience

---

[10] See Lynette Hunter, "Books for daily life: household, husbandry, behaviour," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Vol. IV, *1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, 514–32.

[11] John Partridge, *The Treasurie of commodious conceits, and hidden secrets ... the huswives closet, of healthfull provision* (London: Richard Jones, 1573). Eleven editions survive, dating from 1573 to 1637.

[12] In 1567, one year after the death of G. Ruscelli, Francesco Sansovino published his last book of secrets, identifying the author as Alessio Piemontese: *Secreti nuovi di maravigliosa virtù del signor Ieronimo Ruscelli, i quali continovando a quelli di donno Alexio, cognome finto del detto Ruscelli* (Venice: Heredi di M. Sessa, 1567). There it is reported that the *Secreti* resulted from the experiments of an 'Academy of Secrets' founded in Naples in the 1540s. See W. Eamon and F. Paheau, "The *Accademia Segreta* of Girolamo Ruscelli: A Sixteenth Century Italian Scientific Society," *Isis* 75 (1984): 327–42.

[13] See notably Davide Giordano, *Leonardo Fioravanti Bolognese* (Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1920); Pietro Camporesi, *Camminare il mondo. Vita e avventure di Leonardo Fioravanti, medico del Cinquecento* (Milan: Garzanti, 1997); William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature,* 168–193.

[14] Fioravanti eventually obtained a medical degree at Bologna in 1568.

was his only guide. Distrustful of theory and bookish knowledge, he mocked the orthodox physicians who repeated blindly their Galenic lessons instead of being the direct pupils of Nature, and who possessed less wisdom than the old women and the veteran sailors he had always assiduously interrogated during his travels. Obsessed by the idea of publicizing his achievements, he had published a series of books that proposed diverse collections of secrets, interspersed with autobiographical narrations, personal comments and philosophical discourses: *De Capricci medicinali* (first published in 1561 under the title of *Secreti medicinali*)[15], *Del compendio dei secreti naturali* (1564),[16] *Dello specchio di scientia vniversale* (1564),[17] *Del reggimento della peste* (1565),[18] *Il tesoro della vita humana* (1570),[19] *La cirurgia* (1570)[20] and *Della fisica* (1582).[21] The popularity of these works is attested by the fact that they all went through subsequent editions.

Fioravanti's writings attracted the attention of an English translator who took professional interest in them. John Hester (d. 1593) probably led

---

[15] *Secreti medicinali ... diuisi in tre libri. Nel primo insegna a conoscere uarii, et diuersi segni naturali, con molti secreti mirabili nella medicina, et cirugia. Nel secondo dimostra il modo de far uarii, et diuersi medicamenti. Nel terzo si tratta dell'alchimia dell'huomo, et dell'alchimia minerale* (Venice: Lodovico Avanzo, 1561), reissued as *De capricci medicinali* in 1564 and re-edited with the addition of a fourth book in 1565.

[16] *Del compendio de i secreti rationali ... libri cinque. Nel primo de' quali si tratta de' secreti più importanti nella professione medicinale. Nel secondo si insegnano molti secreti appartenenti alla cirugia, et si mostra il modo d'esercitarla. Nel terzo si contengono i secreti più ueri et piu approuati nell'arte dell'alchimia. Nel quarto si scriuono molti belletti, che usano le donne per apparer belle. Nel quinto si comprendono i secreti più notabili in diuerse arti et esercitii* (Venice: V. Valgrisi, 1564).

[17] *Dello specchio di scientia vniuersale ... libri tre. Nel primo de' quali, si tratta di tutte l'arti liberali, et mecanice, et si mostrano tutti i secreti più importanti, che sono in esse. Nel secondo si tratta di diuerse scientie, et di molte belle contemplationi de' filosofi antichi. Nel terzo si contengono alcune inuentioni notabili* (Venice: V. Valgrisi, 1564).

[18] *Del regimento della peste ... Nel quale si tratta che cosa sia la peste, et da chi procede, et quello che doueriano fare i prencipi per conseruar i suoi popoli da essa, et ultimamente, si mostrano mirabili secreti da curarla* (Venice: Andrea Ravenoldo, 1565), re-edited with additions in 1571 and 1594.

[19] *Il tesoro della vita humana ... Diuiso in libri quattro. Nel primo, si tratta delle qualità, et cause di diuerse infermità, con molti bei discorsi sopra di ciò. Nel secondo, si descriuono molti esperimenti fatti da lui in diuerse parti del mondo. Nel terzo, vi sono diuerse lettere dell'autore, con le sue risposte, doue si discorre così in fisica, come in cirugia. Nel quarto ... sono riuelati i secreti più importanti di esso autore* (Venice: Heredi di Melchior Sessa, 1570).

[20] *La cirugia ... distinta in tre libri. Nel primo de' quali, si discorrono molte vtili cose nella materia cirugicale. Nel secondo: si tratta della anatomia ... Nel terzo, si scriuono molte ricette di diuersi autori* (Venice: Heredi di Melchior Sessa, 1570).

[21] *Della fisica ... Diuisa in libri quattro. Nel primo si tratta della creatione degli elementi, delle quattro stagioni dell'anno, della creatione de l'huomo; et si discorrono molte cose curiose e belle da sapere. Nel secondo si scriue vn nuouo antidotario .... Nel terzo si discorre sopra varie et diuerse cose ... Nel quarto si discorre sopra molte cose filosofiche, con bellissimi trattati di alchimia, et altre cose notabilissime* (Venice: Heredi di Melchior Sessa, 1582).

a most sedentary life compared to that of the flamboyant "dottore et cavaliere Bolognese," but he was well prepared to appreciate the value of Fioravanti's recipes and to share some of his philosophical views.[22] He was a London apothecary, installed on Paul's Wharf, and had gained a solid reputation among the partisans of chemical therapy as a distinguished distiller. His first publication had been a small compilation meant to advertise his products: *The true and perfect order to distil oils out of all manner of spices, seeds, roots and gums* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1575). The surgeon George Baker, himself the author of a book on a marvelous oil, *The composition or making of the moste excellent and pretious oil called oleum magistrale* (London: John Alde, 1574), recommended Hester in his address to the reader prefacing his new translation of Gesner's manual of distillation, *The newe iewell of health*, as one of the only three apothecaries in London able to prepare the medicines described in the book; he praised him for being "a painful traueller in those matters."[23] Hester had also earned the esteem of Gabriel Harvey, who possessed and annotated a broadsheet advertising his *Oiles, waters, extractions … and other compositions*, calling him "the great alchemist of London."[24]

As an apothecary, Hester belonged to the humblest of the three professions meant to respond to the medical needs of Londoners without infringing rigid rules and strict corporative boundaries. The physicians had their College, founded in 1518, and the Barber-Surgeons their company, in existence since 1540, while the apothecaries were still part of the Grocers' Company, for the Society of Apothecaries was not established

---

[22] See Paul Kocher, "John Hester, Paracelsian (fl. 1576–93)," in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), 621–38; Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne, 1965), 64–9.

[23] George Baker, "Epistle to the reader," in *The newe iewell of health wherein is contained the most excellent secretes of phisicke and philosophie, deuided into fower bookes* (London: Henry Denham, 1576): "I doe know some most excellent, as one mayster Kemech an Englishe man dwelling in Lothburie, another, master Geffray, a French man dwelling in the Crouched friers, men of singular knowledge that waye, another named Iohn Hester dwelling on Powles wharfe, the which is a paynfull traueyler in those matters, as I by proofe haue seene, and used of their medicines to the furtheraunce of my Pacients healthes" (A4^{r}).

[24] *These oiles, waters, extractions, or essence*[*s,*] *saltes, and other compositions; are at Paules wharfe ready made to be solde, by Iohn Hester, practisioner in the arte of distillation; who will also be ready for a reasonable stipend, to instruct any that are desirous to learn the secrets of the same in few dayes,* [London: s.n., 1585?], one sheet (STC 13254). See Virginia F. Stern, "The Bibliotheca of Gabriel Harvey," *Renaissance Quarterly* 25 (1972): 1–62, especially 50; *The Works of Gabriel Harvey Collected and Edited by A.B. Grosart*, 3 vols (London: s.n.,1884–5), Vol. II, 289; Nicholas Popper, "The English Polidaedali: How Gabriel Harvey read Late Tudor England," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66 (2005): 351–81.

before 1617. The collegiate physicians had been granted general supervision of medical practice in London and considered the other two professions their subordinates. They wanted to control their activities: the surgeons, in principle, were forbidden to practise internal medicine and the apothecaries were to limit themselves to dispensing the prescriptions of licensed physicians.

However, this organisation was not suitable for the health needs of a city as crowded as London, for the disproportion was considerable between the small body of the College, which rarely had more than forty members during the sixteenth century, and a population that grew from 70,000 in 1550 to 200,000 in 1600.[25] There was a general scarcity of medical practitioners in the city, and the only means of partially palliating it was to use the services of unlicensed practitioners (foreign physicians, wise women, and so on) and to develop a general form of practice, common in the provinces, which was not under the authority of the College of Physicians.[26] A direct consequence of this situation was the success of popular medical books, ranging from textbooks on physics or surgery to simple remedy books, many translated from earlier Continental works.[27] This literature allowed apprentice practitioners to acquire some knowledge in the discipline, in addition to what they learned from their masters;[28] it could also help husbands and housewives to administer simple

---

[25] These data are taken from Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550–1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 23–24.

[26] On licensed practitioners see Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, "Medical Practitioners," in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 165–235. They have calculated that in 1600 London counted fifty licensed physicians, one hundred licensed surgeons and one hundred apothecaries, to whom were added about two hundred and fifty unlicensed practitioners and a non determined number of nurses and midwives. That was insufficient and most provincial towns were in a better situation. For a general view, see R.S. Roberts, "The Personnel and Practice of Medicine in Tudor and Stuart England. Part II. London," *Medical History* 8 (1964): 217–34. On independent medical practice, see Elizabeth Lane Purdell, *Publishing and Medecine in Early Modern England* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 1–28.

[27] For instance, B. Trahernon's translation of a work by Joannes de Vigo, *The most excellent workes of chirurgerye ... Whereunto is added an exposition of straunge termes* [*and*] *vnknowen symples, belongyng to the arte* (London: E. Whytchurch, 1543), re-edited in 1550, 1571 and 1586 (STC 24720–24723), and an anonymous translation of another of his works entitled *This lytell practyce of Johannes de Vigo in medycyne is translated out of Laten for the health of the body of man* (London: Robert Wyer, 1550?), re-edited in 1552, 1555, 1562 and 1564 (STC 24725–24726). One work written in English was Philip Barrough's very popular *The methode of phisicke* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1583), which went through no fewer than eight new editions between 1590 and 1639.

[28] See Margaret Pelling, "Knowledge Common and Acquired: the Education of Unlicensed Medical Practitioners in Early Modern London," in *The History of Medical*

remedies to their family.[29] As Andrew Wear has noted, "distinctions between lay and medical readerships were blurred and both groups might read works which were ostensibly for the other one."[30]

In this context, the apothecaries played a crucial role, for they dispensed medical care to those who could not afford to pay for a physician or even a surgeon: they gave them good advice and sold them cheap remedies. Besides, John Hester had certainly more learning and ambition than most of his colleagues. As he recalled in the preface to his 1580 manual, *The key of philosophie*, he had wished in his youth to attend Oxford or Cambridge, hoping "to become one of the small number of those, whom the greatest number wondered at," but the length and cost of a seven year degree had prevented him from doing so.[31] Then he had decided to devote himself to the art of distillation, which, he complained, had eventually left him poor and exhausted, though provided with "a little knowledge … above the capacitie of the common sort, a thing sure that I value far above the prize that it costs me."[32]

Thus, whereas the majority of London apothecaries were rather conservative, Hester was a partisan of the new chemical therapies.[33] This brought

---

Education in Britain, ed. V. Nutton and R Porter (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 250–279, and Elizabeth Purdell, *Publishing and Medicine,* 29–73.

[29] Among the most successful, as seen from their print history, were: *Here begynneth the seynge of uryns, and of all the colours that uryns be of* (London: J. Rastell for Rycharde Banckes, 1525), with eight more editions up to 1575; *Here begynneth a newe boke of medecynes intytulyd or callyd the treasure of pore men* (London: R. Bankes, [1526?]), with fourteen re-edited before 1575; Thomas Moulton, *The myrrour or glasse of helth* (London: R. Wyer, bef.1531), with an incredible fourteen new editions and four variant ones in twenty-four years; Jean Goeurot, translated by Thomas Phayre, *A new booke entyteled the regiment of lyfe* (London: E. Whitchurche, 1543), re-edited eight more times up to 1596; Andrew Borde, *The breuiary of helthe, for all maner of syckenesses and diseases the which may be in man or woman* (London: W. Myddelton, 1547), re-edited five times up to 1598; and T.C., *An hospitall for the diseased* (London: R. Tottell? for Thomas Man and William Hoskins, 1578), with ten more editions before 1638.

[30] Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, 40–45; see also Andrew Wear, "The Popularization of Medicine in Early Modern England," in *The Popularization of Medicine 1650–1850*, ed. R. Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), 7–41; Peter Murray Jones, "Book Ownership and the Lay Culture of Medicine in Tudor Cambridge," in *The Task of Healing. Medicine, Religion and Gender in England and the Netherlands 1450–1800*, ed. Hilary Marland and Margaret Pelling (Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 1996), 49–68.

[31] John Hester, *The first part of the key of philosophie* (London: Richard Day, 1580), A6^{v} (STC 19181.5).

[32] Ibid.

[33] R.S. Roberts says that "Throughout the sixteenth century London apothecaries showed far less interest in new ideas than the surgeons. The reason for this was that apothecaries were directly dependent on the physicians and on the customers – and both were conservative …. Similarly Paracelsian medicine hardly touched the apothecary, for the

him closer to another group, that of the young and brilliant barber-surgeons, such as William Clowes (1544–1604), George Baker (1540–1612) and John Banister (1533–1599?), who had often acquired experience in war on the Continent, where they had been acquainted with foreign surgeons and physicians and had learned their methods of therapy; this made them all the more impatient with the authority of the College of Physicians. For these young men, the superiority of a global approach to the cure of patients was self-evident: they knew how to prepare their unguents and had to cure venereal diseases, which necessitated prescribing medicines to be taken internally, like guaiacum, as well as treatments to be applied externally. Their position in the London medical world was delicate. On the one hand, they wished to acquire the same professional respectability as the physicians, which obliged them to show mastery in the traditional Galenic lore and to openly dissociate themselves from the mass of unlicensed empirics whose success was largely built on the vogue of new 'secret' therapies, sometimes advertised as Paracelsian.[34] On the other hand, however, they were quite aware of the superiority of the distilled remedies, which were more efficient and had been tested by repeated experiments. In the preface to his 1576 translation of Conrad Gesner's *Thesaurus Euonymi Philiatri*, entitled *The newe iewell of health*, Baker said that distilled medicines exceeded all others in power,

> so that two or three drops of oyle of Sage doth more profite in the Palsie: Three droppess of the oyle of Corrall for the falling sickenesse … doth more than one pound of those decoctions not dystilled. And another thing is to be noted, that the diseased people, principally those which are delicate, doe detest all things, which doe not agree to their myndes, and delight not onely in the pleasantnesse of the taste, but also the sight of the eye, and the littlenesse of the quantitie of the medicine, the which I thinke, no man will denie. (A3^{v})

Besides, without adopting Paracelsianism, they could sympathize with some elements of that new doctrine, which completely broke down the traditional disciplinary boundaries.

---

main value of the mineral drugs was in the treatment of venereal diseases or skin complaints and in this field the surgeon was dominant and he made his own preparations" ("The Personnel and Practice of Medicine," 226).

[34] An early attack by the 'modern' surgeons on the empirics was John Hall's *An historiall* [sic] *expostulation against the beastlye abusers, bothe of chyrurgerie, and physycke in our tyme*, appended to his translation of Lanfranc of Milan's *Chirurgia parua* and entitled *A most excellent and learned woorke of chirurgie, called Chirurgie parua* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1565).

John Hester who, as we have seen, had earned Baker's esteem, participated in that movement. It has even been suggested that he was in the vanguard, being, according to Paul Kocher, the "chief publicist and interpreter" of Paracelsianism in England, "during the first critical decades" when this doctrine was "struggling against bitter opposition to win a foothold" in that country.[35] However, this assertion certainly needs qualification. Charles Webster has shown how "chemical therapy had strong indigenous roots" in England, as the fifteenth-century works of Lydgate and Ripley testify, and how it benefited from a very favorable context in the Renaissance.[36] In Elizabethan England, he continues, "alchemical medicine was endemic. Its devotees extended from the monarchs of England and Scotland, through court circles, the aristocracy, gentry, scholars, churchmen and religious nonconformists, to lawyers … surgeons, apothecaries, and distillers."[37] But this success cannot be rightly judged by simply basing one's view on the few alchemical treatises published in the vernacular. It is necessary to also take into account Latin books on the subject imported from the Continent, manuscript collections, or even oral tradition. And the same could be said for Paracelsianism: the absence of important translations in English does not imply an absence of interest, for educated readers had access to Continental Latin editions, which were numerous in private libraries, and to transcriptions or translations of Paracelsian texts circulated in manuscript. It is at least obvious that towards the end of the Renaissance, Paracelsianism was familiar to writers like John Donne, Francis Bacon and Ben Jonson, who knew that their public were familiar with its main ideas. This shows that the doctrine was already acclimatized in England, having been "nurtured within the context of the more generalized alchemical movement."[38]

Thus, Hester was probably not as original a precursor as he has sometimes been portrayed, but he certainly was one of the few who dared to challenge publicly the medical profession's received opinions. It is even possible that in the early 1570s he had given his support to an itinerant German quack, Valentine Russwurin, who claimed to be a Paracelsian and administered with great success unconventional treatments to Londoners. In April 1574, Russwurin, who had powerful clients—Lord William Cecil included—was accused of illicit and dangerous medical practice before

35 Paul Kocher, "John Hester, Paracelsian," 621.
36 Charles Webster, "Alchemical and Paracelsian medicine," 301–334, esp. 324.
37 Ibid., 313.
38 Ibid., 323.

the Court of Aldermen by William Clowes and George Baker, who tried (as we have seen) to introduce chemical remedies into accepted and licensed practice and wished to eliminate the dangerous concurrence of charlatans. In a later work, Clowes related this affair and said that a "proud bragger or single souled Chirurgeon … a man of little skill and lesse honestie: and yet practiseth Chirurgerie, without all order and authoritie" had "stepped forth" to defend Russwurin.[39] This bold champion has been identified as Hester in a marginal note made by a reader.[40] If we can trust this identification, which is by no means proven, the anecdote shows Hester as a bellicose supporter of dissident practitioners, who did not hesitate to oppose his more respectable allies.[41]

Be all this as it may, probably the most remarkable feature of Hester's activities, and the surest proof of his ambition, is that he chose to associate his activity as a distiller with that of a translator. Becoming an author who published on new remedies, he was somehow competing with the 'modern' surgeons, already mentioned. For between 1574 and 1590, Clowes, Baker and their friends issued a dozen or so books, all written in or translated into English, destined to confirm their authority as medical general practitioners and to propose a moderate reform of the traditional therapies, including even Paracelsian elements, while launching many attacks on the empirics.[42] The majority of these works were translations, which Baker and Clowes, in particular, edited for a new audience.

---

[39] William Clowes, *A briefe and necessarie treatise, touching the cure of the disease called morbus Gallicus* (London: T. East for T. Cadman, 1585), 12^{r-v}. The first edition of 1579 alluded only briefly to Russwurin. The Russwurin affair is analysed in Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewell House,* 57–96.

[40] In the Huntington Library copy a marginal note identifies Russwurin's defender as "John Hester Alchemist at Paul's Wharf" (12^{r}). The page is reproduced in Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewell House*, 82.

[41] The problem is that Clowes mentions a "surgeon" and not an apothecary. Besides, the Russwurin affair had taken place in 1574, and we have seen that in 1576 Baker, who was Clowes' associate in the prosecution, was still on very good terms with Hester.

[42] George Baker, *The composition or making of the oleum magistrale* (STC 1209); George Baker, *The new iewell of health* (STC 11798); Thomas Vicary, *A profitable treatise of the anatomy of mans body* (STC 24713); a corrected edition of Robert Copland's 1542 translation of Guido de Cauliaco by George Baker, together with Baker's translation of the epitome of Book 3 of Galen and Clowes' revision of the accompanying antidotary, entitled *Guidos questions: newly corrected. Whereunto is added the thirde and fourth booke of Galen, with a treatise for the helps of all the outward parts of mans body. And also an excellent antidotary containing diuers receipts, as well of auncient as latter wryters*, ediyed by William Clowes *et al* (STC 12469); William Clowes, *A short and profitable treatise touching the cure of the disease called morbus Gallicus by vnctions* (STC 5447); an enlarged edition by William Clowes of *A briefe and necessarie treatise* (STC 5448); *The whole worke of that famous chirurgion Maister Iohn Vigo*, transl. Thomas Gale and ed. George Baker (STC 24723); William Clowes,

Of course, Hester's goals were mainly practical. By publishing translations, he probably wished to stimulate the good will of patrons (actual or potential) towards himself, as his dedications show, and he wanted to give more publicity to his main activity: the making and selling of drugs. For instance, at the end of the epistle "To the Courteous Reader" prefacing his third Fioravanti translation, *A compendium of the rationall Secretes* (London: Iohn Kingston for George Pen and I[ohn] H[ester], 1582) (STC 10879), we read, after a strong warning against the dangers of self-medication and of confiding in charlatans:

> For the receiptes in this Booke specified, as also for many other rare thynges mentioned els where: if any be disposed to use them, let them repaire to my house at Poules Wharfe, where thei shall either finde them readie made, or me at reasonable warnyng readie to make them simply and plainly without sophistication. (*5^{r})

Thus, as Kocher says, "he used his translations as sources to feed his stock of medicines, and at the same time as vehicles for advertising them."[43] However, they also helped him to give this activity the philosophical dignity it would otherwise have lacked.

Hester was not capable of achieving these aims by writing original works. Of all the compositions published under his name and during his lifetime, the only one to come down to us is the above-mentioned 1585 advertising broadsheet annotated by Harvey. His 1575 work on distilling oils is a compilation of various treatises and comments but these are all actually either translations or adaptations of foreign sources.[44] The full collection of his recipes, *The pearl of practise*, does contain original contributions as well as those borrowed from diverse authors but it was published posthumously by James Fourestier, who, according to the title, "brought [the work] into some methode."[45] However, although not an

---

A Prooued practise for all young chirurgians concerning burnings with gunpowder … [and] a treatise of the French or Spanish pockes … (STC 5444). Books demonstrating the same tendency were published by others, among them John Read, whose 1587 *Most excellent and compendious method of curing woundes* (STC 723) was a translation of Franciscus Arcaeus' *De recta curandorum vulnerum ratione*, and John Banister, who wrote several treatises on surgery between 1575 and 1589.

[43] Paul Kocher, "John Hester, Paracelsian," 632–633.

[44] *The true and perfect order to distill oyles out of al maner of spices seedes, rootes, and gummes with their perfect taste, smel, and savour: where unto is added some of their vertues gathered out of sundry aucthors. As Gualterius, Riffius, Guinthery Andernaty, Phillipus, Hermanus, Leonardo Phirauante, Phollopius, Cardanus* (London: Thomas Berthelet, [= 1575?]. (STC 19181.3)

[45] *The pearle of practise, or practisers pearle, for phisicke and chirurgerie. Found out by I.H.* (*a spagericke or distiller*) *amongst the learned observations and prooved practises of*

author in the full meaning of the term, Hester managed to carry on a whole career as a translator, which necessitated the unusual mastery of Italian, Dutch, Latin, and perhaps also German. Kocher supposes that this linguistic ability could be due to the fact that he was probably related to the bookseller Andrew Hester, for the knowledge of foreign languages was then especially frequent among printers.[46] In any case, Hester's first Fioravanti translation, *A ioyfull iewell* (1579), was printed by William Wright who had served as apprentice in the shop of Andrew Hester's widow, Anne.[47]

His career as a translator extended from 1579 until 1591, two years before his death, the early phase, between 1579 and 1582, being almost completely devoted to Fioravanti. The first encounter between the Italian "professor of secrets" and his English emulator had been partly fortuitous. Thomas Hill (c. 1528–1575), a prolific and generous compiler of secrets, editor and translator, left him at his death a draft translation of Fioravanti's treatise on the plague.[48] Hester polished and published it three years later under the title of *A ioyfull iewell*, with a dedication to James Blunt, Lord Mountjoy.[49] It was perhaps a success, although it was never reprinted (unlike the other Fioravanti translations), and Hester conceived the project of translating all the Italian physician's treatises. Some months later, in

---

many expert men in both faculties. Since his death garnished and brought into some methode by a welwiller of his (London: Richard Field, 1594) (STC 13252).

[46] For Andrew Hester see R.B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers* [...] *1557–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), 303.

[47] Paul Kocher, "John Hester, Paracelsian," 621.

[48] Thomas Hill collected books and manuscripts, compiling and translating them in order to produce many cheap manuals for laymen, such as *A brief and most pleasaunt epitomye of the whole art of phisiognomie* (1556), *Naturall and artificial conclusions* (1567), which was a book of secrets, *The proffitable arte of gardening* (1568), *The contemplation of mankinde* (1571), which was a work on physiognomony, and *A contemplation of mysteries* (1571). Other books were printed after his death, such as *The gardeners labyrinth* in 1577 and *The schoole of skil*, a work on astronomy, in 1599. His first three books were dedicated to George Keable, a practitioner of physic and surgery who had been Clowes' master. Hill also gave an uncompleted translation of Gesner's book on distillation to George Baker, who published it as *The newe iewell of health.* See Francis R. Johnson, "Thomas Hill: An Elizabethan Huxley," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 4 (1944): 329–351, and Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewell House*, 88–89.

[49] *A ioyfull iewell. Contayning aswell such excellent orders, preseruatiues and precious practises for the plague, as also such meruelous medcins for diuers maladies, as hitherto haue not beene published in the English tung. First made and written in the Italian tung by the famous, and learned knight and doctor M. Leonardo Fiorouantie, of his owne ingenious inventions. And now for the carefull commoditie of his natiue countrey, translated out of the Italian by T[homas] H[ill]* (London: William Wright, 1580). On James Blunt, who was ruined by hazardous speculations in the mining industry, see Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewell House*, 186–188.

his address "To the gentle Reader" prefacing his second Fioravanti publication, *A short discours … vppon chirurgerie*, he promised that, God willing, he would

> set out all the workes of this Authour: which are .24. bookes, comprehended in eight volumes. In the which are conteined the whole art of Phisicke and Chyrurgerye to the honour of God, and the profit of my countrey.
> From my house at Paules Wharfe, the .23. of Iannuary.
> The names of the bookes of this Authour.

A discourse upon Chyrurgerie, beeing this booke.	being sette forth already, and is entituled, The ioyful iuel.
Caprici medicinalle.	Il Thesauro de la vita humana.
Il compendio de i secreti rationalle.	La Chirurgia del Phiorauanti
Il spechio del [sic] scientia vniuersalle.	La Phisica del Phiorauanti.
Il regimente [sic] de la peste.	

Lists of this sort had a mainly advertising function and were not bound to bibliographical accuracy. It remains that Hester published only three of the promised translations: the above mentioned *A ioyfull iewell containing … precious practises for the plague* (1579), followed one year later by *A short discours vppon chirurgerie* (1580)[50] and, finally, *A compendium of the rationall Secretes* (1582).[51] It is easy to compare the *Ioyfull iewell* and *Compendium* with their Italian originals. The *Short discours … vppon chirurgie*, however, poses a problem for it is not in fact a version of Fioravanti's *La cirurgia*, and it seems impossible to trace any *Discorso di cirurgia*, although that title is mentioned by Fioravanti himself here and elsewhere, for instance at the end of the 1571 edition of the *Reggimento della peste*.

[50] *A short discours of the excellent doctour and knight, maister Leonardo Phiorauanti Bolognese vppon chirurgerie. With a declaration of many thinges, necessarie to be knowne, neuer written before in this order: wherunto is added a number of notable secretes, found out by the saide author. Translated out of Italyan into English, by Iohn Hester, practicioner in the arte of distillation* (London: Thomas East, 1580) (STC 10881).

[51] *A compendium of the rationall Secretes, of the worthie knight and moste excellent doctour of phisicke and chirurgerie, Leonardo Phiorauante Bolognese, deuided into three bookes. In the first is shewed many secretes apperteinyng unto physicke. In the seconde is shewed man secretes apperteining vnto chirurgerie, with their vses. In the third is shewed diuers compositions, apperteinyng bothe to physicke and chirurgerie, with the hidden vertues of sondrie vegitables, animalles, and mineralls, and proued wel by this author, hitherto neuer set out before* (London: John Kingston for George Pen and J[ohn] H[ester], 1582) (STC 10879).

According to Kocher, the *Short discours* was "apparently a translation of a selection of materials on surgery from several of Fioravanti's treatises, including *La Cirurgia*."[52] However, the matter is far from being resolved.

Fioravanti had been an eclectic distiller and alchemist, as was Hester himself, and the variety of recipes he provided was particularly suited to the trade of his English translator. Nonetheless, Hester soon interested himself in a more specific trend of the art, that of the Paracelsians, probably because he was aware of the richness of that vein and of its growing influence in the medical world. His 1575 compilation, *The true and perfect order to distill oyles out of al maner of spices*, was reissued in 1580, under the new title *The first part of the key of philosophie* and with the addition of a second book attributed (quite wrongly) to Paracelsus.[53] Probably in 1583, Hester published a more ambitious Paracelsian volume, an abridged English translation made from a Latin compilation of Paracelsian texts, entitled *A hundred and fourtene experiments and cures of the famous phisition Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus*.[54] In the same Paracelsian

---

[52] Paul Kocher, "John Hester, Paracelsian," 624.

[53] John Hester, *The first part of the key of philosophie. Wherein is contained moste excellent* [*sic*] *secretes of physicke and philosophie, deuided into twoo bookes. In the firste is shewed the true and perfect order to distill .... In the seconde is shewed the true and perfect order to prepare, calcine, sublime, and dissolue all maner of mineralles, and how ye shall drawe forthe their oiles and saltes, whiche are moste wonderfull in their operations, for the health of mannes bodie. First written in the Germaine tongue by the moste learned Theophrastus Paraselsus* [*sic*]*, and now published in the Englishe tongue by Jhon Hester practitioner in the arte of distillation* (London: Richard Day, 1580) (STC 1181.5). The second edition appeared in 1596 and was followed in 1633 by two more, the first entitled *The secrets of physick and philosophy*, the second, published anonymously and with the printer's preface rather than Hester's, entitled *A storehouse of physicall and philosophicall secrets* (STC 19181.7–19182.5). In that same year John Banister included Hester's translation as Part 3 of his *Workes of that famous chyrurgian M^r^.Banester* (London: T. Harper, 1633) (STC 1357).

[54] John Hester, *A hundred and fourtene experiments and cures of the famous phisition Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus, translated out of the Germane tongue into the Latine. Whereunto is added certaine excellent and profitable workes by B.G., a Portu Aquitano. Also certaine secretes of Isack Hollandus concerning the vegetall and animall worke. Also the spagerick antidotarie for gunshot of Iosephus Quirsitanus. Collected by I.H.* (London: [H. Middleton, 1583?]) (STC 19179.5). A second edition was published by Valentine Sims in 1596 (STC 19180), listed in Karl Sudhoff, *Bibliographia Paracelsica ... 1527–1893*, 2 vols. (Berlin: 1894–1899), No. 239. The translation was made from *Philippi Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi utriusque Medicinæ celeberrimi, centum quindecim curationes experimentáque, è Germanico idiomate in Latinum versa. Accesserunt quædam præclara atque utilissima à B.G. à Portu Aquitano annexa. Item addita quædam Isaaci Hollandi de opere vegetabili & animali adiecimus. Adioncta est denuo Practica operis magni Philippi à Rovillasco Pedemontano* ("Lyon" [=Geneva]: Jean Lertout, 1582). See No. 190 in Sudhoff. While Hester translated the works by B.G., that is, Bernard Georges Penot, and Isaac Holland included in this publication, he omitted Rovillasco's *Practica operis magni*; on the other hand, he added Joseph Du Chesne's [Quirsitanus'] *Antidotarium spagiricum*.

vein, he later published *An excellent treatise teaching howe to cure the French-pockes*[55] and three treatises by the French Paracelsian Joseph Du Chesne: the *Sclopetarius* and *Antidotarium spagiricum,* combined in one volume in 1590, and the *De ortu et causis metallorum* one year later.[56]

In translating Fioravanti, John Hester and Thomas Hill had been pioneers, for whereas the English translators had followed the example of foreigners in translating Alessio Piemontese's writings, in the case of Fioravanti they had no predecessors. The French translations did not appear before 1584, by which time Hester had published *A ioyful iewel, A short discours* and *A compendium of the rationall Secretes*.

The selection made by Hester in Fioravanti's work was significant. Hester first chose the books that contained collections of recipes and secrets, while providing a precise, though simple, lesson in practical medicine for the cure of the plague, wounds and ulcers, and the more frequent diseases. On the one hand, he left aside the most miscellaneous books (like the *Capricci medicinali* or the *Tesoro*), although the books of secrets then in vogue in London were eclectic and proposed all sort of practical and technological information, on the model of Alessio's *Secreti.* On the other, he also delayed the translation of volumes demonstrating the greatest philosophical pretensions, such as the *Fisica* or *Dello Specchio di scientia vniuersale*. In comparison, the French translators of Fioravanti were to make a quite different choice. Gabriel Chappuys, a humanist polygraph, translated *Dello specchio di scientia vniuersale*,[57] and Claude Rocard, an apothecary like Hester, the *De capricci medicinali*.[58] Moreover, in his

[55] *An excellent treatise teaching howe to cure the French-pockes: with all other diseases arising and growing thereof, and in a manner all other sicknesses. Drawne out of the bookes of that learned doctor and prince of phisitians, Theophrastus Paracelsus. Compiled by the learned Phillippus Hermanus physition and chururgion. And now put into English by John Hester, in the spagericall arte, practicioner* (London: John Charlewood, 1590) (STC 13215).

[56] *The Sclopotarie of Iosephus Quercetanus, Phisition. Or His booke containing the cure of wounds receiued by shot of Gunne or such like Engines of warre. Whereunto is added his Spagericke antidotary of medicines against the aforesayd woundes. Pvblished into English by Iohn Hester, practitioner in the said spagericall Arte* (London: Roger Ward for John Sheldrake, 1590) (STC 7277); *A breefe aunswere of Iosephus Quercetanus Armeniacus, Doctor of Phisick, to the exposition of Iacobus Aubertus Vindonis, concerning the original, and causes of mettalles. Set foorth against Chimists. Another exquisite and plaine Treatise of the same Iosephus, concerning the Spagericall preparations, and use of mineral, animall, and vegitable Medicines. Whereunto is added diuers rare secretes, not heretofore knowne of many By Iohn Hester, practicioner in the Spagericall Arte* (London: [R. Robinson?], 1591) (STC 7277).

[57] *Miroir universel des arts et sciences en general*, transl. Gabriel Chappuys (Paris: Pierre Cavellat, 1584).

[58] *Les caprices de M. Leonard Fioravanti Bolognois touchant la Medecine*, transl. Claude Rocard (Paris: Pierre Cavellat, 1586).

adaptation of Fioravanti's works, Hester showed the same intention of transforming them, more or less, into manuals of practical medicine.

Hester's translations are, on the whole, faithful to the sense of their originals. In the dedication of *A Ioyfull iewell* to Lord Mountjoy, Hester affirmed that he had "polished and filed" Hill's draft "as nye as [he] could, according to the right sence of the Author, with no small trauayle, industrye, labour and dilligence" (A2^{r}). Almost the same assertion occurs in the epistle to the reader of the *Short discours*, Hester protesting that he had applied his "whole labor and dilygence" to render the work "as truly and nigh the Authours minde as [he] could" (A3^{r}). Effectively, he translated more *ad sensum* than *ad verbum*, as was better suited for a practical and didactic work. George Baker, in the presentation to the reader of the *Newe iewell of health*, had clearly argued for works to be translated into English,

> though in the translation we be constrayned to make two or three words sometyme for one. For it were not permitted to translate but word for word, then I say, away with all translations, which were great losse to the common weale. (A3^{r})

Hester was able to translate almost word-for-word, but never hesitated to suppress, abbreviate or adapt a sentence if he judged it preferable. The beginning of Book II of the *Compendium of the rationall Secretes* is a good example of his most careful manner of translating:

Che cosa sia Cirurgia, *et come si fa*. Cap. 1.	What Chirurgerie is. Chap. 1.
La Cirurgia è un'arte manuale, con la quale i Cirurgici curano ferite, ulcere, et aposteme. Et que sta fu trovata da Pastori, et esperimentatori delle cose naturali ; et non si fa arte nel mondo, nella quale non sia necessario di sapere piu cose, quanto in questa : percio che egli è necessario di intendere l'Agricoltura, per haver cognitione delle cose naturali, che nella Cirurgia si convengono. E necessario ancora a intendere il	Chirurgerie is a manuall arte, with the which the Chirurgian doth cure woundes, Ulcers, and Impostumes. And this was found of Housbandmen and experimenters of naturall thynges. For there is no Arte in the worlde, that hath more neede of the knowledge of divers thynges then this Arte. It is also necessarie to the knowledge of naturall thynges belongyng to Chirurgerie, to haue skill in Housbandrie. It is also necessarie to understande the

dissegno, per saper tornare l'ossa rotte al suo proprio luogo, et sapere unire le ferite che stieno bene. E ancor necessario intender l'arte del far legname, per saper fare le cosse da sostenarni ossi rotti, come braccia, gambe, dita, et altri membri. Bisogna intender l'arte fabrile, per saper fare i ferri al suo proposito ; et bisogna intender l'arte dell' aromatario, per saper fare gli unguenti. Et ultimamente è necessario di sapere l'arte dell'alchimia, per saper distillare tutte le sorti di acque, et di ogli appartenenti alla Cirurgia, *et altre infinite arti sarieno necessarie di sapere, volendo essere perfetto Cirurgico. Tutta via lasciero di dire, per non essere troppo tedioso a chi legge* : ma quello che importa piu di tutto è, l'havere buon giudicio, et saper ben medicare in tutti i casi di cirurgia ; et havere la mano *diligente* et leggiera nel operare ….

Arte of Paintyng, whereby you may set broken bones in their places, and to ioyne or close wounds well. It were needefull also to haue skill in the Arte of Ioynyng, whereby he maie make Instrumentes for broken bones in the armes, or legges, or handes, or other partes. It would bee also necessarie to have the Arte of a Smith, whereby he maie make his Instruments. It is cheefly needefull to be expert in the Arte of Apoticarie to make his Unguents. And last of all, it is most necessarie to knowe the Arte of Alchemie, whereby he maie distill his Oyles and waters appertainyng unto Chirurgerie. Also it is necessarie to haue a good judgement, and to helpe in all causes of Chirurgerie, and to haue a light hande in workyng ….

Et cosi io m'affatichero in questo trattato a dimostrare che cosa sieno le ferite, le ulcere, et le posteme …, discorsi tutti cavati dalla ragione vera, et approbati dalla isperienza, mostrando a tutti, quai sieno i veri et perfetti medicamenti, et quai sieno i falsi, et finti ; scrivendo, et scoprendo i veri secreti di Cirurgia, *ancorche altre volte ne ho scritto ne' miei discorsi di Cirurgia, stampati in Venetia per Ludovico Avanzo, et mi sforzerò di esser breve nel dire ; perche non dirò se non la verità :*

And hereafter I will shewe thee what Woundes, Ulcers, and Impostumes are …: a discourse grounded on true reason and approved by experience, shewyng to all men whiche are the true and perfectest medicines, and which are false and naught: writing and openyng true secretes of Chirurgerie,

(*Continued*)

(*Cont.*)

laqual verità occupa pochissimo luogo ; et se io volessi scrivere lunghe dicerie, sarei sforzato mettervi del vero et del non tanto vero.	
Si che io seguiterò à mostrare un nuovo modo da me trovato per esercitare la detta Cirurgia con maggior facilità, et brevità … et alli Cirurgici risulteranno in grandissimo honore, quando però eserciteranno la Cirurgia secondo l'ordine nostro, perche saranno cose esperimentate da noi migliara di volte et in diversi Regni, et Provincie del mondo, tanto nelle Città, quanto nelle Campagne, alle guerre cosi terrestre come marittime, nelle quali molte volte mi sono ritrovato … et sempre le cure mie son riuscite felicissime, come ben è noto alla maggior parte della Christianità. Et con questo farò fine à questo ragionamento, et *seguirò di scrivere una quantità di bellissimi secreti appartenenti alla Cirurgia*.[59]	with a newe order founde out by me, to exercise the same Chirurgerie with more ease and breuitie … and great honor will redounde to the Chirurgian, if he use it accordyng to our order: for thei are medicines proued of us infinite tymes in diuers places of the world, as wel in the fieldes as in the Cities, or on the waters in the warres … and alwaies (*thankes be unto God*) I have had good successe, as it is well knowen in most partes of Christendome. And so I make an ende.[60]

Nothing significant has been omitted, but Hester has suppressed hollow sentences and irrelevant information. He has also mitigated Fioravanti's bragging by adding a touch of Christian modesty. His text is sometimes more simple and direct than the original, as when he renders "fare i ferri al suo proposito" by "make his Instruments," for example, and sometimes a little imprecise. For instance, he translates "dissegno" by "painting," which

[59] Fioravanti, *Compendio*, Book II, Chapter 1, 38^{r}–39^{r}. The words in italics are those that Hester has not translated.

[60] *A Compendium*, Book II, Chap. 1, 80–82. The words in italics are those that Hester has added.

fails to signify that Fioravanti is referring to the crucial need to understand anatomical drawings in order to treat wounds and broken bones. A passage in a chapter on the same matter in the *Short discourse*, although not traceable to any specific source in Fioravanti's text, presents the idea explicitly:

> Chyrurgerie is both Science and practise, and to say the trouth, he that wil know the composition of mans body, must of necessitie haue some science, and be Anatomist, although the same Science bee a thing to bee learned by practise, for I haue seene many times those which wer unlearned to be expect in the Anatomie of mans body, and those were painters and drawers, the which was necessary for them to know to frame their figures accordingly. (B3^{r})

In the more technical passages, the translation is sometimes very close, Hester not hesitating to avow that in certain matters he did not have complete confidence in his own competence. Thus, at the beginning of the *Short discourse*, he warns his reader that although he has done his best,

> notwithstanding but there doe some faultes remayne therein, bicause of diuers termes of the Art, the which I am not practised in: of the which if instructions be giuen, they shall the next impression be amended. (A3^{r})

In fact, technical words often remain in the original language. A good example is found in the *Compendium*, where Hester retains Fioravanti's dialect terms for various types of swelling in the groin:

Le aposteme che vengono alla coscia sono di tre spetie ; una delle quali è quella, che à Venetia le chiamano pannocchie, à Roma tenconi, à Napoli dragoncello, et in Ispagna incordio. A questa doppo aver fatto le sopradette purgationi si fa un impiastro maturativo, il quale è questo, cioè. Recip. malvavischio, malva, madre di viole, foglie di cavoli, farina di formento, lardo di porco, oglio di gigli bianchi, tanto dell'uno quanto dell'altro. (39–40)	The Impostumes that come in the Groin are of three kindes, of which one is called in *Venice, Pannochie*, and at *Rome, Tinconie*, and at *Naples, Dragonello*, and in *Spaine, Incordio*. To these after the bodie is purged, as is aforesaid, you shall lie a Maturatiue plaister, the whiche is made thus. Take Marshe Mallowes, common Mallowes, the mother of Violettes, the leaues of Coleworts, Wheate flowre, *Auxungia*, Oyle of Lillies, of ech a like. (85–86)

There, Hester actually introduces a technical term of his own, "Auxungia," denoting the fat found around the internal organs. While semantically faithful to Fioranavanti's "lardo di porco," it does result in a change of register; Hester could have used "pig fat" or even simply "lard." What is more, it also happens that Hester adapts the recipe. In fact, his fidelity to his source was relative and intermittent. In the English translation, many chapters of the originals have been suppressed, some have their content transformed, and the order of the remaining chapters is sometimes completely reorganised.[61]

Fioravanti had been rather loquacious and had expressed his proud conviction that he had achieved a wonderful medical revolution in numerous and repeated developments which he called "Discorsi" or "Ragionamenti." A significant number—though not all—disappear from the English translations, as well as the profuse introductory matter. Moreover, entire parts of some works are dropped when they do not directly relate to the main medical topic being discussed. Thus the *Ioyfull iewel* is devoted entirely to the plague (unlike the original *Regimento della peste*), while the *Compendium of the rationall Secretes* has only three books, instead of five: the first concerns secrets of medicine, the second is on surgery, and the third on the making of drugs. Fioravanti's fourth book, devoted to secrets of beauty and entitled *Belletti,* has been suppressed, and his third and fifth books, on miscellaneous alchemical matters, have been considerably reduced and transformed to become Hester's third book. Chapters have also been displaced, divided or conflated to improve the methodical aspect of the work. As a result, the English version of the *Compendium* proposes a very clear plan. In Books I and II (which are the most faithful to the original), the cure of the main diseases, swellings, ulcers and wounds is dealt with in an orderly manner. For instance, in Book I, thirteen chapters are devoted to the different kinds of fevers (22–34), instead of five in the original (23–27); five deal with the gout (35–40), instead of one (30), and the section on urological problems (53–66) is much more clearly set out.

Hester thus freely adapted the content of Fioravanti's treatises to the needs of his London clients and brought under control the flux of philosophical discourse characterising Fioravanti's books, but he did so without eliminating it completely. On the contrary, he adopted the main topics,

[61] For instance, the contents of Book II, Chapter 2 in the *Compendio* and *Compendium* are different, although they treat the same subject.

especially the praise of experience, which he developed in the short prefaces he wrote to replace Fioravanti's redundant dedicatory epistles, proems, prefaces and other forms of discourse. In them, he appropriated the part of Fioravanti's legacy most capable of enhancing his own character: that of an enterprising London distiller, reasonably learned, forward and ambitious, but not willing to go so far as to challenge the whole medical Establishment.

For instance, the dedication of the *Compendium of the rationall Secrets* begins by evoking the inexhaustible variety of nature, the infinite transformations of *materia prima*, and the incessant change among human beings that affects laws and customs, as well as the arts and sciences. It then praises the progress of navigation, based on experience, which serves as a model for the art of medicine, for since sailors do not all hold to the same course to find a port,

> why should it not be as lawfull to every Artist in his facultie, to followe his owne experience? Specially seeyng to stand vppon our owne feete, to feele with our owne handes, and to see with our own eyes, is farre more sure and more semely, then to stande, feele, or see, by the helpe of others. (*2^{v})

This strong affirmation of the superiority of practical experience over theory leads even Hester to express a profound scepticism towards the possibility of faithfully transmitting knowledge through the mediation of the written word—which seems rather paradoxical when penned by a professional translator:

> In myne opinion there was neuer yet writer (albeit in his facultie he were neuer so profound) that could so surely, or soundly deliuer to posteritie, the substaunce of his knowledge: but that diuers Readers (accordyng to their diuers sences) of one single and plain meanyng, could make seuerall and doubtfull construction. (2^{v}–3^{r})

Therefore nothing is so useful as "long and happy experience" and "careful diligence in observation," enabling the physician to "follow his own particular proofs." Thanks to them, Fioravanti has dared to travel off the trodden path, imitating the "skilfull Seamen" who navigate "by the direction of a right compass," and has discovered a new and safe road, now followed by his translator.

> Some parts of his woorkes seruyng as well to Phisicke, as to Chirurgerie, I haue trauelled in alreadie, aswell in translatyng of his bookes for pleasure, as in making of his Medicines for profit. This laste woorke, because it sheweth perfectly the vse of suche thynges, as are but shadowed before in the other: I haue also at the instant request of some my verie freendes, dooen likewise into Englishe. (*3^{r-v})

A polemical element is often present in such discourses, but seems more rhetorical than effectively virulent. For in that vein, Hester often does nothing but repeat the commonplaces that can be found in almost every vernacular medical book of the time. For instance, when in the *Compendium* he attacks those who pretend that the use of the native tongue vilifies the arts, he uses the same argument as Sir Thomas Elyot had in the preface to his 1541 edition of *The castel of helthe,* one repeated by many after him. Hester says:

> I must aunswer [my detractors], that beside this present worke whiche an Italian writt in his owne tongue, to his owne Countrimen we haue the like presidentes in the Arabicke of Auicen, kyng of Arabia: in the Greeke of Hippocrates and Galen: in the Lattin of Plinie and Celsus, all (among many other) of older age and auncient credite: ouer and besides, a greate many Englishe, Frenche, etc. whose workes in their owne mother tongue haue testified the loue thei beare to their owne natiue Countrie: So that unlesse they will make us more carelesse, or more churlishe, then these good examples mooue us to be: thei must content them selves with this excuse, and still endeuour to thincke and reporte well of suche, as forsake no toyle, and forbeare no trauell to profite others. (*4^{r-v})[62]

Another topic is the opposition between the charity of the "professors of secrets," whose only purpose is to be useful to everybody and the avaricious pride of licensed doctors. Men like Fioravanti, Hester asserts in his dedication of the *Short discourse* to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford and a former dedicatee of Baker's, teach how to cure wounds and diseases rapidly,

> in halfe the time which is or hath bene vsed heretofore by either ignoraunt or arrogant Professors and Practitioners of that noble and profounde Science, which as they more esteeme a great gaine to them selues, then a little ease to their pacientes, and a long protracting of the cure for a large payment: So I knowe although I ease the rich, relieue the poore, and teach the ignorant: yet are there such, which being more wilfull then skilfull, will beare me a private grudge for this publique commodity. (A2^{v})

Instead of attacking the unlicensed practitioners, as did Baker, Clowes and their fellow barber-surgeons, Hester implicitly recognises the usefulness

[62] Compare Elyot's defence of English in *The castel of helthe corrected and in some places augmented* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1541): "But if phisitions be angry, that I haue wryten phisike in englyshe, let theym remember, that the grekes wrote in greke, the Romanes in latyne, Avicena and the other in Arabike, whiche were their owne propre and maternal tonges" (A4^{v}).

of self medication, as he gently advises his reader to have recourse to expert apothecaries like himself:

> Mary here I thinke it charitie for me to admonishe the plaine and unlearned Reader, to be advised in the choyse of their drugges, in the election of their simples, to be warie, in the mixture of their composition, to bee skilfull, or els to use the helpe of those whose experience maie credite their skill, and yeeld some warrant to the successe of their worke: least in seeking health thei finde sicknesse, in procuryng life thei purchase death, a common course to the common calamitie of the multitude. (*5^{r})

Thus transformed in order to fit into the world of the London medical book, Fioravanti probably did find an audience, for Hester's translations went on to be reprinted after his death in 1592.[63] This was in spite of the fact that the 'books of secrets,' being "the butt of considerable criticism," as they were published by quacks and empirics "who made their money from them, but also revealed guild secrets," suffered an important decline from the 1590s on.[64] In any case, as we have seen, Hester abandoned Fioravanti and devoted himself to a Paracelsian corpus. As he did not wish to transmit *in extenso* the profuse philosophy of the Italian doctor, and was aware of his incessant repetitions, it certainly appeared to him that having extracted from his work three books dealing with almost all the disorders which could affect his clients, the best that he could do was to find another goldmine. Besides, as his first experience had surely emboldened him, he was ready to attempt something more difficult.

Hester's next translation, *A hundred and fouretene experiments and cures* (1583), was of a book rather similar to those of Fioravanti, a compilation of experiments and recipes said to be written first in German. However, Hester had used a Latin translation, entitled *Centum quindecim curationes experimentaque è Germanico idiomate in Latinum versa* ("Lyon" [=Geneva]: Jean Lertout, 1582); it bore the name, however erroneously, of the Swiss physician Philip von Hohenheim, or Philippus

---

[63] These were *A short discours*, retitled *A discourse vpon chirurgery; written by that famous doctor and knight, Signior Leonardo Phiorauanti* and edited by Richard Booth (London: Edward Allde, 1626) (STC 10882) and the *Compendium, Short discours* and *A hundred and fouretene experiments and cures of ... Paracelsus*, issued in a joint edition under the title of *Three exact pieces of Leonard Phioravant...* (London: G. Dawson, 1652)(WING F953). This joint edition was re-issued with a different title-page and some new elements as *An exact collection of the choicest and more rare experiments and secrets in physick and chyrurgery* (London: William Shears, 1659) (WING F952).

[64] Lynette Hunter, "Books for daily life," 521.

Aureolus Theophrastus, otherwise known as Paracelsus. He had a much more important stake than Fioravanti in the battle for professional recognition because he clearly appeared as the founder of a new medical and pharmaceutical method. George Baker, in his address to the reader prefacing his 1586 edition of the works of Giovanni da Vigo, was to mock Hester's pretended knowledge both of Latin and of Paracelsus:

> Now he hath set down certaine compositions of Paracelsus, that the good man himselfe understandeth not, for it is not one yeere sithence he inuaighed against him in my presence … [and] when I first knew the man, he was gladde to learne those things [from me] that he yet vses, and are his best helps.[65]

However, Hester eventually won this battle and asserted his (modest) mastery in the Paracelsian field, in spite of the fact that he did not belong to the more dignified bodies of the physicians and the surgeons. Paul Kocher has noticed a more confident tone in the dedications and prefaces of his last translations, dedicated to Raleigh and to the Earl of Essex, both important patrons of the chemical art, and to "the Maister Wardens, and generall Assistants of the fraternitie of Chirurgions in London." In the epistle to the reader of his *Sclopetarie* (1589), Hester praised the works of Thomas Gale and William Clowes, and Clowes, in return, advised the readers of the next edition of his treatise on syphilis to study Hester's translation for the medicines discussed in it.[66]

Thus, Hester's career as a translator serves as an example of the intricate link between translation, the book-trade and the medical world in early modern London. Deborah Harkness points to the important way in which print contributed to spreading medical knowledge in the city.[67] Allen Debus speaks more specifically of the role played by Hester's translations, which were "undoubtedly of the greatest importance in the introduction of chemical remedies into England," and of the way in which, although to a lesser degree, they assisted in spreading Paracelsian

---

[65] George Baker, "Epistle to the friendly Reader," in *The whole worke of that famous chirurgion Maister John Vigo*, transl. Thomas Gale (London: Thomas East, 1586), 2^{v}–3^{r}, quoted by Harkness, *The Jewell House*, 94.

[66] Paul Kocher, "John Hester, Paracelsian," 633–34), 633–4, and "Paracelsan Medicine in England: The First Thirty Years (ca. 1570–1600)," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* II, no. 4 (1947): 475.

[67] Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewell House*, 95–96.

thought right up until the mid-seventeenth century.[68] By translating, publishing and associating his name with that of famous, though unorthodox, physicians, this modest distiller was able to procure for his art and trade not only more publicity, but also fuller recognition of their worth and dignity.

[68] Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne, 1965), 68–69.

"FOR THE COMMON GOOD AND FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST:" PARATEXTS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF NAVIGATIONAL WORKS

Susanna De Schepper

Critic Michael Saenger has said that "marginal texts are no longer of marginal importance," and he is right.[1] Ever since Gérard Genette coined the term 'paratext' in his seminal work *Seuils*, or in its English translation *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, much attention has been paid to such texts. Genette offers the following explanation of the term:

> More than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a *threshold*, or – a word Borges used apropos of a preface – a 'vestible' that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back. It is an 'undefined zone' between the inside and the outside … or, as Philippe Lejeune put it, 'a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text.'[2]

Although "it has become a critical commonplace to suggest that Genette's survey of paratextual possibilities is insufficiently attentive to historical difference and change," most of his terminologies and concepts are still relevant.[3] He attempts to list and describe every kind of paratext, by which he means in essence everything that is "around" the text in question but not the actual main body of it, what in his own words enables a text to become a book and be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public.[4] He then divides these paratexts into peritexts (those materials closest to the body of the text and found in the actual book, such as titles, title-pages, dedications, prefaces, liminary verses) and epitexts (those materials related to the text yet outside it, such as interviews or notebooks). In this essay, I shall examine only paratexts and, within that category, only dedications and addresses to the reader, although this is not to underestimate the importance of other paratexts such as title-pages,

---

[1] Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 13.

[2] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1–2.

[3] *Renaissance Prefaces*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 2. See also Saenger, *Commodification*, 15.

[4] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts*, 2.

with their potential for attracting buyers and readers, or titles, which may well differ in source text and translation, given the changed cultural context and audience.[5]

Renaissance paratexts per se are now being recognised as playing the role of a "disguised advertisement," the verb "to advertise" meaning in Early Modern English "to make generally known."[6] They could inform potential buyers about new knowledge found in the book but could also, Paul Voss argues, be used for "promoting reputations, establishing expertise … and encouraging investment."[7] In fact, he continues, "technical expertise became a service desired by others" and, thanks to the medium of print, "knowledge could be captured, packaged and sold" fairly easily.[8] Where translations are concerned, paratexts written by the translator, according to Saenger, "offer a wide variety of perspectives on the problems and duties of the translator."[9] Voss's comment on technical knowledge and Saenger's on translators' paratexts are especially relevant for this study of the prefatorial matters accompanying the navigational works translated in early modern England between 1528 and 1640, which were extremely important in the development of the country's navy, adventures of exploration, and trade.

The title of a 1943 book states that *Europa aprendió a navegar en libros españoles* (Europe learned to navigate from Spanish books) and in the case of England this is definitely true.[10] It is not, however, the whole story. Consultation of the newly established *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1640*, reveals a sizeable subset of navigational works; it is on these that I shall focus. The core corpus comprises fifteen texts which, including reprints, amount to fifty-five books. Of these, just under half were translated from Dutch; only about one third stem from Spanish originals.[11] This knocks Spanish somewhat

---

[5] As Marie Maclean says, titles may deliberately obscure or mislead. Maclean, "Pretexts and Paratexts: The Art of the Peripheral," *New Literary History* 22.2 (1991), 276. On the use of titles-pages as advertisements, see Paul J. Voss, "Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29.3 (1998), 737–738. See also Michael Saenger, who writes that "advertising a text often means misrepresenting it" (*Commodification*, 20).

[6] Michael Saenger, *Commodification*, 36 and 55.

[7] Paul J. Voss, "Books for Sale," 737.

[8] Paul J. Voss, "Books for Sale," 747.

[9] Michael Saenger, *Commodification*, 99.

[10] Julio F. Guillén y Tato, *Europa aprendió a navegar en libros españoles* (Madrid: Museo Naval, 1943).

[11] The difference in impact between the Dutch and Spanish translated manuals is discussed further in my doctoral thesis, "'Foreign' Books for English Readers: Published

off its pedestal, although Guillén y Tato's statement is still accurate in that the first navigational manual, as opposed to logs giving sailing directions, was translated from Spanish and that it remained very influential throughout the period. The Dutch and Spanish works are followed by French and Latin ones (ten percent each) and finally German, with just one work (five percent), although this last one was translated via a Latin intermediary.

The core subset contains all translations into English of navigation manuals and works containing sailing directions but I have expanded it to include works of a similar nature that nevertheless have a slightly different focus. The expanded corpus thus contains some translations of voyage logs and direct reports of the first conquests. All include aspects of navigation although they are not manuals as such. They are linked to the core corpus via their subject as well as by their translators, patrons and, where relevant, dedicatees. This expanded corpus provides, to my mind, a slightly more balanced view. It contains forty-two works in total, but with reprints the number rises to ninety-seven books. Spanish and Dutch each claim almost one third of the titles, thirty-one and twenty-eight percent respectively, while third place is claimed by French with eighteen percent, followed by Latin and Italian with eight percent each, Portuguese with five percent, and finally German with two.

A tentative start in translating navigational works in England was made in 1528 when Robert Copland's translation of Pierre Garcie's *Routier de la mer* (Rouen: s.n., s.d.) was published as *The rutter of ye see* ([London]: Robert Copland, 1528). Three decades then elapsed that saw only two more translations, both works of a more geographical nature, the first from German (via Latin), the second from Latin. It is not until 1561 that the first navigation manual reached an English audience in print, Martín Cortés' *Breue compendio de la sphera y de la arte de nauegar* (Seville: Alvarez, 1551), translated by Richard Eden as *The arte of nauigation, conteyning a compendious description of the sphere* (London: R. Jugge, 1561). That this text filled a gap is evident by the amount of interest it sparked among English navigators, resulting in a further nine reprints and updated editions over the next seventy years.

Once the precedent was set, there was a dramatic spike in productivity between 1575 and 1590, with sixteen texts being translated. This equals forty percent of the corpus simply in that fifteen year span. Furthermore, eight of those sixteen were translated from Spanish, reaffirming that

---

Translations of Navigation Manuals and their Audience in the English Renaissance, 1500–1640" (Ph.D. diss., University of Warwick, 2012).

the Spaniards had the best available knowledge at the time. After that, the momentum moved to Dutch, with five texts being translated around the turn of the century, reflecting the rise of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie on the one hand and the competing East India Company on the other. Translation activity in this area finally died down just before 1620. Several books were still reprinted or re-edited, of course, but no new titles in this field of expertise were translated in England in the last twenty years of the time span discussed here.

Many of the items in our corpus contain a variety of paratexts but I shall focus on two in this essay, the dedication and the address to the reader, the latter being classified by Genette as a sub-division of the former.[12] I have divided these into two groups. The first comprises texts accompanying the source text that have been included in the translation. Most are written by the author, but also on occasion by the printer of the source text or even by an intermediary translator. They have all been translated into English in order to make them accessible to an English audience. The second group contains those dedications and addresses to the reader created specifically to accompany the translated work. A clear majority were written by the translators themselves, which is not surprising. However, a few are also provided by later editors and, in one case, a printer, as can be seen from table 10.1.

Almost all the dedications found in the original works and translated into English were written by the author and addressed to monarchs, important members of the court, or high-ranking religious figures. The two Portuguese publications, for example, are dedicated to a king and a prince. The first is to King John III by historian Fernão Lopes de Castanheda to accompany his massive eight-volume work on the history of the discovery and conquest of the East Indies, *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos Portugueses* (Coimbra: Barreyra & Alvarez, 1551). Only the first volume was translated into English; its title was *The first booke of the historie of the discouerie and conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales* (London: Thomas East, 1582). The other dedication is to John of Lencastre, first Duke of Aveiro and grandson of King John II, and is found in Antonio Galvão's treatise on the Portuguese discoveries, *Tratado. Que compos o nobre & notauel capitão Antonio Galuão* (Lisbon, 1563). This dedication, translated by Richard Hakluyt in his *The discoueries of the world from their first originall vnto the yeere of our Lord 1555* (London:

[12] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts*, 133.

Table 10.1. Paratexts originally accompanying source texts.

	STC	Author	Transl.	Year	Type	By	To
1	645	Martyr	Eden	1555	dedic.	author	Charles V
2	5798	Cortés	Eden	1561	dedic.	author	Charles V
3	15347	Le Challeux	Hacket	1566	dedic.	author	friend
4	23950	Thevet	Hacket	1568	dedic.	author	Bertrand
					reader	author	
5	23659	Taisnier	Eden	1575	dedic.	author	Gebhard
6	12425	Guevara	Hellowes	1578	dedic.	author	Cobos
7	10529	Escalante	Frampton	1579	dedic.	author	Rojas
8	17771	Medina	Frampton	1581	dedic.	author	Philip II
9	26123	Zaráte	Nicholls	1581	reader	author	
10	16806	Castanheda	Lichefield	1582	dedic.	author	John III
11	4739	Las Casas	M. M. S.	1583	dedic.	author	Philip II
					reader	int. tr. (Miggrode)	
12	10746	Federici	Hickock	1588	reader	author	
13	24931	Waghenaer	Ashley	1588	reader	author	
14	15193	Houtman	Phillip	1598	dedic.	printer (Langenes)	town
15	11543	Galvão	?	1601	dedic.	editor (Tavares)	Lencastre

G. Bishop, 1601) was not written by the author himself but rather by his friend Francisco de Sousa Tavares, who edited the manuscript and brought it to print.

The dedications in Spanish number six in all. Charles V received two, as did his son Philip II. The first one addressed to Charles was by Peter Martyr in his *De orbo nouo decades* (Alcalás: Guillén de Brocar, 1516), and was included by Eden in his 1555 translation, *The decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the nauigations and conquests of the Spanyardes* (London: W. Powell, 1555). The second was by Cortés for his *Breue compendio de la sphera y de la arte de nauegar* (Seville: Anton Alvarez, 1551), available ten years later as Eden's *The arte of nauigation, conteynyng a compendious description of the sphere* (London: R. Jugge, 1561). Philip received a dedication by the cosmographer Pedro de Medina of his *Arte de navegar* (Valladolid: Fernandez de Córdoba, 1545), translated by John Frampton as *The arte of nauigation* (London: T. Dawson, 1581). He was also the dedicatee of *Breuissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias* (Sevilla:

Trujillo, 1552) written by Bartolomé de Las Casas. The dedicatory epistle was translated by one "M.M.S." in his 1581 *The Spanish colonie, or briefe chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the newe world* (London: [T. Dawson for] W. Brome, 1583).

A Spanish court figure who received a dedication was Francisco de los Cobos y Molina, secretary of state under the emperor Charles, to whom Antonio de Guevara dedicated his *Arte del Marear y de los inventores de ellas* (Valladolid: de Villaquiran, 1539). It reappeared in the translation by Edward Hellowes, as *A booke of the inuention of the art of nauigation* (London: [H. Middleton] for R. Newberrie, 1578).

The last Spanish dedicatee is the Archbishop of Seville, Cristobal de Rojas y Sandoval, thus honoured by the cleric Bernardino de Escalante in his *Discvrso de la navegacion qve los Portugueses hazen à los Reinos y Prouincias del Oriente* (Seville: Escrivano, 1577). This was translated by Frampton in 1579 as *A discourse of the nauigation which the Portugales doe make to the realmes and prouinces of the east partes of the worlde* (London: T. Dawson, 1579).

Two further archbishops are in the list of dedicatees, one French, one German. The first is Cardinal Jean Bertrand, Archbishop of Sens, by the explorer and royal cosmographer André Thevet, author of *Les singularitez de la France antarctique* (Paris: de la Porte, 1558). Thomas Hacket included the epistle in his translation, *The new found vvorlde, or Antarctike* (London: H. Bynneman for T. Hacket, [1568]). Johann Gebhard von Mansfeld-Vorderort, Archbishop and Prince-Elector of Cologne, received a dedication from his 'Kappelmeister' Jean Taisnier in his treatise on magnetism and navigation, *De natura magnetis et ejus effectibus* (Cologne: Birckmann, 1562), which Eden translated in his *A very necessarie and profitable booke concerning nauigation* (London: R. Jugge, [1575?]).

The last two dedications are addressed to less illustrious men. The 1598 account of Cornelis de Houtman's expedition, *Iournael vande reyse der Hollandtsche schepen ghedaen in Oost Indien* (Middelburg: Barent Langenes, 1589), translated by William Phillip in that very same year as *The description of a voyage made by certain ships of Holland into the East Indies* (London: [J. Windet for] J. Wolfe, 1598), includes a dedication by the printer, Barent Langenes, to "The Bayliefes, Burghemaisters, & Counsell of the Towne of Middelborgh in Zeelande" (A3–A4^{v}). The final dedicatee is not actually identified by name. The carpenter Nicolas Le Challeux dedicated his account of the defeat of the French colony in Florida, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride* (s.l.: s.n., 1566), to a friend, as reflected in "The Authour to his friend" in Thomas Hacket's translation *A true and perfect*

description, of the last voyage or nauigation ... into Terra Florida (London: H. Denham for T. Hacket, [1566]).

In almost all of these dedications, the social standing of the dedicatees is most certainly the reason why they were translated and included in the publication. The dedications, then, give the work greater authority, and as a consequence point up its importance and enhance the standing of the author, both factors that constitute a good selling point for publishers hoping to increase their buying public.

A different matter is the source text's address to the reader found in far fewer books. There is no immediate reason to translate this since it adds no prestige to the work and is more likely to be culture-specific, therefore being less easy to fit automatically into the new context of the translation. Moreover, the translator could easily write his own address to the reader, since he might well want to comment on questions of translation, for example, explaining methods or reasons for his choice of source text, as we shall see in more detail in the last section of this essay. Three of the five addresses are found in works where other paratexts were also translated, namely Waghenaer's, de las Casas' and Thevet's. In these cases, the translator might well have thought the paratexts formed an ensemble.

Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer's "admonition to the reader" in *The mariners mirrour* (London: J. Charlewood, 1588), Anthony Ashley's translation of *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt* (Leiden: Christopher Plantin, 1584–1585), is of interest because it imparts his joy and gratitude at having his work well received abroad, especially by the English ambassadors to the Low Countries, Charles Howard, the Lord Admiral and the members of the Privy Council, who considered it "worthy to be translated and Printed" (¶2^{r}).[13] The address to the reader found in M.M.S's translation of de Las Casas, *The Spanish colonie*, is of a different nature since it was not written by the author but rather by the Flemish intermediary translator, Jacques de Miggrode, whose *Tyrannies et cruautez des Espagnols perpetrees ès Indes Occidentales* (Antwerp: Raphelengius, 1579) served as source text. Miggrode wrote it as a "warning to the xij. Prouinces of the lowe Countries." The English translator must have found it worthwhile for the English as well since he made the effort to translate these seven pages. Given the

[13] A note of clarification is perhaps useful here. The Dutch source text appeared in two parts in 1584 and 1585. An "international" Latin version was printed in Leiden in 1586 and it is from this intermediary that the English translation was made. Waghenaer wrote his address to the reader for the Latin publication.

date, 1581, he perhaps hoped it would encourage the anti-Spanish feelings then prevalent in England. Thevet's admonition to the reader in *The new found vvorlde* contains nothing out of the ordinary other than perhaps an apology for the use of language here and there, blaming it on fever and illness upon his return.

The final two addresses to the reader are found in the translations of Agustín de Zárate's *Historia del descvbrimiento y conqvista del Perv* (Antwerp: Nuyts, 1555) and Cesare Federici's *Viaggio … nell'India orientale, et oltra l'India* (Venice: Muschio, 1587). Why these were translated is not immediately obvious. De Zárate's is a long-winded piece on the knowledge of authors and philosophers from antiquity to the present day with relation to newly discovered islands. In the English translation, *The discouerie and conquest of the prouinces of Peru, and the nauigation in the South Sea* (London: [J. Charlewood, W. How and J. Kingston for] R. Jones, 1581), the translator, Thomas Nicholls, does not identify it as being written by the author but simply entitles it "To the reader" and includes no striking details that might alert the reader to its authorship. Hence, for the English reader, it might well have been written by the translator since it follows directly upon his dedication. Federici's address is also found after the translator's own paratext in *The voyage and trauaile: of M. Cæsar Frederick, merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and beyond the Indies* (London: R. Jones and E. White, 1588), but is clearly marked as being written by the author. It is in no way remarkable, stating only that it contains things "the which were neuer as yet written of any" ($A3^r$).

The second set of dedications and addresses to the reader in our corpus of navigational works are translation-specific, that is, written to accompany the translation, either by the translator himself, or someone associated with him or the work. At least one such paratext is found in thirty-four works; that is, in eighty percent of the corpus. The majority were in fact written by the translator, which is the most obvious source for this new material, although some were by the editor and in a couple of cases even by the printer. All but one of these thirty-four works contain a dedication and thirteen have an address to the reader. I shall not go into detail about all of the dedicatees but shall simply mention the most prominent; the others can be found below in table 10.2.

Topping the list are Lord Charles Howard of Effingham and Sir Edward Dyer, with four dedications each. Howard was a renowned naval commander and diplomat and from 1585 Lord High Admiral of England, who, as mentioned earlier, played a role in having Waghenaer's *Spieghel*

Table 10.2. Translation-specific paratexts.

	STC	Author	Transl.	Year	Type	By	To
1	11551	Garcie	Copland	1528	reader	translator	
2	18244	Münster	Eden	1533	dedic.	translator	Dudley
					reader	translator	
3a	645	Martyr	Eden	1555	reader	translator	
4a	5798	Cortés	Eden	1561	dedic.	translator	Muscovy C
5	23950	Thevet	Hacket	1568	dedic.	translator	Sidney
6	23659	Taisnier	Eden	1575	dedic.	translator	Winter
3b	649	Martyr	Eden	1577	dedic.	ed. (Willes)	Bridget
					reader	ed. (Willes)	
7	10823	Enciso	Frampton	1578	dedic.	translator	Gilbert
8	12425	Guevara	Hellowes	1578	dedic.	translator	Howard
9	16807	Gomara	Nicholls	1578	dedic.	translator	Walsingham
					reader	translator	
10	10529	Escalante	Frampton	1579	dedic.	translator	Dyer
11	20092	Polo	Frampton	1579	dedic.	translator	Dyer
12	4699	Cartier	Florio	1580	dedic.	translator	Bray
					reader	translator	
13	18006	Monardes	Frampton	1580	dedic.	translator	Dyer
14	17771	Medina	Frampton	1581	dedic.	translator	Dyer
15	26123	Zarate	Nicholls	1581	dedic.	translator	Wilson
16	16806	Castanheda	Lichefield	1582	dedic.	translator	Drake
17	21545	Antoniszoon	Norman	1584	dedic.	translator	Howard
					reader	translator	
18	15316	Laudonnière	Hakluyt	1587	dedic.	translator	Raleigh
19a	18487	Mendoza	A. F.	1587	dedic.	translator	Anderson
20	10746	Federici	Hickock	1588	dedic.	translator	Howard
					reader	translator	
19b	12003	Mendoza	Parke	1588	dedic.	translator	Cavendish
					reader	pr. (Wolfe)	
21	24931	Waghenaer	Ashley	1588	dedic.	translator	Hatton
22	17784	Meyer	Jones	1589	dedic.	translator	Drake
4b	5803	Cortés	Eden	1596	reader	ed. (Tapp)	
23	16805	Lopes	Hartwell	1597	dedic.	translator	Whitgift
					reader	translator	

(*Continued*)

Table 10.2. (*Cont.*)

	STC	Author	Transl.	Year	Type	By	To
24	15193	Houtman	Phillip	1598	dedic.	translator	Scudamore
25	15691	Linschoten	Phillip	1598	dedic.	pr. (Wolfe)	Caesar
					reader	translator	
26	23265	Stevin	Wright	1599	dedic.	translator	Howard
					dedic.	translator	Trinity H
27	3398	Botero	Johnson	1601	dedic.	translator	Somerset
28	11543	Galvão	?	1601	dedic.	ed. (Hakluyt)	Cecil
29	18417	Neck	Walker	1601	dedic.	translator	Smythe
30	24628	Veer	Phillip	1605	dedic.	translator	Smythe
31	15491	Lescarbot	Erondelle	1609	dedic.	translator	Henry
					reader	translator	
32	22938	?	Hakluyt	1609	dedic.	translator	Virginia C
3c	650	Martyr	Eden/Lok	1612	dedic.	ed./tr. (Lok)	Caesar
					reader	ed./tr. (Lok)	
4c	5805	Cortés	Eden	1615	dedic.	ed. (Tapp)	Wade
33	10840	Feynes	Tourval	1615	dedic.	translator	Herbert
					reader	translator	
34	21828	Schouten	Phillip	1619	dedic.	translator	Smythe
4d	5805.5	Cortés	Eden	1630	reader	ed. (Tapp)	

translated. Four navigational works by four different translators were dedicated to him between 1578 and 1599: Guevara's *A booke of the inuention of the art of nauigation* translated by Frampton and Federici's *Voyage and trauaile* by Hickock, both mentioned above, together with Cornelis Antoniszoon's *Het leeskaartboek van Wisbuy* (Antwerp: Roelants, 1566), translated by Robert Norman as *The safegard of sailers, or great rutter* (London: J. Windet and T. Judson for R. Ballard, 1584), and Simon Stevin's *De Havenvinding* (Leiden: C. Raphelengius 1599), translated by Edward Wright as *The hauen-finding art* (London: G. B[ishop], R. N[ewberry] and R. B[arker], 1599). It is no coincidence that Richard Hakluyt's 1598 seminal *Principal Navigations* was also dedicated to Howard.

Dyer was a protégé of the Earl of Leicester and as such a well-connected courtier, albeit riddled with debt throughout most of his life. He was very

interested in international politics and exploration, which is evident, for example, from his financial support for Frobisher's series of voyages in search of the Northwest Passage in 1576–1578.[14] Since he was also the patron of the translator John Frampton, it is not surprising that in our corpus all four dedications to him were penned by that translator. Two accompanied works on China: Marco Polo's *The most noble and famous trauels of Marcus Paulus* (London: [H. Bynneman for] R. Newberry, 1579) and Escalante's *A discourse of the nauigation which the Portugales doe make* (London: T. Dawson, 1579); one was on herbal remedies from the New World, Nicolás Monardes' *Ioyfull nevves out of the newe founde worlde* (London: W. Norton, 1577), a reissue of Frampton's *Three bookes written in the Spanishe tongue* of 1577 (STC 18005), while one was the above-mentioned navigation manual, Medina's *Arte of nauigation*.

Third place in the list of dedicatees goes to the wealthy London merchant Sir Thomas Smythe, who was governor of the Muscovy Company, the Levant Company and first governor of the East India Company. He received three dedications by two different translators between 1601 and 1619, all of travel accounts susceptible to pleasing a man whose interests lay in far-off lands. Two described voyages to the Spice Islands, Jacob Corneliszoon Van Neck's *The iournall, or dayly register ... of the voyage, accomplished by eight shippes of Amsterdam* (London: [S. Stafford and F. Kingston] for C. Burby and J. Flasket, 1601), translated by W. Walker, and Willem Cornelis Schouten's *The relation of a wonderfull voyage* (London: T. D[awson] for R. Newberry, 1619), translated by William Phillip. The third was a report of a voyage in search of the Northeast Passage by Gerrit de Veer, translated as *The true and perfect description of three voyages* (London: [W. White] for T. Pavier, 1609), again by Phillip.

Finally, the list includes dedications to some of the most famous explorers and courtiers of the Elizabethan period, Francis Drake, Thomas Cavendish, Humfrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, Francis Walsingham, Christopher Hatton, Edward Somerset and Robert Cecil, and to two groups of people. The first are the members of the Virginia Company, to whom, rather unsurprisingly, Hakluyt dedicates his translation of de Soto's travels, *Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida* (London: F. Kyngston for M. Lownes, 1609), since he is bidding for their financial support for the Virginia Plantation. The second are the mariners of Trinity House, a fraternity of mariners overseeing safety at sea and, appropriately, dedicatees for Stevin's *Hauen-finding art*.

[14] Steven W. May, 'Dyer, Sir Edward (1543–1607),' in the *ODNB*.

Besides addressing a specific person or group of persons, these dedications and addresses to the reader often serve as what we would today call prefaces. Genette lists a number of different functions they can perform: those themes relating to 'why' (importance, novelty or tradition, and truthfulness), and 'how' (comments on the genesis of the work, choice of a public, contextual information and statements of intent).[15] Several of these are pertinent to our corpus. Two-thirds of the prefaces state the reasons why the text was translated; most express the translator's intention in choosing and translating it; many discuss, or at least mention, the translating method chosen.

By far the most regularly cited reason for producing the translation is that somebody requested it.[16] The "somebody" is sometimes a rather vague person. William Phillip, translating Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's 1596 *Itinerario*, dedicated his *Discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (London: [J. Windet for] J. Wolfe, 1598) to a "learned Gentleman" (A1^{v}); in the 1536 edition of Garcie's *Rutter of the see* (London: T. Petyt), Copland talks of a "sad / ingenyous and cyrcumspecte mariner of the cyte of London" (a2^{v}); John Florio produced his *A shorte and briefe narration of the two nauigations and discoueries to the northweast partes calle Newe Fraunce* (London: H. Bynneman, 1580), a translation of Jacques Cartier's *Brief recit de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada* (Paris: Roffet, 1545), "at the requests and earnest solicitations of diuers my very good frends heere in Oxforde" (A2^{r}).

The first translated navigational manual, that of Cortés, was done at the request of a merchant company, the Muscovy Company. However, there is a gradual move from generic bodies like the various companies to specific commissioners of translations. Several translators name individual instigators. Thus the printer Richard Jugge asked his friend Eden to translate Taisnier's work because he wanted to add it to a new edition of the Cortés translation in order to help sales. Charles Howard promoted the translation by Ashley of Waghenaer's *Spieghel* through the mediation of Christopher Hatton to procure the Privy Council's approval. Another instigator was John Bodley, a prominent London merchant and publisher mentioned in *New Mexico. Otherwise the voiage of Anthony of Espeio* (London: [T. East] for T. Cadman, [1587]), an account of Antonio de Espejo's travels

---

[15] Genette, *Paratexts*, 196–235.

[16] See for example Kevin Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 5 on the request of the dedicatee.

translated by a certain "A.F.". Most important as a commissioner, however, is Richard Hakluyt, mentioned by the translators of six different works: by Abraham Hartwell in Duarte Lopes' *A reporte of the kingdome of Congo* (London: J. Wolfe, 1597), Robert Parke in Juan Gonzáles de Mendoza's *The historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China* (London: J. Wolfe for E. White, 1588), and the above mentioned William Walker (in his Van Neck), Pierre Erondelle (in his Lescarbot) and William Philip, who mentions him in both his Linschoten and de Veer translations. Thus Hakluyt was not only a translator and editor of navigational works, but also someone who urged others to help in translating works that he had procured on his travels or through business contacts.

The next most popular reason given is that the contents of the work merit translating.[17] Paratexts emphasise the "rareness of the subiect," as found for example in Federici's account of southern Asia (A2^{r}), the "profitable matter" mentioned in Galvão's history of the art of navigation (A2^{v}), or the new knowledge of the world as described in de Enciso's *A briefe description of the portes, creekes, bayes, and hauens, of the Weast India* (London: H. Bynneman, 1578), translated by John Frampton (A2^{v}). The "newnesse" comes from the fact that many of these foreign-language works had not been available in English. Florio wrote in *A shorte and briefe narration* that "many worthy secrets [were] hitherto … concealed" in them (B2^{v}), while Frampton says more specifically in his translation of de Enciso that "many other knovvledges of high value, lie hid from our Seamen … not acquainted vvith forrayne tongues" (A2^{v}). Hacket, in his translation of Thevet's *New found vvorlde*, asserts that "before this time the like hath not ben heard of" (*3^{v}). To give the translation more instant authority, reference is occasionally made to the fame and renown of the original, as for example, in Eden's dedications to the works of Cortés and Peter Martyr.

One very common and unsurprising reason given for translating these navigation manuals and related works was to benefit mariners, pilots, seamen, travellers and merchants. From the paratexts it seemed they needed a little push in the right direction. Thus Florio wanted to "animate and encourage the Englishe Marchants" (A2^{r}), a feeling shared by Frampton, who thought they needed to be "ke[pt] from idlenesse … and vvith other nations rather late than neuer to make the[m]selves shine vvith the brightnesse of knovvledge," as he says in the dedication to his translation of de Enciso (A2^{v}). In order to do this, they needed up-to-date

[17] See Kevin Dunn on the utility of the subject as a topos (*Pretexts*, 5).

knowledge, which is exactly what Eden, Edward Wright and Erondelle say in their paratexts to, respectively, Cortés' *Arte of Nauigation* (C4^{r}), Stevin's *Hauen-finding art* (A3^{v}) and Lescarbot's *Nova Francia* (2^{r}¶2^{v}). The metaphor of light to represent knowledge is used by several translators: Frampton hoped his translation of Marco Polo might "give greate lighte to our Seamen" (*2^{r}), Jones spoke in *Certaine briefe, and speciall instructions* of converting ignorance "into a quicke sight, and illumination of the senses" (A3^{r}), while Phillip translated de Houtman's account "to procure more light and encouragement to such as are desirous to trauell" (A2). Not that these statements of intent excluded the goals of 'profit,' 'furtherance,' and 'benefit,' questions to which I shall return.

Some translators have specific seamen in mind, although we should not always take this at face value. Books ultimately were a commercial object, so it would be unwise to limit one's buying public. Though the translator may single out one specific person or direct his attention to one group of people, as in the dedicatory epistle, "these gestures cause the reader to read, as it were, over the shoulder of an 'intended' audience."[18] The relatively "private intent becomes public," which is emphasised by the medium itself in moving from manuscript to print.[19] Hakluyt wrote in his dedications to Sir Walter Raleigh of his 1587 *A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French captaynes vnto Florida* (London: T. Dawson, 1587) that his translation of René de Goulaine de Laudonnière's *L'histoire notable de la Floride* (Paris: Auvray, 1586) was specifically for "those, which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you woulde haue forewarned and admonished" (π2^{r}). A similar intent was that of Robert Parke in 1588, who in the dedication of his *Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China* stated that he had translated the work "for the increase of the knowledge of the subiectes of Englande" but especially for those about to embark on voyages to the Far East (¶3^{v}). Finally, Phillip, writing to Sir Thomas Smythe, first governor of the East India Company, in the dedication of his translation of Schouten's *The relation of a wonderfull voiage*, translated the work for the good of the whole company, as "a meanes to further and aduance your trade in India" (π2^{r}). These paratexts go beyond the purely personal to include a wider readership, although still with a professional interest in navigation-bound activities. However, as Saenger claims, it could also

[18] Michael Saenger, *Commodification*, 59.
[19] See Kevin Dunnon the changing nature of the dedicatory epistle (*Pretexts*, 5).

include "many people who take both themselves and the book into an imaginary situation of real utility which operates, in practical terms, within the rhetoric of nationalism."[20]

Saenger's comment is particularly pertinent for the paratexts found in our corpus of navigational works. The motivation not simply to translate but also to commit one's work to print stemmed from the desire to make all knowledge public and thus contribute to the common good, a phrase that appears regularly. This could bring personal gain, but even more important than that was the potential gain for the country as a whole. Indeed, one third of the reasons given for translating concern England. For example, Phillip wanted to "aduance our English Name and Nation" by translating Linschoten's *Itinerario* (A3^{v}) and Norman wrote in *The safegard of sailers* of "aduancing the honour of our countrie, and increasing the wealth of the same" (A3^{r}). Anthony Ashley spoke of the "publick benefit of the whole body of the common wealth" (¶^{v}) and Florio of "no small commoditie and benefite to this our Countrie of Englande" (A2^{r}). Jones felt translating Meyer's *Certaine briefe, and speciall instructions* was "a better duety both towards nature & my countrie" (A2^{v}). The sentiment was shared by Frampton in his 1580 edition of *Ioyfull newes*, where he says he thought it good to "passe the tyme to some benefit of my country, and to auoyde idleness" (*3^{r}). Since patriotism was very strong, especially in the closing decades of the sixteenth century, it is not surprising that such expressions are found in a multitude of translators' and authors' paratexts, not simply in those of our specific corpus.

Finally, there occasionally crop up two further intertwined reasons, related to patriotism. They are both ideological: colonialism and conquest on the one hand, conversion to Christianity on the other. In 1597, Abraham Hartwell wrote to John Whitgift, the archbishop of Canterbury, that he translated Lopes' *A report of the kingdome of Congo* for "such valiant English, as do earnestly thirst and desire to atchieue the conquest of rude and barbarous Nations" (❧3^{r}) but on the previous page he had also described "by what meanes it pleased God to draw them [the natives] from Paganism to Christianity" (❧2^{v}). This dual secular and religious fervour was shared by Hakluyt. His *Virginia richly valued* was intended to help the English colonise that state by learning from de Soto of his experience in Florida in dealing with the natives; as far as religion was concerned, "if gentle polishing will not serue, then we shall not want

[20] Michael Saenger, *Commodification*, 105.

hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained up in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands" (A4^{r}).

The translators' beliefs that their work would be of benefit to their country found expression in two clusters of vocabulary. A close lexical analysis of the paratexts reveals that these recur frequently and revolve around 'profit' on the one hand and 'commonwealth' on the other.

The notion of 'profit' is expressed in a few different terms of which the main ones are drawn from the world of commerce: profit-commodity-benefit, as shown in figure 10.1.

Given the commercial interests inspiring many of these translations, it is not surprising that such trade terms appear frequently, especially in discussions and descriptions of the New World. However, I have not taken these into account, noting *only* the instances where 'profit' concerned the translation itself and was being used metaphorically. Such instances occur in roughly half of the paratexts, which contain at least one reference to the translation as either "profit" or "profitable." The words "benefit" and "beneficial" occur in one third of the texts. Finally, "commodity" or "commodious" appear in one fifth. According to the OED, the use of 'commodity' in the sense of 'advantage, benefit, profit, interest, gain' is now considered obsolete or archaic, but was very much in use in early modern English. Taking all three terms in this profit-benefit–commodity cluster, one finds they appear in sixty-seven percent of the paratexts.

The second cluster revolves around "commonwealth" and two related terms, "nation" and "country," as shown in figure 10.2.

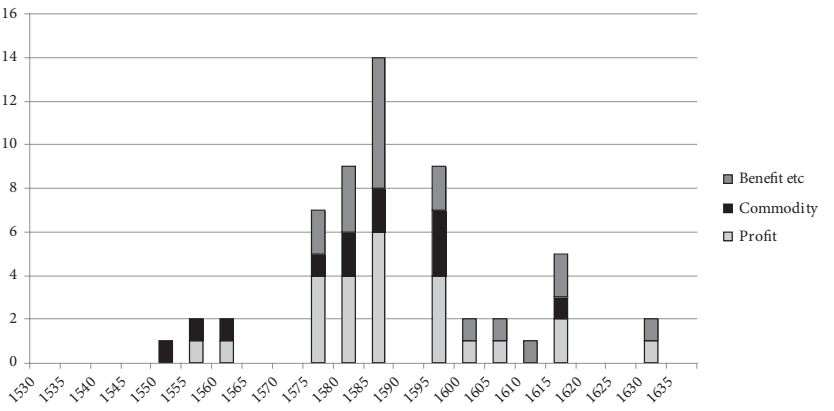

Figure 10.1. Cluster 1 (Profit) in five-year intervals.

Again, I have counted *only* those that concern the actual translation, that is, where the translation is described as performing a service for or being of profit to the "commonwealth." The term "commonwealth" itself appears, in a multitude of spellings, in twenty-nine percent of the texts, closely followed at twenty-seven percent by "nation," as in "the English Nation," "our English nation" or "our Nation." The third term in this cluster is "country," specifically in the sense of "our country," "this English country," "our countrymen," and so on. In all these various forms, it occurs in thirty-eight percent of the texts. Again, if one adds these three terms together, making a commonwealth-nation-country cluster, it will appear in at least one instance in sixty-one percent of the paratexts. Taking into account when this vocabulary is used, and setting the two clusters alongside each other, reveals that they occurred almost simultaneously, as seen in figure 10.3.

There is a noticeable spike from 1575 on, leading up to the time of the Spanish Armada in 1588 when the growing conflict with Spain came to a head. Then there is another spike in the late 1590s towards the end of Elizabeth's reign. These coincide in part, of course, with a higher publication and translation rate in these years, but they are nevertheless significant. That the clusters of profit and commonwealth are often intertwined becomes clear from the following examples. The Cortés editor, John Tapp, for instance, wrote in his 1615 dedication to Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, that "hee that is so well addicted to the common good of the Republike, will not denie the protection of that thing, which may any way tend to the profit of the Common-weale in general"

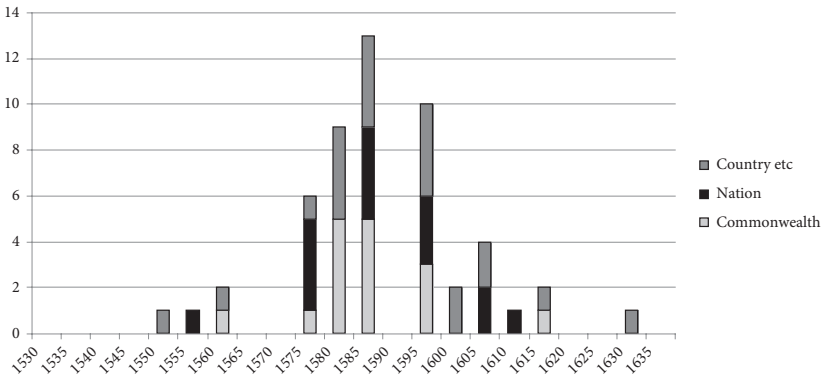

Figure 10.2. Cluster 2 (Commonwealth) in five-year intervals.

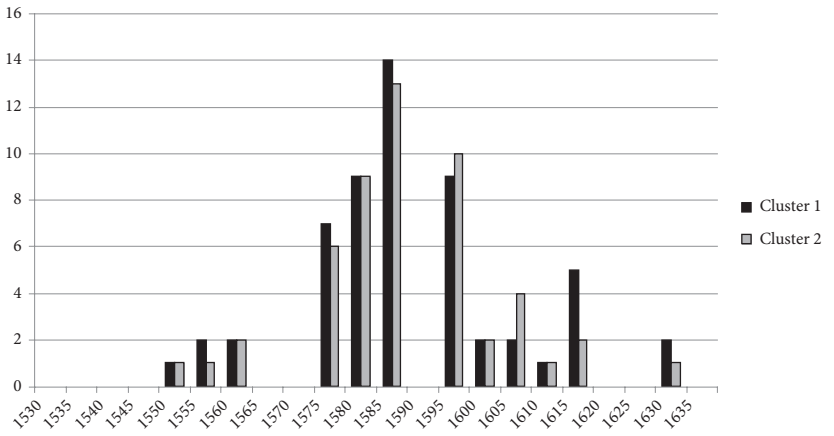

Figure 10.3. Cluster 1 (Profit) and 2 (Commonwealth) in five-year intervals.

(A3^{r}). Furthermore, Tapp emphasised in the 1630 edition that Eden made this translation of Cortés "for the good of his Country" (A2^{v}). Hartwell said he made his translation of Lopes "to help our English Nation, that they they might knowe and vnderstand many things, which are common in other languages, but vtterly concealed from this poore Island" (❧4^{v}). Frampton hoped that his translation of de Escalante "maye geue lyght to our Nation and woorke in many respectes benefite too" (A3^{r}), that his 1580 edition of Monardes "might bring in tyme rare profit, to my Country folkes of Englande" (*3^{r}), while his first edition of Medina's *Arte of nauigation* was "so necessary for the com[m]on wealth" (2^{r}). Thus translating is seen as a patriotic duty throughout these paratexts.

Both dedications and addresses to the reader also cover questions of translating problems and strategies. These are raised, in fact, in forty percent of our corpus. The matters treated are found in the prefatorial materials accompanying very many Renaissance translations: the lack of adequate technical vocabulary in English, the importance of audience appropriateness, the question of whether to translate literally or with greater freedom, which affects semantic, stylistic and structural choices, and the comparison of contemporary translating methods with those employed by Classical translators.

Not surprisingly, because of the nature of these navigational works and the lack of adequate dictionaries, one of the problems concerns the difficulty of translating technical terms. This is encountered in the earliest translation, Copland's 1528 *Rutter of ye see*, where he writes rather vividly in his address to the reader, how it was

> veray dyfficyle to me / not knowynge the termes of mariners / and names of the costes and hauens / for I came neuer on the see nor by no coste therof. But folowynge my copye by the advyse and ouer syght of certayne co[n] nynge men of that scyence whiche bolded and informed me i[n] many doubtes / I dyd undertake it doynge my dylygence, as a blynde horse in a myll tornynge the querne ygnorauntly / saufe by conduytyng of the myller that setteth hym on werke (A3^{r}).

Sixty years later, that same worry troubled Anthony Ashley, who told Christopher Hatton that if "proper termes and peculier phrases" were necessary to translate works of "Mechanicall science, much more [are they] to this notable art of Hidrographie or Nauigation" (¶^{r}).

Such worries were well founded, for those without the required knowledge were criticised for procuring 'bad' translations. Hakluyt, in his capacity as editor in this case, set down the following criteria in his paratext to the anonymously translated *The discoveries of the World from their first originall vnto the yeere of our Lord 1555*: "a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the proprietie of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and thirdly with the subiect or matter it selfe: I found this translator very defectiue in all three; especially the last" (A3^{v}).[21] Since the person being severely criticised in this address to the reader was unknown and the Portuguese original by Antonio Galvão was out of Hakluyt's reach, he was left no option but to edit and print this 'faulty' translation, hence the caveat at the start.

Another subject concerns the appropriateness of the translation for a specific target audience. Thomas Nicholls explained that he had not reproduced López de Gómara's "gallant coulours" and "pleasant phrase of Rhetorike" because his work was for "poore Marchant trauellers" and not for "learned VVriters" (a4^{r}–a4^{v}). Ashley is of a similar opinion and states in *The mariners mirrour* he made specific efforts "to imitate the plainest stile and common manner of speeche, as easiest to be vnderstood of all sorts of men" (¶^{r}). Thomas Hickock, too, says he respected common usage in his Federici translation: "[I] haue simplie folowed the Authors sence in that phraze of speech that we commonly vse" (A3^{v}).

Interestingly, this last statement raises another issue that, alongside anxieties about style and language, dominates the methodological

[21] Hakluyt is, of course, but echoing the three basic translating principles first set out by Leonardo Bruni in *De interpretatione recta* (c. 1424) and repeated by many Renaissance writers, perhaps most famous of whom was Etienne Dolet, author of *La maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en autre* (1540).

concerns addressed in these paratexts, namely that of literalism.[22] Title-pages of all translations in this period are filled with statements such as "truly and faithfully translated." What that means, however, is open for debate. The concepts of 'literal' and 'free' and the boundaries between translation and imitation had long occupied translators, who in the Renaissance modelled themselves on various traditions, going back to Cicero, Horace and Quintilian and ranging between the two extremes of word-for-word translation on the one hand and imitation and adaptation on the other. Theo Hermans argues that for translations into the vernacular languages towards the middle of the sixteenth century, the prevailing traditions were those that favoured literalism and, in a statement that relates particularly to our subject of paratexts, says: "My contention is that, to a much greater extent than is often thought, these traditions foster and shape the attitudes and norms of sixteenth-century translators, as they are found in liminary texts and critical pronouncements."[23]

Semantic fidelity was a genuine concern to A.F., who felt he had to justify himself in his *Nevv Mexico* by admitting: "although I haue vsed a worse English phrase the[n] others would do; yet I haue kept (so neere as I can) the very Spanish sence" (A2^{v}). This method was also used by Nicholas Lichfield in his translation of Lopes de Castanheda, where he had "obserued the literall sence … as the Author setteth it forth" (A2^{v}). However, the idea of being "truthful" and "faithful" does not always automatically imply making no changes whatsoever to the source. For some translators it meant improving upon one's source text. Norman stated in his *Safegard of sailers*: "truly as neere as I could, I haue followed, yea and in many places by my owne obseruatio[n] bettered the originall" (A4^{v}). Ashley subscribed to the same motto by describing himself in Ciceronian terms as having "performed the part of a faithfull interpretour" yet, he went on, "and (be it spoken without preiudice to the Aucthour) by the aduise of the best experienced, [I] haue in many places amended and bettered him" (¶^{r}). Even for those who chose not to consciously amend or improve the original, however, there were certain consequences. In the case of Parke's translation of González de Mendoza, the printer, John Wolfe, found it necessary to add a warning to the readers. He was worried some might be

[22] The subject of literalism versus free translation is vast and cannot be discussed here. However, see Theo Hermans, "Renaissance Translation between Literalism and Imitation" in Harald Kittel (ed.), *Geschichte, System, Literarische Übersetzung – Histories, Systems, Literary Translations* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1992), 95–116, for an excellent and thorough discussion.

[23] Theo Hermans, "Renaissance Translation," 108.

offended by descriptions of the zeal of Spanish friars and he did not want to be held liable for such offence. Hence, he set out the following warning: "our translator (as it seemeth) hath rather chosen to be esteemed fidus interpres, in truely translating the historie as it was, though conteyning some errors, then to be accounted a patcher or corrupter of other mens workes" (¶4^{v}).[24] In this example the translator's decision *not* to alter the original also invited possible criticism, which the printer tried to avoid as much as possible by adding his own paratext.

Another issue is the structure or sometimes *lack* of structure of a work. Is it the translator's place to rectify such a situation? Hartwell certainly did not think so, as he says in his address to the reader that he believed "that Authors should be published in the same Order, in the same Termes, & in the same Stile which they themselues vsed" (*2^{r}). A similar decision to leave things as they were was taken by Erondelle, albeit for different reasons. Even though he had changed the structure of Lescarbot's *Nova Francia* by translating only a portion of the original, he had decided to leave that section as it was, rather than amending it to make it fit as a stand-alone piece in its own right. These structural concerns plagued editors more than translators, especially those publishing subsequent editions of a work. Hakluyt, for example, felt that by adding "a large alphabeticall table" his edition of de Laudonnière's account of expeditions in Florida would provide all you could wish for, so that "it shalbe needlesse to recken vp againe" (π2^{v}). John Tapp acted similarly in his consecutive editions of Eden's translation of Cortés' *Arte of Nauigation*. In each new edition, he changed and added materials, for example in 1630, "new calculated … Tables of Declination, and some other matters fitting for the time present and to come; which otherwise, had been shortly out of date" (A2^{v}).

The final issue that crops up in these comments on the act of translating is how the translations of navigational and scientific works, and the methods used to translate them, compared to those of the classics. Thomas Nicholls, discussing the "plaine" language of his translation of Agustín de Zárate, relates the question specifically to style, by giving license to anyone so inclined to "beautifie" his rendering "as often times, hath happened among the Greeke and Latine Historiographers and Translators (A3^{v}). For

[24] The term 'fidus interpres' was used by Horace in his comparison of the faithful translator and the aspiring poet who, unlike the translator, was to imitate in creative and free fashion the works of earlier authors. Horace's dictum and how it was misrepresented over the centuries to represent two methods of translating is discussed by Hermans and features in most discussions of Renaissance translation theory. It is noteworthy that Wolfe is using the Horatian quotation correctly.

Richard Willes, whose 1577 edition of Peter Martyr's *De novo orbe* was "Newly set in order, augmented, and finished," the case was clear as he felt that Eden's translation was "nothyng inferior to the bookes of auncient writers, far exceedyng the multitude of foolysh commentaries and friuolous translations, to to [sic] licentiousely vsed in our tyme" (5^{r}). These comments are of particular relevance to the Renaissance debate over the comparative merits of contemporary and Classical texts, but also over the position of the translated text *vis-à-vis* the original.[25] Nicholls' defence of stylistic shift is based on the rule of Classical precedent, which justifies the potential 'beautifying' of the source text and pre-empts any accusations of stylistic infidelity. Willes is actually claiming, contrary to most commentators on translation, that the translated work stands on equal footing with the source text, a bold and rather unusual claim that questions the usual hierarchy that characterises descriptions of source and target texts.

Two remaining features of these translation-specific paratexts should be mentioned, albeit rather briefly. The first concerns what Saenger calls the "book-as-person topos," which he qualifies as "so old, so powerful, and so multivalent;"[26] it was indeed common in early modern English and is used in our corpus to personify both the original text and the translations. Thus Robert Johnson, in introducing his translation of Giovanni Botero's *Relazioni universali* (Bergamo: Ventura, 1596), published as *The trauellers breuiat, or, An historicall description of most famous kingdoms* (London: E. Bollifant for J. Jaggard, 1601), "taught this booke to speake English" ($\pi 2^{r}$). John Wolfe described Linschoten's *Discours of voyages* as a "Dutchman arriuing here in England after his long trauell and Nauigation, and bringing rare Intelligences with him from Forreyne part" ($A1^{v}$). The book as foreign guest is echoed by Wright in speaking of Stevin's *Hauen-finding art*. None of our translators, however, expands it as fully as Hartwell, for whom his *Report of the kingdome of Congo*, translated via an Italian intermediary, is a "Portingall Pilgrime … apparelled in an Italian vesture," who begs to become English (1^{*r}). Personification is not a unique or even an unusual stylistic device. Moreover, Saenger tells us that it was part of an advertising strategy because, like other metaphors, it was a "powerful means of encouraging the purchase of a book."[27] In the case of translations of

[25] See Neil Rhodes, "Status Anxiety and English Renaissance Translation," in *Renaissance Prefaces*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 107–110.

[26] Michael Saenger, *Commodification*, 95.

[27] Michael Saenger, *Commodification*, 96.

navigational works it is interesting to note that it is employed to establish the special relationship, not simply between author and audience, but also between author and translator, translator and audience, source language and target language, while the books themselves are often figured forth appropriately as 'pilots' and 'travellers.'

Definitely not unique to navigational works either is the modesty topos, which is found in so many Renaissance prefaces to both original and translated texts and has a long history. It is intended to justify a composition and at the same time to serve, in self-deprecatory mode, as a defence mechanism in times when authors and translators could attract serious trouble, in particular for political or religious reasons.[28] In the case of translations, the topos can also reinforce the concept of hierarchy that places the source language and culture above its target counterparts and accords the author and original text a far higher rung on the literary ladder than the translator and translation. In dedications it can also, of course, reinforce the social hierarchy of translator and dedicatee, serving as a mark of respect, with varying degrees of obsequiousness, on the part of the translator. These uses of the modesty topos are found in roughly fifty per cent of the paratexts in our corpus. It would be interesting to see whether, in these navigational works, the powerful sense of hierarchy found in the prefatorial materials is linked with a word-for-word translating strategy, as Theo Hermans suggests tends to be the case in the Renaissance.[29]

In the meantime, our study has afforded valuable insights concerning the various translators' intentions and the contexts in which they brought their efforts to fruition. We have found that the translations were usually commissioned by someone connected to the world of navigation (mariners, pilots, merchants, merchant companies), or by friends, or indeed by a combination of both, because they deemed the contents useful. The translators shared this objective of making the knowledge public through a combination of translation into the English language and the medium of print, hoping their work would benefit seamen but also, in a wider perspective, contribute to both the "common good" and the "national interest."

---

[28] See Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 169–174; Michael Saenger, *Commodification*, 100.

[29] Theo Hermans, "Renaissance Translation," 108.

HENRY HEXHAM (c. 1585–1650), ENGLISH SOLDIER, AUTHOR, TRANSLATOR, LEXICOGRAPHER, AND CULTURAL MEDIATOR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

Paul Hoftijzer

The British Isles and the Netherlands have a collective history that spans more than 2,000 years. It is a relationship which has had its ups and downs, and perhaps at no time more than during the so-called "long" seventeenth century – from the last decades of the sixteenth century to the first of the eighteenth –, when periods of peaceful exchange and collaboration alternated with spells of fierce rivalry and hostility. Nevertheless, even the three maritime wars that were fought between England and the Dutch Republic between 1652 and 1674 can be regarded as proof of the strong connections that existed between the two nations.

Certainly, the British and the Dutch had much in common in the seventeenth century. As maritime trading nations they shared an economic outlook on the world that went far beyond their own borders; they constantly ran into each other, even in the remotest parts of the globe. They shared the same political objectives on the European continent, trying to make sure that no one power – be it Spain or France – would dominate the others. They shared, admittedly some more than others, the same religion, and thus the same enemy, the Catholic Church. To a large extent they also shared the same curiosity in matters of science, technology, scholarship and the arts.[1]

As a result of these mutual interests, there was a permanent coming and going of people across the North Sea. The rapidly expanding commercial relations created vibrant Dutch merchant communities in London and elsewhere, while English and Scottish traders were active in Dutch cities like Veere, Middelburg, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam.

[1] The best general account of Anglo-Dutch relations still is K.H.D. Haley, *The British and the Dutch. Political and Cultural Relations through the Ages* (London: George Philip, 1988). See also *The North Sea and Culture* (*1550–1800*), ed. Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996); Cornelius W. Schoneveld, *Sea-Changes. Studies in Three Centuries of Anglo-Dutch Cultural Transmission* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1996); Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2008).

Already in the second half of the sixteenth century, scores of Flemish and Dutch refugees had settled in Southern and Eastern England to escape religious persecution and economic crisis in the Low Countries.[2] In the opposite direction, from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, groups of English nonconformist and political exiles found a safe haven in the Dutch Republic, a situation that would only come to an end with the Glorious Revolution of 1688–89.[3] Many British students crossed the North Sea to study medicine, law or theology at the newly founded, humanistically oriented Dutch universities, particularly those of Leiden, Franeker and Utrecht.[4] In the artistic sphere we find Low Countries artists working in England in the employ of the court and the aristocracy, while English theatrical companies toured the Dutch provinces with performances of plays by Kyd, Marlowe and Shakespeare.[5] There even existed something like a tourist industry in the United Provinces for English travelers; a short trip to the Netherlands was regarded as an attractive alternative to the much more comprehensive, and expensive, "Grand Tour" to France and Italy.[6] Finally, the support given by the English crown to the Dutch in

---

[2] See for instance Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[3] Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism. A History of English and Scottish Churches in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982). On the exchange of religious ideas between England and the Netherlands, see W.J. Op 't Hof, "Piety in the Wake of Trade. The North Sea as an Intermediary of Reformed Piety up to 1700", in *The North Sea and Culture*, 248–265.

[4] R.W. Innes-Smith, *English Speaking Students of Medicine at the University of Leiden* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1932); Ole P. Grell, "The Attraction of Leiden University for English Students of Medicine and Theology, 1590–1642", in *The Great Emporium. The Low Countries as a Cultural Crossroads in the Renaissance and the Eighteenth Century,* ed. Cedric C. Barfoot and Richard Todd (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1992) [DQR Studies in Literature, 10], 83–104; Robert Feenstra, "Scottish-Dutch Legal Relations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in H. de Ridder-Symoens and J.M. Fletcher, eds., *Academic Relations between the Low Countries and the British Isles 1450–1700. Proceedings of the First Conference of Belgian, British and Dutch Historians of Universities Held in Ghent, September 30 – October 2, 1987* (Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit, Faculteit der Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, Afdeling Geschiedenis, 1989), 25–45.

[5] Christopher Brown, "Artistic Relations between Britain and the Low Countries (1532–1632)", in *The North Sea and Culture*, 340–354; *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550–1800,* ed. E. Domela Nieuwenhuis et al. (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003) [Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 13]; J.G. Riewald, "The English Actors in the Low Countries, 1585 – c. 1650. An Annotated Bibliography", in *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography: Festschrift for Professor T.A. Birrell,* ed. G.A.M. Janssens and F.G A.M. Aarts (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), 157–178; R.H. Leek, *Shakespeare in Nederland. Kroniek van Vier Eeuwen Shakespeare in Nederlandse Vertalingen en op het Nederlandse Toneel* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1988), 15–24.

[6] C.D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart period. Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993).

their long struggle for independence from Habsburg Spain, resulted in the permanent stationing of British regiments – all in all some five to six thousand soldiers – in Dutch border towns, such as Flushing, Bergen op Zoom, Den Briel, Nijmegen, and Maastricht.[7]

A serious obstacle to communication on both sides, however, was language. Not many people in the Netherlands spoke English at the time, a language that was considered unpolished, a concoction of other languages – a compliment, by the way, that was readily returned by the English. Grammars and dictionaries were slow in the making. The author of the first English-Dutch grammar, published in Leiden in 1586 shortly after the arrival of the troops of the Earl of Leicester in Holland, wrote: "It is well knowne … what trouble hath been betweene the one nation, and the other sythence the comming of his Excell[encie] into this countrie, by reason that the one can not understande the other."[8]

Still, the first true English and Dutch dictionary would not be published until sixty years later. What was needed then were interpreters and translators, not only in oral and manuscript communication, but equally in print. In 1983 the Dutch anglicist C.W. Schoneveld published a checklist of 641 Dutch seventeenth-century translations of English books, a list which since has been much augmented by others.[9] To a large extent these books were English and Scottish Puritan and devotional texts, of which there was a remarkable shortage in the Dutch language. One of the most popular books was Bishop Lewis Bayly's *The practise of piety* (1st edn London, 1613), the Dutch translation of which saw some fifty editions between 1620 and 1688.[10] Other well-known British religious authors, whose works were

---

[7] *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572–1782*, 3 vols., ed. J. Ferguson (Edinburgh: Constable, 1899–1901) [Scottish Historical Society, 1st ser., vols. 32, 35, 38].

[8] Gabriel Meurier, *The Conjugations in Englishe and Netherdutche – De Conjugatien in Engelsch ende Nederduytsche …* (Leiden: Thomas Basson, 1586), 5; cf. Noel E. Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists. A Study of the Earliest English and Dutch Dictionaries* (Leiden: Leiden University Press; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 6. For English language acquisition in the early-modern Netherlands, see also Pieter L.M. Loonen, *For to Learne to Buye and Sell. Learning English in the Low Dutch Area, 1500–1800* (Amsterdam/Maarssen: APA, 1991).

[9] Cornelius W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation with a Checklist of Books Translated from English into Dutch, 1600–1700* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983); J. van der Haar, *From Abbadie to Young. A Bibliography of English, Most Puritan Works, Translated i/t Dutch Language* (Veenendaal: Kool, 1980) (for additions to this last work, see *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 16 [1992], 54–57); W.J. Op 't Hof, *Engelse Piëtistische Geschriften in het Nederlands 1598–1622* (Rotterdam: Lindenberg, 1987).

[10] Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, lists 32 editions; Op 't Hof, *Engelse Piëtistische Geschriften in het Nederlands*, traced another seventeen.

translated time and time again were William Cowper and William Perkins.[11] The translators of these texts often were Dutch Calvinist ministers, who had spent time in England as (children of) religious exiles or as students.

As yet there is no published list of early modern Dutch works translated into English, but the database of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1640*, modelled on the Short-Title Catalogue of English Books 1475–1641, has brought to light some 200 titles, books as well as pamphlets, proclamations and newssheets.[12] In most cases we do not know the translators of these works, and even if we have their names (or initials), they were responsible only for one or two titles. For example, the London (and later Ipswich) printer Anthony Scoloker (fl. 1548) published a couple of religious works and one prognostication, all of which he himself translated out of Dutch.[13] The mathematician Edward Wright (1561–1615) in 1599 translated the *Havenvinding* by his Dutch colleague Simon Stevin, but no other translations are known by him.[14] An exception to this rule, however, is Henry Hexham, an English soldier who spent most of his life in the Netherlands during the first half of the seventeenth century and was quite active in producing translations, besides all sorts of other publications. In this essay I shall provide an account of his life and work, as well as offering a reflection on his role as translator in relation to his other activities as a military man, a writer and lexicographer.

Henry Hexham was born in the old Holland district of Lincolnshire around 1585.[15] Little is known about his background. His father may have

---

[11] Op 't Hof, *Engelse Piëtistische Geschriften in het Nederlands*, 200–236 (Cowper), 280–388 (Perkins).

[12] I am grateful to Susanna De Schepper for having first made this information available to me. The catalogue may now be consulted at www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc.

[13] *The ordenarye for all faythfull chrystia[n]s to leade a vertuous and Godly lyfe herein this vale of miserie. Translated out of Doutche into Inglysh by Anthony Scoloker* (Ipswich: Anthony Scoloker, [1548]); Cornelius van der Heyden, *A [bryefe] summe [of the whole] Byble: a christyan instruc[tion for] all parsons yonge and [old] to the whych [is] anne[xed] the ordinary for all degrees. Translated out of Doutch into Anglysh* [sic] *by Anthony Scoloker* (London: Anthony Scoloker, [1549?]); Johannes Carion, *A wonderfull prophecye contynuyng tyll the yere of our Lorde, M.D.LX … Translated out of Doutch into J[n]glysh by Anthony Scoloker* (London: Anthony Scoloker and William Seres, [ca. 1550]).

[14] Simon Stevin, *The hauen-finding art, or the way to find any hauen or place at sea, by the latitude and variation … Now translated into English, for the common benefite of the seamen of England* (London: G. B[ishop], R. N[ewberry] and R. B[arker], 1599). The original Dutch and Latin editions of the work had appeared in the same year at Leiden with Plantin's grandson Christophorus Raphelengius.

[15] This and following information is based on the following sources: Clements R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres* (Boston/New York: Houghton, Miffin and Co., 1888);

been Edward Hexham, a lieutenant who served for ten years in the Low Countries, his mother the daughter of one Thomas Spranckhuysen, a former Dutch Catholic priest who had converted to Calvinism.[16] In any case the family was prominent enough for young Henry to enter the service of Sir Francis de Vere (1560–1609), commander of the English troops in the Dutch Republic, possibly on the recommendation of an influential relative, Sir Christopher Heydon (1561–1623) from Norfolk. Hexham had an extraordinarily long and successful military career in the Low Countries – "the nurcery of souldierie" as he would later describe it.[17] Starting as a page to Francis de Vere in 1600, he would in 1606 continue to serve under the general's younger brother, the popular Horace de Vere (1565–1635), attaining the rank of captain-quartermaster. From the late 1620s to the early 1640s, he served in the British regiment employed by the States General under the command of colonel George Goring (1585–1663), later 1st Earl of Norwich. Consequently Hexham was present at many of the great military confrontations of the second half of the Eighty Years War, such as the battle of Nieuwpoort (1600), the protracted Spanish siege of Ostend (1601–1604), and the Dutch sieges of Bois-le-Duc (1629), Maastricht (1632) and Breda (1637), all events in which the British troops performed with courage and distinction. When not in the field, Hexham lived with his family in the Netherlands, first in Dordrecht, later in Delft and possibly Rotterdam. He died around 1658, well into his seventies.

Besides being a soldier, Hexham was a writer, first and foremost on military affairs. He has been referred to as the "historian of the Dutch

---

G. Scheurweghs, "English Grammars in Dutch and Dutch Grammars in English in the Netherlands before 1800", *English Studies* 41 (1960): 133–134; Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists*, 34–42; Op 't Hof, *Engelse Piëtistische Geschriften in het Nederlands*, 417–422; G.H. Leurdijk, "De Nadere Reformatie te Delft", in *Heidenen, Papen, Libertijnen en Fijnen. Artikelen over de Kerkgeschiedenis van het Zuidwestelijk Gedeelte van Zuid-Holland van de Voorchristelijke Tijd tot Heden,* ed. J.C. Okkema et al. (Delft: Eburon, 1994), 137–169 (on Hexham esp. 114); the article by A.F. Pollard, revised by M.R. Glozier in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*); and the article by Nicolien van der Sijs in Wim van Anrooij et al., eds., *Bio- en Bibliografisch Lexicon van de Neerlandistiek* <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/anro001bioe01_01/hexh001.php#35> (3 January, 2011). Valuable additional biographical information can be found in Hexham's dedications prefacing his publications. In his dedicatory epistle to Henry Rich, Lord Kensington in the first part of his *The principles of the art militarie*, for instance, he writes about his "being borne in Holland in England, in that County whereof your Honour is Earle" (Rich had been created 1st Earl of Holland in 1624).

[16] For information on the Van Spranckhuysen connection, see <http://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-thomas-sprinkhuizen/> (26 October, 2010).

[17] In the dedication to Henry Rich, Lord Kensington in the first part of *The principles of the art militarie*; also in the dedication to Bartholomeus van Wouw in *A copious English and Netherdutch dictionarie …* (Rotterdam: Arnout Leers, 1647), sig. (*)2r.

wars",[18] and not without reason, for he published a series of well-written and reliable, if on occasion gruesome eye-witness accounts of the battles he had participated in.[19] The following example is taken from his description of the siege of Breda in 1637. This is what happened on the 23rd of August:

> This afternoone the ennemy shott a great *granadoe*, out of one of their morters, of the bignesse of a canon bullett, two French men running after it, and imagining it to be a cannon bullet, one of them stooping to take it up, it brake in peeces betweene his armes, toore him all to peeces; and blew his bones and flesh up into the aire, that a peece of him could not be found.[20]

Hexham is also the author of one of the most popular English military handbooks of the period, the above-mentioned *The principles of the art militarie practised in the warres of the United Netherlands*. This three-part, lavishly illustrated work was first published in London and Delft between 1637 and 1640, and reprinted twice until 1643, while his own Dutch version appeared in 1642, as we shall see later.[21] In his work, he described among other things the duties of the officers in an army, including those of his own rank, the captain. It is tempting to read in this description something of Hexham's own character and demeanour:

---

[18] For example in S. Slive, "Henry Hexham's 'Of Colours': A Note on a Seventeenth-Century List of Colours", *Burlington Magazine*, 103 (702) (1961), 378–380.

[19] *A historicall relation of the famous siege of the Busse, and the suprising of Wesell. Together with the articles, and points of composition graunted by his Excellencie the Prince of Orange to those of the towne. And a supposition of the state, and order of their garrison marching out of the city. And some other additions hereunto annexed …* (Delft: s.n., 1630) (STC 13262); *A Journal, of the taking in of Venlo, Roermont, Strale, the memorable seige of Mastricht, the towne & castle of Limburch under the able, and wise conduct of his Ex^cie: the Prince of Orange, anno 1632* (Delft: Jan Pietersz Waelpot for Nathaniel Butter, to be sold in The Hague by Henricus Hondius, 1633); *A true and briefe relation of the famous seige of Breda: beseiged, and taken in under the able and victorious conduct of his Highnesse the Prince of Orange, captaine generall of the States armie, and admirall of the seas, &c.* (Delft: James Moxon, sold in The Hague by Henricus Hondius, 1637) (STC 13267).

[20] Hexham, *A True and Briefe Relation of the Famous Seige of Breda*, 15.

[21] Henry Hexham, *The Principles of the Art Militarie Practised in the Warres of the United Netherlands*, 3 parts (part I: London: M. Parsons for M. Symmons, 1637; part II: Delft: Jan Pietersz Waelpot, 1638 / London: Robert Young, 1638 and 1639; part III: The Hague: Francis van der Spruyt, 1640) (STC 13264, 13264.2, 13264.). It appears that with the exception of the preliminary matter, the entire work was printed at Delft and The Hague. The subsequent publishing history is rather complicated, with reissues and reprints of the separate parts published (but not necessarily printed) in London (3 parts: William Mosley, 1641; part III: for William Lugger, 1641); Delft (part I: no publisher, 1642; part II: Anthony van Heusden, 1642); Rotterdam (part III: James Moxon, 1643). The Dutch translation, which was published by the The Hague publisher Aert Meuris in 1642, is entitled *Principii, ofte de Eerste Gronden vande Oorloghs-Konste Ghelijkse in dese Vereenichde Nederlanden Ghepractiseert Wort*.

> Every company hath a *Head*, (to wit,) a Captaine, who in the Allmaine tongue is rightly called a *Hauptman*, a head man from the word *Haupt*, which signifies a Head, and from the Latine word *caput*, from whence the name of a Captaine is derived in French, English and Dutch. For, as the Head is the principall member that governes, and rules the body, and unto which all other members are subordinate: so likewise the officers, and souldiers of a company, ought to governe, and carry themselves, according to the charge and command of their Captaine.
>
> A Captaine then having so honorable a place, as to be the chiefe of a company, ought to be very capable of his charge, and as he ought to carry himselfe with austerity, & gravity in the point of his command, that he may be so obeyed, feared, and respected of his souldiers: so should hee also carry him selfe towards them, as a loving and kind father (seing they must live and dye together) in paying them duely, in helping, and relieving them in their wants, necessities, and sicknesses, neither must he be given to covetousnesse in keeping backe from them that which is their due.
>
> And as he is to love, countenance, and to make much of such souldiers of his company, as carry themselves bravely and stoutly in the face of their enemy which deserve well, seeking by all meanes to advance such, it will give encouragement to others to do the like: so ought he also to punish vice severely, quarrellers, and offenders, for the good and exsample of others.
>
> A Captain should also be religious, loyall to his Prince & country, that he serves, just, temperate, liberall, wise and discreet, valliant in the field before the face of his enemy: valliant in townes and forts besieged, and for his honour, never to give consent in yeelding up any place, till it be past reliefe, and that there is no possibility to hold it any longer.
>
> A Captaine also ought to instruct, & informe his souldiers in the point of their duties, to traine them up, and to exercise them well in the use of their armes, aswell himselfe as the officers that are under him, and to see that they readily obey, and execute his commands, which is the life of warre, and one of the principall things, required both in a Captaine and a souldier.[22]

Hexham was also an active translator. He translated from French into English and Dutch into English but also, more unusually, from his mother tongue into a foreign target language, in this case, from English into Dutch. In 1642, he published his translation of Part 1 of *The principles of the art militarie*, entitling it *Principii, ofte de eerste gronden vande oorloghs-konste ghelijkse in dese vereenichde Nederlanden ghepractiseert wort* (The Hague: Aert Meuris, 1642). Perhaps Hexham felt that since the work, which described the duties and responsibilities of officers in the Dutch army as well as the manner of conducting various military exercises, had proved so popular in English, it should be made available to a Dutch readership.

---

[22] Hexham, "The Officiers of a Foot Company. First, of a Captaine", in *The Principles of the Art Militarie*, vol. I, 1.

At the same time Hexham was writing his *Principles of the art militarie,* he was involved in translating and publishing two major works. In 1636, his English translation of the two-volume folio atlas of Gerard Mercator (1512–1594) and Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612) entitled *Atlas sive cosmographicae meditationes,* was published in Amsterdam by Henricus Hondius and Johannes Janssonius (STC 17827). However, he used a 1633 French metatranslation as his source, the anonymous *Gerardi Mercatoris et J. Hondii Atlas ou representation du monde universel* (Amsterdam: Henricus Hondius).[23] Hexham entitled his two-volume folio translation *Atlas or a geographicke description of the regions, countries and kingdomes of the world, through Europe, Asia, Africa, and America*. It was re-issued without English imprint slips by Henricus Hondius in 1638 (STC 17828), who published a second edition in 1641 (WING M1728aA).

Two years later, in 1638, Hexham published an English translation of a well-known French treatise on military architecture by the Huguenot mathematician Samuel Marolois (c. 1572-before 1627), volume 3 of that author's *Opera mathematica*. Interestingly, the work originally was written in Latin, but had been corrected, augmented and translated into French by Albert Girard (1595–1632), a French engineer serving in the Dutch army during the siege of Bois-le-Duc in 1629. It is more than likely that Hexham had known him personally. It was this French metatranslation, entitled *Fortification ou architecture militaire, tant offensive que deffensive … Revue, augmentée et corrigée par Albert Girard* (Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius, 1627), that Hexham used as his source text. That he regarded it as a suitable and necessary fourth part to his *Principles of the art militare* is revealed in his dedication of the work to Sir Henry Vane the Elder: "But yet (me thinkes) these three parts, are *defective* and *incompleate*, unlesse a fourth be added thereunto, which is the excellent art of *fortification*" (sig. *2r).

Hexham's final translation of a military text was published in 1643. Entitled *An Appendix of the lawes, articles, & ordinances, established for marshall discipline, in the service of the Lords the States Generall of the united provinces, under the command of his highness the Prince of Orange …* (The Hague: Isaac Burchoorn, 1643) (WING A3572), it appears to be a translation of the *Articule-brieff, ofte ordonnantie, op de discipline militaire. Ghedaen ende ghearresteert den 13. August, vijfthien-hondert tneghentich*

[23] Cf. C. Koeman, *Atlantes Neerlandici. Bibliography of Terrestrial, Maritime and Celestial Atlases and Pilot Books, Published in the Netherlands up to 1880*, vol. II: *Blussé-Mercator* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969), no. ME 41A. See also the facsimile edition, with an introduction by R.A. Skelton (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1968).

(The Hague: the widow and heirs of Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw, 1638), which set out the rules and regulations applied in the army of stadholder prince Frederick Henry.[24] Hexham dedicated the twelve-page publication on 30 January, 1643 to his cousins John Heydon and John Harvey in England, with the intention that the text might help to put an end to the lack of discipline in the English army, about which he says he has heard and been "grieved". He also states that he believed his *Principles of the art militarie* was incomplete without this "Appendix of marshall discipline" (sig. π2r).[25]

Publications like these served an important purpose for Hexham, that is making available to an English-speaking readership the advanced knowledge that had been gained in the Netherlands in such strategic disciplines as geography and the art of war. If the Protestant nations of northern Europe wished to stand any chance against the might of their adversaries, he argued, they had to be well prepared, both on land and at sea. Hexham had seen with his own eyes how the Dutch, despite being a small nation, had been successful against a much more powerful enemy. How they had achieved this, through discipline, ingenuity and leadership, is what he wanted to communicate to his countrymen in England, and to the Protestant world at large.

Earlier in his career, Hexham had translated a totally different, yet in his view closely related genre of texts. During the so-called Twelve Years Truce, an intermezzo in the Eighty Years War, which lasted from 1609 to 1621, Hexham was living in Dordrecht, where he befriended the local Calvinist minister Johannes Polyander a Kerckhoven (1568–1646), a pastor in the French church in that city but soon to be appointed professor of theology in Leiden. In 1610 and 1611 Hexham translated into English two vehemently anti-Catholic treatises by Polyander, dedicating the first to his commander Sir Horace de Vere and his wife, Lady Mary de Vere. The source of Hexham's 1610 *The Refutation of an epistle, written by a certain doctor of the Augustins order within the Citie of Leige together with the arguments, which he*

---

[24] Interestingly, an earlier English translation by one "I.D." had appeared with the same publisher in 1631: *Lawes and ordinances touching military discipline. Set downe and established the 13. of august 1590* (not in STC; copy BL 884.h.34). A French translation, entitled *Articles et ordonnances sur la discipline militaire. Faictes & arrestées le xije. d'aougst, xvc. quatre-vingts & dix* appeared with the widow and heirs of Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw in 1640.

[25] Cf. Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists*, 39; Anna E.C. Simoni, "John Wodroephe's Spared Hours", in *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography: Festschrift for Professor T.A. Birrell*, 231–232.

hath borrowed from Robert Bellarmine, to proue the Inuocation of Saints … Now Translated by Henry Hexham, out of French into English (London: F. K[ingston] for Th. Man, 1610) (STC 20096) was Polyander's French 1607 *Dispute contre l'invocation des saints*, of which a Dutch translation by Johannes van der Beeque appeared in 1608.[26] The second translation of 1611, *A disputation against the adoration of the reliques of saints departed* (Dordrecht: George Waters) (STC 20095), was written in French by Polyander as *Dispute contre l'adoration des reliques des saints trespassés* (Dordrecht: Françoys Borsaler, 1611). Hexham's choice of Mary, Lady de Vere as dedicatee was particularly appropriate, for not only was she known for her Puritan sympathies and patronage of Puritan undertakings such as that of Sir Thomas Bodley, but she had a particular connection with the subject of the work. She came from the Tracy family, who lived at Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire, formerly a Cistercensian abbey, where originally a medieval relic was kept of the blood of Christ. This was precisely the kind of "reliques" that Polyander despised. Hexham refers to this in his dedication to Lady de Vere: "These popish iuglings cannot bee unknowne to your Ladiship, seeing the unholy blood of Hales (which did cleere & thicken as the pilgrims purse was light or heavie) is of your owne house" (sig. A2v).

These two texts were soon followed by a translation into Dutch of a devotional treatise by the Anglican clergyman Thomas Tuke (c. 1580–1651), *The high-Way to heaven, or the doctrine of election …* (London: N. Oakes, 1609). The translation, *De coninckclicke wech tot den hemel* (Dordrecht: Joris Waters, 1609), appeared in the same year and was this time dedicated to Horace de Vere's successor as governor of Den Briel, Sir Edward Conway (1564–1631).[27] From the dedications and other paratextual material in these publications, it becomes clear that Hexham had decided to continue the war against what he considered to be the Antichrist, that is, the Pope and Catholic Spain, not now by military means, but by the printing press. It is noteworthy that all his translations were published by the English Puritan printer George Waters (also known as George Walters and

---

[26] Of the French original text no copy is known; cf. A.J. Lamping, *Johannes Polyander, een dienaar van kerk en universiteit* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 37. The Dutch translation by van der Beecque is entitled *Wederlegginge eenes briefs gheschreven by sekeren doctoor des ordens van S. Augustijn binnen Luyck …* (Leiden/Dordrecht: printed by Jan Bouwensz for Jasper Troyen, 1608).

[27] According to the *ODNB* entry, Edward Conway would declare in 1641 that he had known Hexham as long as he could remember and that he was a good Protestant. (*ODNB*; electronic edition consulted 3 January, 2011).

Joris Waters), who was a deacon in the English Reformed Church in Dordrecht.[28] This confirms Hexham's affiliation with the more radical forms of anti-Catholic Protestantism, which is also borne out in his preface to "the Christian reader" accompanying his translation of Polyander's *Disputation against the adoration of the reliques of saints departed*, where he writes:

> I have undertaken this translation, free from ostentation: onely my ambition is (in tracing after the stepps of my author [i.e. Polyander], to have one flurt [= throw] at *Antichrist*, and one push at the fall of the great *whore of Babylon*, and so much the rather, because mine eyes have seene some of her fornications ….

He then continues:

> Wel then, into whose handes soever this poore translation of mine shall come, whom God hath alreadie inlightened, let us sing an everlasting *Halleluiah*, & give praise unto that great God, which hath translated us out of the kingdome of darknesse into his merveilous light. And if it fal into the hands of anie that are infected with this *deadly contagion*, I entreate them to reade it, not to refute it, … because it is grounded and bounded upon & within the sacred word of God, and seconded by the opinions of the most holy Fathers. That were as if they should runne in upon Gods two-edged sword. That were as if a falling and a running ennemy, beaten on all sides should turne backe upon a stand of charged pikes, which are ready to receive them. (sigs. A3v-A4r)

The unmistaken military allegory makes clear that to Hexham that there was no difference between the two forms of warfare. As he writes:

> But it may seeme strange to some, that a souldier should undertake such a taske, as not appertaining to his profession: as that man judges me a souldier, so I entreat him to esteeme me a Christian, an then both hee and I shal be consonant. (sig. A4r)

One year later, in 1612, his commitment to Protestantism and his strong anti-Catholicism would once again find a voice in translation. Once more, he demonstrated his abilities in a language other than his own. He contributed various translations out of English into Dutch of parts of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (London: John Day, 1563) and *Papa confutatus* (London: Thomas Dawson for Richard Sergier, 1580), translated into English by James Bell and published in the same year by the same publisher as *The Pope Confuted*. These he did for the Dutch martyrology of

[28] On George Waters, see Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 308.

Adriaen van Haemstede, *Waerachtige Historie der Vromen Martelaeren*, again printed by Waters (Dordrecht: Joris Waters, 1612).

All his life Hexham, who himself appears to have held a middle position between Anglicanism and Presbyterianism, would remain convinced of the righteousness of the Protestant cause, perhaps the more so because he had lived through the horrors of war unharmed, as he tells his cousins in his dedicatory epistle to his *Appendix of the lawes, articles, & ordinances*.[29] Indeed, in this dedication, which was published in 1643, at the end of his military career, he writes:

> … eternally blessed be his [= God's] glorious name, who by the eye of his divine providence, and under the shaddowe of his wings, hath preserved mee the space of two and fortie yeares through many dangers: and though I have bin present in many hott services in this land: yet he hath not given the ennemy so much power, as to draw one drop of bloode from mee. (sig. π2r)

After his retirement, Hexham would find other means of serving his God, acting as deacon and elder in the English Presbyterian church in Delft and trying to prevent Puritan radicals from taking over the congregation.[30]

Yet, apart from military considerations and religious conviction, there may well have been another reason why Henry Hexham was active as an author and translator. According to the accounts of the British regiments in the United Provinces, he received in 1649 a monthly pension of twenty-five pounds, a modest allowance for someone who as an officer had been used to a good standard of living.[31] It is therefore plausible that Hexham sought means to supplement his income by his pen. Now authors in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic as a rule were not paid for their work. One wrote for honour, not for earthly gain. Still, writers could find indirect compensation for their labour by seeking the patronage and support of high-placed persons or institutions.[32] In fact, almost all of Hexham's

---

[29] See Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists*, 35.

[30] Scheurweghs, "English Grammars", 134; Op 't Hof, *Engelse Piëtistische Geschriften*, 418; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 158–159. According to William Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes; Rotterdam: Van der Meer and Verbruggen, 1832), 294–295, Hexham also served as deacon of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam in 1645.

[31] Ferguson, *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572–1782*, vol. I, 491, list of salaries of officers of the British regiments in the Netherlands ("Tractementen op Hollandt"): "Henry Hexam quartiermr. xxv [£] ad vitam." By comparison, a colonel received £200. The *ODNB* entry, by the way, incorrectly states that Hexham received twenty-five *guilders*.

[32] Cf. P.J. Verkruijsse, "Het boekenmecenaat in de zeventiende eeuw", *De zeventiende eeuw*, 6 (1990), 137–143.

publications have such dedications, some addressed to the commanding officers of his regiment, such as Horace de Vere or George Goring, others to an influential member of his family.[33] Sometimes he dedicated his writings to governing bodies such as the States of Holland,[34] or even to "his honoured friends, the Deputy, Minister, Treasurers, Assistants, and Generality, of the right Worshipfull Company of Marchant Adventurers residing in Delph."[35] The most impressive name on his list of dedicatees is king Charles I, to whom he inscribed his translation of the Mercator-Hondius world atlas of 1636. This is how Hexham addressed his king:

> If by an universall consent (most dread Soveraigne) there were a Monarck created over all the World, the dedication of this booke would certainely belong to him: for it is a description of the World. But since the honours, and Iurisdictions of the Earth, are as it selfe divided into many parts; who can so justly pretend to this title, as your Majestie, that enjoyes the most blessed part thereof? Which of your Neighbours would receive a view of their owne Countrie, and not judge the offer of it, rather an honour, then a reproach, when those limits, which by this booke appeare to have circled in their Territoires [sic], for many ages, by the ambition of themselves, or Neighbours are utterluy defaced; when those Countries which by the gift of Nature, are abundantly fertile in people, and the nourriture of Man, are by the ruines of Warre made desolate of both. Whereas the representations of the whole World, unto your Majestie gives you for others pittie, and your selfe glorie: that as some other Nations by the vexations of Warre, are not able to enjoye Peace: so your Majestie by the advantages of a well improoved Peace, (can either for your owne interest, or the protection of those that flie unto your Majestie for succour) at any time declare a warre, terrible to others, not dangerous to your selfe: seeing the Situation of your Majesties Kingdomes, your owne vertues, and the pietie of your subjects are above the Casualities of warre. This Booke therefore most humbly casts it selfe downe at your Majesties feete, not only in consideration of the Subject, but also of the language, and the Authours of this edition: who can easier dispense with

---

[33] Hexham's *A Iournall, of the taking in of Venlo, Roermont, Strale …* (Delft: Jan Pietersz Waelpot for Nathaniel Butter, 1633), which describes the campaign of stadtholder Frederick Henry Prince of Orange in 1632, was dedicated to "his honored Kinsman, Maister Frauncis Morrice Clarcke of his Maties Ordnance." Clarke had married the widow of Hexham's late uncle, Jerome Heydon "marchant of London."

[34] As in the case of the Dutch translation of the *Iournall, Korte Beschrijvinge ofte Iournael van de Op-Treckinge des Door-luchtigen Prince van Orangien, den 29 Mey 1632. van Nieumegen, naer de Mase …* (The Hague: Henricus and Guilielmus Hondius, 1633), which although made by van Langenhoven, was followed by a dedication composed by Hexham. In it he writes that he wished to serve the States of Holland, not only by his rapier on the battle-field, but also by his pen and ink at home.

[35] In *A Historicall Relation of the Famous Siege of the Busse, and the Surprising of Wesell …* (A2).

> the errour of presumption, for craving your Majesties gracious patronage, to a great worke cloathed in plaine rough stile, then the Translator can excuse himselfe? Otherwise it should not be Sacred to your Majestie: seeing wee all serve in this forraine Countrie, to noe other end, but your honour: and my selfe under the command of a most Noble personage, who hath more immediate obligations to your Majesties service. For the advancement of which, as all my actions shalbe directed, so shall my prayers also: that your Royall Majestie maye enjoye the blessings of Almighty God for a long time in this World, and crowne your Majestie with everlasting felicitie in the next.[36]

Just how Hexham was rewarded for such dedications is unknown, but it is likely that in most cases he must indeed have received some sort of remuneration.

A second way for Hexham of finding extra income was by hiring out his talents to the book trade. During the first half of the seventeenth century, publishing and bookselling in the Dutch Republic boomed, thanks to – among many other factors – the easy access Dutch publishers and booksellers had to the international market. In Amsterdam, the undisputed centre of the Dutch book trade, it was not difficult to find publishers who had dealings all over Europe in books printed in Latin, French, German, English, Spanish, Italian and other languages.[37] This demanded foreign language skills, for which these publishers often approached alien residents to act as freelance hack writers, journalists, editors, translators and the like. For translations into English, Hexham was an obvious choice, as he knew English, Dutch and French, and perhaps a little Latin as well, and had an accessible style. It is therefore not surprising that his English translations of both the Mercator-Hondius atlas, based as we said above on the earlier French edition, and Samuel Marolois and Albert Girard's *Fortification ou architecture militaire tant offensive que deffensive* were published by the same Amsterdam publisher Johannes Janssonius (1588–1664), one of the most ambitious Dutch book trade entrepreneurs of the period.[38] In the atlas project Janssonius collaborated with his nephew

---

[36] Dedication "To the Most High, and Mightie Monarck, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France, & Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.", in *Atlas or a geographicke description of the regions, countries and kingdomes of the world,* vol. I, [3].

[37] Cf. Paul G. Hoftijzer, "Metropolis of Print: The Amsterdam Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century", in *Urban Achievement in Early-Modern Europe. Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London,* ed. Patrick O'Brien et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 249–263.

[38] Remarkably, a modern study of this important Amsterdam publisher is still lacking. For a brief account of his life and work, see Koeman, *Atlantes Neerlandici*, vol. II, 159–161.

Henricus Hondius (1597–1651), son of Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612), who had acquired the original copperplates of Mercator's famous atlas. The translation of the comprehensive accompanying text, to which Hexham added substantial new material, must have been made with some urgency, as one year earlier, in 1635, another English translation of the Mercator atlas by Wye Saltonstall had already been published in London. Clearly it was the intention of Janssonius and Hondius to push this English edition out of the market.[39] It makes Hexham's dedication of his translation to king Charles I all the more remarkable. But again, what he received for this kind of translation work is not known.

So far no mention has been made of Henry Hexham's last work, the book for which he is perhaps best known: the English-Dutch/Dutch-English dictionary, first published in Rotterdam in 1647–48 and reprinted three times during the following decades.[40] Although English-Dutch vocabularies and grammars had been published before,[41] this was the first dictionary of its kind for the two languages, consisting of two volumes with some 31,000 entries for the English-Dutch part and 40,000 for the Dutch-English, while also containing two concise grammars for English and Dutch. It must have been the product of many years of painstaking compilation, and certainly also the fruit of his work as a translator. Hexham based his work primarily on existing bilingual dictionaries for other languages, specifically the English-Latin dictionary of John Rider and Francis Holyoke (London: Alan Islip, 1606), which went through five editions up until 1649, and Léon Mellema's Dutch-French dictionary of 1636, books he himself would have used in his own translational practice.[42] The intended audience of the dictionary first and foremost were students,

[39] For the complicated publication history of the atlas, see J. Keuning, "The History of an Atlas: Mercator-Hondius", *Imago Mundi*, 4 (1947), 37–62.

[40] Henry Hexham, *A copious English and Netherduytch dictionarie, composed out of our best English authours. With an appendix of the names of all kind of beasts, fowles, birds, fishes, hunting, and hawking. As also a compendious grammar for the instruction of the learner / Het groot woorden-Boeck, gestelt in't Engelsch ende Nederduytsch. Met een appendix van de namen van alderley beesten, vogelen, visschen, jagerye, ende valckereye, &c. Als oock, een korte Engelsche grammatica. Alles met groote naerstigheyt uyt de beste Engelsche autheuren t'samengevoeght …*, 2 vols. (Rotterdam: Aernout Leers, 1647–48) (WING H1648). Later editions appeared in Rotterdam in 1658–60 and 1672–78; cf. Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists*, 114.

[41] Examples of previous works are the grammar by Gabriel Meurier, referred to in note 8 above, and Marten Le Mayre, *The Dutch Schoole Master* (London: George Elde for Simon Waterson, 1606).

[42] Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists*, chapter III.

divines, merchants on both sides of the North Sea, "all sorts of men especially", as Hexham writes in the introduction to volume II, "considering the love, correspondencie, traffick and trading, which is between our two nations."[43] Both volumes were dedicated to the rich lawyer in The Hague, Bartholomeus van Wouw, "my old frend and long acquaintance … both a lover of our nation and speech, and [one who] can both understand and speak it well," as Hexham praises him.[44] Perhaps he hoped that with the help of this dictionary, translations from one language to the other would become superfluous. In any case, it was a fitting end to a long career in the promotion of Anglo-Dutch relations.

In their introduction to the recently published collection of essays entitled *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia ask six questions pertaining to what they call the "regimes" or "cultures" of translation. They are: Who translates? With what intentions? What? For whom? In what manner? With what consequences?[45] With regard to Henry Hexham, the majority of these questions can be answered without too much difficulty. He was a professional soldier with a strong Anglo-Dutch background, who spent most of his life in the Netherlands and was native or near native in at least three languages, English, Dutch and French. His aims as a translator were varied: he wanted to report on the progress of the war in the Low Countries; he hoped to inform his readership about the exemplary advances that had been made in the Dutch Republic in various fields, particularly that of the art of war; he firmly believed that he could contribute both as a soldier and as a writer/translator to the conflict with Catholic Spain; and, last but not least, he may well have hoped to earn some money or other appreciation in the process. He produced translations of newsbooks, religious tracts, and professional publications on warfare and geography. His intended audience consisted of educated readers in the British Isles, curious about the latest developments across the North Sea and convinced of the righteousness of the Protestant cause. As to the style and technique of his translations, it is more difficult to provide a satisfactory answer. It is striking that Hexham often made excuses about the poor quality of his translations, not being an academically trained scholar, but, in his own words from the

---

43 Hexham, *A copious English and Netherduytch dictionarie*, vol. II, sig. (*)2.

44 Dedication of vol. I, dated 21 September, 1647.

45 Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia, "Introduction", in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–4.

introduction to the Mercator-Hondius atlas, "a souldier, whose eare has bin acquainted more with the beating of the drumme, or the sound of a trumpet, then with a learned university."[46] It may well have been one of his greatest assets.

The most difficult question to answer, finally, is what the impact of his translations was. Little or nothing is known about the reception of his work, in Britain or for that matter in the Netherlands. Still, the fact that quite a few of his publications were regularly reprinted, can be seen as an indication of their success in mediating information, knowledge and ideas between Britain and the Netherlands.

[46] "The Preface to the Reader", signed by Johannes Janssonius, Henricus Hondius and Henry Hexham, in *Atlas or a geographicke description of the regions, countries and kingdomes of the world*, vol. I, sig. **2r.

"NEWES LATELY COME": EUROPEAN NEWS BOOKS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

S.K. Barker

Translation in Early Modern Europe could be about many things. It is now accepted that early modern Europeans had a wide variety of reading material from which to choose, yet we are only just beginning to understand how language choice factored into these decisions, as bibliographical projects allow for the observation of particular national and transnational trends in print history. Projects engaged in mapping early print have made the complexities of this world – the fluctuating tastes of the reading public, the steady hand of the commercially-minded book producer, and the contrasting fortunes of authors – increasingly discernible to scholars.[1] One of the contributions of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translations* to this emerging scholarship has been a refocusing of how translation worked in Renaissance England, particularly the kind of material which was considered suitable and desirable to translate. Scholars of early modern literature and religion have long been aware of the strong cross-cultural forces at play in early modern culture, and the contemporary motivations for renderings of items of great spiritual or literary worth are usually easily found. But it is hard to account satisfactorily for the translation of less lofty printed material, of which a variety of genres appear in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue.[2] News pamphlets are a notable example of this kind of material, which has passed largely unnoticed by scholars of translation. Indeed, the vitality of historical international news networks has itself been somewhat overlooked and is only now receiving the attention which is its due.[3]

---

[1] For example, the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, led by Professor Andrew Pettegree at the University of St Andrews, consolidates data on the books printed in Europe before the end of the sixteenth century. www.ustc.ac.uk.

[2] The content and scope of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue is explored in the introduction. The catalogue itself can be found at http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc.

[3] This neglect is given some redress in the recent collection edited by Brendan Dooley, *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), which places great emphasis on the shared experiences of European news readers. See also the work of the *News Networks In Early Modern Europe* Project, based at the University of East Anglia and led by Professor Joad Raymond. www.newsnetworks.uea.ac.uk.

Yet printed translations of news pamphlets in the British Isles in the period before 1640 were plentiful. This study will show that printing translation was never a purely intellectual or spiritual endeavour – it was practical, pragmatic and popular.

News was an emerging concept in the early modern period, growing out of traditional oral and manuscript news networks.[4] Information was exchanged between friends, colleagues and strangers upon meeting[5] or exchanged in letters between interested personal or professional parties. Credibility was a key feature of written news exchange: the recipient knew who the letter had come from, and could judge the contents accordingly. Writers knew that their products would be shared and wrote with this in mind. From here, written news production took two interlinking paths. On the one hand, the handwritten letter system became increasingly professionalized. Networks of news gatherers collected stories across Europe, writing them into letters sent across the continent, where the contents could be extracted, written into other letters and sent on again.[6] At the same time, the developing print industries impacted on the dispersal of news. Single item news pamphlets began to appear over the course of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries across Western Europe. Battles and sieges, speeches and processions all became likely to be rendered and reviewed in print, frequently presented to the reader as the direct product of the figures involved in the text, as a kind of surrogate author.[7] Whereas the reach of a handwritten letter depended on the recipient's immediate circle, and their aims in sharing the news, putting equivalents into print dramatically extended their reach. Although print reception could not be controlled in the same way as the reading of a manuscript letter, it was an effective means of sharing information. Over the next century, event-led publishing grew in competence, stature and importance across Europe, with the end result that by 1640, most countries had some form of regular

[4] A classic starting point for investigation into early English news printing is M.A. Shaaber, *Some forerunners of the newspaper in England, 1476–1622* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929).

[5] A fairly typical, if dramatically loaded, exchange of this sort can be seen in the opening lines of Act 3 Scene 1 of *The Merchant of Venice*.

[6] Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, "Handwritten Newsletters as Interregional Information Sources in Central and Southeastern Europe," in *Dissemination of News*, ed. Dooley, 155–178.

[7] This was in addition to the many thousands of items printed as reaction pieces in the wake of the significant events of the period. The flourishing of print in 1520s Germany or 1580s France, for example, has been well documented. Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 163–184.

or semi-regular newspaper, or at least some forerunner of periodical journalistic print. As print became less of an unknown commodity, and was accepted as a legitimate means of exchanging information, the news pamphlet became more anonymised. News accounts became credible because of their appearance in print and enterprising printers took to collecting news reports together, from printed, manuscript and oral sources, printing them in regular or semi-regular publications, whetting the public's demand for information. As a result, the late sixteenth century saw an explosion of terms to describe this phenomenon of gathering up and sharing stories.[8]

The English reading public's interest in news reports of foreign events is not particularly surprising. Aside from the compelling Continental news narrative of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for much of the period under discussion the domestic news market in the British Isles was strictly regulated by governmental policy.[9] For a news-hungry public, and for profit-minded printers, the solution was to turn abroad for their news. Given the prevalence of foreign sourced stories in this period, it is intriguing that within the vibrant scholarship surrounding early news production in the British Isles, translation is frequently alluded to, but rarely analysed. M.A. Shaaber recognised that printers who wanted to make money from news saw that foreign news had two significant advantages over domestic news: there was less risk of offending the government and most of the hard work of gathering the news had been done by the original printer. Nevertheless, he concluded that despite the obvious foreign presence in the developing London news scene, the Continent's influence on the development of English news was minimal.[10] Richard Streckfuss believed that the vast majority of the 237 pamphlets he identified as relating to foreign politics had their origins in translations, as did the pamphlets on pageantry and wars, but did not investigate

[8] Within the corpus discussed in this paper, the term 'News' first appears in a title of 1549, *Newes concernynge the general cou*[*n*]*cell, holden at Trydent by the emperoure and the Germaynes wyth all the nobles of Hungarye, Constantenople and Rome* ([London]: Thomas Raynalde, 1549) (STC 24266). The term became increasingly popular, until nearly half the translated news pamphlets produced in 1619 mentioned 'News' in the title. Other common indicators of news titles are the inclusion of words such as 'Discourse,' 'Tidings,' 'Relation,' 'Journal' or 'Report,' as well as the ever reliable 'Letter.'

[9] See the valuable work of Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[10] Shaaber, *Some forerunners*, 168.

further. More recently, David Randall has acknowledged that "the shadow of translation gave English military news an essential element of its character" and made it distinct from its Continental sources, and Nicholas Brownlees has noted the place of translation in the development of corantos in the pre-civil war period.[11] In all of these studies, translation is noted as being somehow central to the production of early modern English news, but the line of enquiry is not picked up. This is in large part due to the problems of definitively identifying translations. Prior to the publication of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue, the debt to Continental news sources could not readily be calculated. And although the full extent of early modern English news's debt to translation might never be entirely established, the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* data does allow for a more detailed survey than has previously been attempted.

For the purposes of this study, 'News' signifies productions designed to relay information current at the time of publication in the original language. This differs slightly from other scholars' definitions of the term, but is justified by the circumstances of translation. Streckfuss set his parameters for the analysis of English news pamphlets before 1640 as "Publications about current events, which contained facts or observations or showed evidence of information gathering."[12] He omitted, however, ballads and official proclamations. It is evident that many people in early modern England did get their news from reading or hearing ballads, but this does not feature within the corpus of translated news. The question of proclamations is more contentious when the aspect of translation is added into the mix. Streckfuss implied that because these were 'official' and came from the government, they crossed a line between news and policy. However, proclamations which crossed linguistic and governmental boundaries require further examination. Translations of official foreign proclamations were made because they gave information about foreign current affairs. The act of translation turned the official publication of the original culture into the news source of a translated culture. The *Letters pattents of declaration of the King of France, for the reformation of excesse in Apparell, and for regulating of the same* may or may not have been news

[11] David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008) 122: Nicholas Brownlees, "Narrating Contemporaneity: Text and Structure in English News," in *Dissemination of News*, ed. Dooley, 225–250, especially 233–6.

[12] Richard Streckfuss, "News Before Newspapers," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75 (1998): 85.

in France, but it certainly acted as such in England.[13] Therefore translations of official edicts, proclamations, trade agreements, etc. are included within the corpus of works discussed. As so many of these related to the various wars and conflicts of the period, in which Englishman displayed a very healthy curiosity, this does not seem to be too ambitious a leap.

It is possible to identify certain trends in translated news. Over 500 items in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue fall into the parameters outlined. News-related publications were translated relatively infrequently until the midpoint of the sixteenth century – the first time more than five printed translations were made in a single year was in 1562. Thereafter, news was steadily translated, with two significant peaks: in 1589–1592, with the assassinations of Henri III of France and Henri IV's subsequent struggle for power, and in 1619–1622, with the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. In 1589, for example, a year for which the catalogue notes some 60 plus translations in total, news related publishing made up about 40% of the material being translated. In 1619, it accounted for about 25% of the translated items. Other minor peaks indicate niche interest in particular events – there is a slight peak in 1610–1611, where a number of items were translated relating to the assassination of Henri IV.

Why were such items translated? Does the significance of the episodes as stand-alone events explain the interest of English readers? The connection between event and publication is not always clear – celebrated events which provoked printed reaction in home nations were not always represented in English print, or just a handful of items were produced. Even at times of heightened international awareness, only a fraction of the Continental print production made it into translation: Alexander Wilkinson's investigation of the printed propaganda which resulted from Henri III's assassination of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise turned up some 1,294 polemical publications produced in France in 1589, a figure which is hardly done justice by the eighteen translated items found in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue. Lisa Ferrarro Parmelee argued strongly in favour of tacit governmental intervention with regard to the translation and publication of material directed against the Catholic League in the last decades of the sixteenth century.[14] Such control is less evident when

[13] *Letters pattents of declaration of the King of France, for the reformation of excesse in Apparell, and for regulating of the same* (London: E. P[urslowe] for Henry Seile, 1634) (STC 16848).

[14] Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes From Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1996).

the focus is broadened out. Not all translations of political news reflected government interests: it is difficult to see why the Jacobean administration would want its readers to have a detailed appreciation of the fall of Concini in 1617, yet ten out of the twelve news items translated in this year discussed these events at the French court. When considered alongside the continued interest in items of a sensational nature, it would be highly unlikely that such publications were state-sponsored in the way Parmelee demonstrated for those of an earlier period. Instead, attention must be paid to the people producing and consuming this material.

English readers were certainly discerning in their reading interests, as a survey of the original languages of translated news pamphlets demonstrates. Unsurprisingly, the modern vernaculars dominated, although a number of items were translated from Latin, mainly official state proclamations and letters, and Latin maintained a hold throughout the period. The handful of items which announced they were translated from Greek, Turkish and Hebrew are of somewhat doubtful veracity: as most were made through an intermediary language, the translators might have been hoodwinked into believing dubious claims to exoticism. Overwhelmingly, most translations of news in this period were made from French.[15] The poor showing of Spanish and Italian is explained by the fact that news translation was a phenomenon of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, by which point the political interests of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean were diametrically opposed. Spanish and Italian news was essentially Catholic news, and therefore always suspect in a Protestant country.[16] Where such works were translated, their veracity was challenged overtly, so the reader might not be seduced into error. For example, the explicitly titled *A libell of Spanish lies* appeared in 1596, and was based around a letter by Don Bernaldino de Avellaneda. An explanatory note to the reader introduced the original Spanish and the translation, which were subsequently followed by a number of supporting texts disproving

[15] This follows the broader trends of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue, where French was the most commonly translated vernacular source language. Latin and Hebrew dominate the complete catalogue, the latter because of the strength and interest in vernacular bible translation. Within the news corpus, the pattern of language distribution amongst the modern vernaculars is relatively reflective of the overall distribution of source languages seen in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue – French, followed by the other languages coming in a significant way behind. This is similarly true of the items translated through an intermediary language, where French accounts for over half of such items, coming in just ahead of Dutch.

[16] Some material from Catholic countries also reached England through translations from Latin.

the substance of the original work.[17] The dominance of Dutch over German is explained both by geography and history – not only was England closely tied to the Low Countries through trade, but many of the printers and translators involved in the production of news had links there, the Low Countries being one of the areas where professional news gatherers were established relatively early. And, of course, Britons had a vested interest in keeping up to date with events in the Low Countries.[18]

Most news translations discussed military matters, primarily accounts of battles and sieges, but also declarations of intent by military commanders, accounts of mustering and so forth. Pamphlets dealing with the affairs of Sovereigns were also popular, including official letters, accounts of processions, entries and celebrations, and of course reports of their deaths, be they natural or at the hands of an assassin. Accounts of conferences, trade agreements and other semi-official reports were also regularly translated. The real concerns of both news readers and news producers are thus apparent. The period under consideration was not only one of considerable political turmoil on the Continent, one in which British soldiers of one description or another were involved, or perhaps implicated, it was also an era in which Monarchs were increasingly aware of how their rule could be supplemented by the use of print, providing plenty of potential material for translators, if the reading public was interested. Evidently, interest in such events stretched across international boundaries. The British Kingdoms, England in particular, were not so much an Island nation, with their territorial interests in France and their trade priorities in the Low Countries. People needed to know what was going on abroad, and news translations provided these necessary insights.

There are several reasons why English readers might be interested in accounts of such events.[19] They were, naturally, topical. The extended narratives of the French Wars of Religion and the Dutch Revolt were punctuated by battles and sieges, events which people could use as markers. Early modern readers wanted to keep their place in the events unfolding across

[17] *A Libell of Spanish Lies* (London: John Windet, 1596) (STC 6551).

[18] The *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* project has clarified that several items previously thought to be translations from German were in fact made from Dutch. We have been able to prove this frequently by using the *Short Title Catalogue Netherlands* (STCN) and the *Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen* (STCV) databases. The STCN can be accessed at http://www.kb.nl/stcn/index-en.html and the STCV at http://www.vlaamse-erfgoedbibliotheek.be/oude-drukken.

[19] The corpus includes two hundred items discussing foreign military affairs and just under one hundred discussing the affairs and actions of Sovereigns.

the channel. Furthermore, battles and sieges tended to complement the format of news, being easily recounted over a couple of gatherings. Randall has suggested that in an age when there was relatively little opportunity for Englishmen to gain practical battle experience at home, reading a vivid account of an actual battle was a passable alternative for men who wished to learn how to fight. Certainly, accounts of battles tended to be precise, almost textbook-like in their detail where possible, as this extended extract shows:

> There hee lay a whole moneth, prouiding to plant his artillery before *Rue*, but vnderstanding that the king had no more remayning with him but onely of French fiue hundred footemen, and as many horse, also that the rest of his army, consisting of straungers, was scattered into seuerall places, because of the scituation of the towne of *Roan*, which was enuironed with great Barricanes & valleis, whereby they could not passe from one lodging to another in lesse then two houres: also that some troupes of his forces were in the subvrbes of *S. Seuere*, beyond the riuer of *Seyne*. The enemies army, vpon the aduantages that their leaders found themselues to haue ouer the king, marched toward *Roan*, and in foure dayes approched within foure leagues thereof.
>
> Herevpon his Maiesty retired a league and a halfe from *Roan*, drawing towardes *Pont-Del-Arch*, to a village named *Gouy*, there to assemble his forces, and to receiue such as he had sommoned out of the Ile of *France*, out of *Picardy*, and out of the gouernements of *Orleance, Chartres*, and *Normandy*, attending the ennemy notwithstandinge in the same place, with such power as he had about him.
>
> The Duke[sic] of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, seing *Roan* set at liberty, hauing tarried there about two dayes, where the Spanish faction boasted greatly that they had remoued the king, whome they thought certainely would passe the Riuer of *Seyne*, marched thence towarde *Caudebeck*, a village lying downewarde vppon the same Riuer, with full purpose to take it.[20]

This extract demonstrates several editorial practices commonly found in news translations, in particular the highlighting of hard facts, such as the attempt to number the forces involved, the frequent reference to pertinent locations, along with basic topographical reports, estimates of distance and time, and the use of Italics to highlight key points in the next, typically names of people and places. Such techniques are best explained as a means to confer credibility onto these pamphlets where credibility might

[20] *A Iournall, wherein is truely sette downe from day to day, what was doone, and worthy of noting in both the armies, from the last comming of the D. of Parma into Fraunce vn till the eighteenth of May 1592, according to the French computation* (London: John Wolfe, 1592) Aii^{v}–iii^{r} (STC 11277.5).

be hard to trace, and were by no means exclusive to military pamphlets. Similar attempts are discernible in more sensational fare: names, dates and places are picked out in italics on both the title page and in the text of *Two Most remarkable and true Histories, which hapned this present yeare, 1619*, supporting the reader through their understanding of the miraculous recovery of Elizabeth Goossens from long-term illness, and the discovery of a monster in the belly of a cow, with the second story further supported by a list of witnesses' names, also italicised, and described as being residents of either Amersfoort, where the events took place, or London, where this translated account was produced.[21]

This pamphlet represents the other broad area of news interest: sensational events. British readers were fascinated by pamphlets discussing the Turk, natural disasters, and monstrous births. Most of the thirty three Turk pamphlets conform to the broader categories of News, being accounts of battles or sieges, and records of peace treaties. However, the translation of these pamphlets hints at something more than the desire to be kept abreast of Continental developments. The many translations of pamphlets recording Europe's confessional struggle were interesting for their recording of events. They were not determinedly foreign. They mentioned places and people who may well have been familiar to an educated English audience. Most importantly, they marked out the stages of a providential struggle in which the English had their own vested interest. The Turk pamphlets were also part of this struggle, but they were also distinguished by their exoticism, a kind of controlled outlandishness. There is a sense of awe, as foreign places, dignitaries, festivals and customs are dropped into the texts and most obviously manifested in the images of the Turk found in the works. The common representation of the Turk was as men of war, if not actively engaged in battle, then certainly on the lookout for it.[22] Yet their exoticism was simultaneously exploited and contained by the emerging conventions of the news form. The British reading public's fascination with news from the east lasted throughout the period, right up to accounts of the Siege of Baghdad in the late 1630s.[23]

---

[21] *Two Most remarkable and true Histories, which hapned this present yeare, 1619* (London: G.E. for Daniel Speede, 1620) (STC 13525).

[22] This can be seen most readily in the images accompanying such pamphlets, for example the title-page of *Newes come latle frõ Pera, of two most mighti Armies* ([London]; W. Copland, 1561) (STC 4102.3), or the later edition, *Newes from Rome. Of two mightie armies, aswell footemen as horsemen* ([London]: I.R. for Henry Gosson, [1606]) (STC 4102.5).

[23] See *A relation of the late seidge and taking of the city of Babylon* [i.e. Baghdad] *by the Turke* (London: I. Raworth for N. Butter and N. Bourne, 1639) (STC 26122).

Yet, the providential struggle was never far away. Accounts of natural disasters were popular, with accounts of earthquakes and floods, and even a volcanic eruption, making it through translation. These used the same editorial techniques as the military pamphlets, including the enumeration of places and dates, and quantities, such as in *News from Spain*, where the rising of the River Ebro was thus described:

> For now at the beginning of its rising (which was about the shutting in of the day) that which the Riuer had already set afloat, as chests, doores, beds, tables, stooles, and infinite other things, did euidently shew the lamentable spoyle it had made vpon the bankes where the Riuer had passed.
>
> … The rising of this Riuer continued two whole dayes, carrying away the Bridge of *Tortosa*, and gushing into the Citie, cast downe and carryed away more then[sic] an hundred houses. It is impossible to relate the particular damages and spolye of houses, gardens, and other grounds which stood on the bankes, besides the death of Cattell innumerable.
>
> Moreover, there was one Country-man which had his house and three hundred Oliue trees, together with many other trees of sundry other kindes carryed away with this violent and mercilesse streame: neyther was there one tree left standing on the Riuers side.
>
> About some three leagues from the City of Tortosa was a small village called *Benifallet*, where after that the floud had drowned many of the Countrey people, which to saue their goods did hazard their liues, at last it carryed away the whole Towne, so that of two hundred houses there were left but onely sixteen.[24]

Here a cumulative effect is distinguishable: first come the examples of the general devastation wrecked on the city, with the items floating in the street listed, then come specific examples of loss, such as the man who lost his olive trees. Such emotional details are then counterbalanced with practical geographical ones, with the focus quickly shifting to the exact location of the scene of the next examples of devastation.

Monstrous Births and Strange Creatures also enjoyed considerable popularity through the period. Translations of foreign sensational stories include a case of demonic possession,[25] a Norwegian fish found to have images of fighting men and strange characters on its flesh,[26] several

---

[24] *NEVVES FROM SPAIN: A true relation of the lamentable accidents, caused by the inundation and rising of Ebro, Lobregat, Cinca and Segre, riuers of Spain* (London: William Blackwall, 1618) A4^{v}–B1^{v} (STC 20860.5).

[25] *A true discourse, vpon the matter of Martha Brossier of Romorantin, pretended to be possessed by a deuill* (London: [F. Kingston for] John Wolfe, 1599) (STC 3841).

[26] *A most strange and wonderfull herring, taken on the 26. day of Nouember 1597, neere vnto Drenton* (London: [J. Windet for] John Wolfe, 1598) (STC 13239).

monstrous births,[27] a werewolf who went on a killing spree over the course of several years before being put to death,[28] a usurer who was devoured by rats in Aix-en-Provence and a case of matricide,[29] a girl who did not eat, drink or sleep for seven years,[30] and two accounts of apparitions, one from Croatia, with two armies appearing in the air alongside a "Sunne [that] did shune like Bloude" in June 1605,[31] the second the apparition of a white-clad woman accompanied by armies of Turks in the skies over Arabia for some three weeks, recounted alongside a report of showers of blood over Rome, printed in 1620.[32] What all these texts had in common, from the Turk to the Strange and Marvellous Herring, was an obvious component of principled instruction in a time of moral unrest. The Turk was an unchristian barbarian, whose deeds had to be chronicled to maintain Christian defences against this onslaught. The natural disaster and monstrous creature pamphlets were even more explicit: the readers were living through the end of days, they must repent of their sins, else suffer the consequences. These stories told of the repercussions of God's displeasure, and urged the reader to repentance. But the fear was controlled and although the events described within the pamphlets might be terrifying, there was the implicit comfort of resolution. Those struck down had their sins clearly enumerated in all their blackest glory, they were shown to repeatedly reject any opportunity for repentance, and thus their fate was justified. Readers were urged, either implicitly in the text, or explicitly in the liminary materials, to avoid similar fates by addressing their own sinful natures.

---

[27] Including *An example of Gods iudgement shew*[*n*] *vpon two Children borne in high Dutch la*[*nd*] *in the citie of Lutssolof, the first day of Iulie.* (London: [J. Allde] for William Bartlett and sold by Richard Ballard, [1582]) (STC 10608.5) and *A true relation of the birth of three monsters in the city of Namen in Flanders: as also Gods iudgement vpon an vnnaturall sister of the poore womans, mother of these obortiue children, whose house was consumed with fire from heauen, and her selfe swallowed into the earth* ([London]: Simon Stafford for Richard Bunnian, 1609) (STC 18347.5).

[28] *A true discourse. Declaring the damnable life and death of one Stubbe Peeter, a most wicked sorcerer, who in the likenes of a woolfe committed many murders* (London: [R.Ward for] Edward Venge, 1590) (STC 23375).

[29] *A spectacle for vsurers and succors of poore folkes bloud* (London: [George Eld for] John Wright, 1606) (STC 23030.3).

[30] *A notable and prodigious historie of a mayden, who for sundry yeeres neither eateth, drinketh, nor sleepeth, neyther auoydeth any excrements, and yet liueth* (London: [J. Charlewood for] John Wolfe, [1589]) (STC 5678).

[31] *Strange fearful & true newes, which hapned at Carlstadt, in the kingdome of Croatia* (London: R.B[lower] for G. Vincent and W. Blackwal, [1606]) (STC 4658).

[32] *Good newes to Christendome. Sent to a Venetian in Ligorne, from a merchant in Alexandria. Discouering a wonderfull and strange apparition, visibly seene for many dayes togither in Arabia* (London: [G. Purslowe for] Nathaniel Butter, 1620) (STC 5796.3).

This is further reinforced by the titles of such works, which make reference to God's judgement on the title page.[33] Even those without such explicit titles or liminary materials are sure to cast their didactic aspersions clearly.

What is less clear is why such items were 'imported' when there was a steady supply of similar material available from closer to home. If the didactic nature of the text was of paramount importance, surely a story with its places and players close to home would serve as a more immediate deterrent to potential sinners than one removed by geography and, to an extent, culture? The argument for exoticism as a selling point, so prevalent in the Turk pamphlets, would appear to be counter-productive in this case. It is especially frustrating that so few of these pamphlets include any kind of liminary materials wherein one might hope to find more detailed explanations of the translator's intent. The value of such pamphlets appears to lie less in their detail, which was not so far removed from their domestic counterparts, but rather in the layering effect they produced, especially when ranged alongside the news of the latest military and court proceedings from foreign lands. In case anyone was in doubt, signs of the end of days were appearing all over Europe. This was more than just human interest stories crossing linguistic boundaries. This was news in the service of the divine plan.

The practitioners of translated news, the authors, printers and translators, operated in the shadows of the print world. Fewer than half of the news translations have any kind of authorial attribution, typically the name of the Sovereign in which a treaty or edict was announced. There are only seventeen named authors of sensational news pamphlets, and eight of these are paired together, in exchanges of letters marketed as news, so that under two thirds of the sensational news items have no authorial attribution. The same trends emerge when considering printers. Some sixty-four per cent of the items surveyed had no named or identifiable printer. Those with a reputation at stake were cautious, and were aware that professional prestige was not to be earned printing or translating shocking stories of military mayhem and natural disaster. But whilst waiting for more noteworthy projects to arrive in the print shop, it seems there was no harm in producing a few quick pamphlets to keep the funds flowing. These projects were not illustrious, but they were potentially lucrative. The hard work of writing the account and formatting it had already been done. If a pamphlet found its way into the hands of a London printer,

[33] The titles of the monstrous birth pamphlets noted in note 27 are good examples of this.

it had found a market somewhere, and hence some of the vendor's risk factor had been reduced. All a printer had to do was find a translator, and they were not difficult to track down in Tudor and Stuart England. The turnaround time was minimal, as texts tended to be short, explanatory and data heavy, and the formatting of the original could be used as a template. More significantly, such items did not contravene the proscriptions about the reporting of domestic news. Printers had the links to pull in the source material, procuring texts through their trade links with the continent, and then farming them out to translators to work into a usable form for the domestic market.[34]

Translators are equally as obscure. Well over two thirds of the items in the corpus have no known translator. There was not the intellectual cachet attached to the translation of such slight works as to involvement in more cerebral or artistic projects.[35] Just as it could be dangerous for printers to engage in the production of news which was not entirely sanctioned by the authorities, so it must have posed a risk for translators, ensuring that news translation remained a fairly anonymous specialisation. Where an attribution to a translator is available, this is frequently in the form of initials, either on the title page or embedded within the liminary materials. Forty-two items in the corpus are identified in this way, accounting for nearly one third of the items given any attribution at all.[36] For sensational news, this falls to below twenty-five per cent. Of those who did receive a named attribution for their efforts, only a few names crop up repeatedly. Of these, the most 'illustrious' in terms of amount produced is Edward Aggas, translating about twenty news items over a decade and a half from 1585, many in conjunction with the publishing interests of John Wolfe. Others who dabbled in news translation included William Philip, Anthony Munday, Edward Meetkerke, Arthur Golding and George Gilpin. All would engage in more illustrious translating endeavours.[37]

---

[34] For a case study approach to the transmission of news in the early seventeenth century, see Paul Arblaster, "Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European system of communications" in *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe,* ed. Joad Raymond (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 19–34.

[35] It also testifies to the slightly dubious reputation of some news men, as would be so memorably outlined in Ben Jonson's satire on the fledgling news industry, *The Staple of News*.

[36] Presumably, this would be enough to identify the responsible parties to those in the industry, although not to the wider reading public.

[37] The 'Notes on Translator' section of each entry in the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue explores the careers of these men in more detail.

It is all but impossible to establish what proportion of early news publications in Britain were directly translated from European vernacular originals. In the case of military and diplomatic accounts, the percentage was very high, falling off as the subject matter became more localised and prosaic. Nevertheless, translated news items still exerted influence over the way news publishing developed in Britain. In charting its rise, historians of the early journalistic press have prioritised the development of journalistic credibility and the move to periodicity. Translation demonstrably influenced both of these key areas, and as such, must be written back into the pre-history of the newspaper in Britain.

News reports were increasingly defined by their need to be credible.[38] The move from oral and manuscript news exchange to the dominance of print could only happen once print journalism had established itself as credible. The earliest news print publications stuck close to the manuscript letter format, frequently taking the form of letters exchanged between key parties in events, or declarations issued on their behalf. Allowing the news pamphlet to thus appropriate an author gave it a veneer of credibility which allowed consumers to access the contents in the same manner as its manuscript counterpart. Translation similarly eased the transition from the personal newsletter to the anonymised press. The need to validate a news translation as both worthwhile and veritable testifies to the continuing development of journalistic sourcing. Translated pamphlets gave important information about potentially unfamiliar people, places and events. Crucially, translated news had a veneer of greater accuracy, due to its prior distribution in another language. Where present, named authors and translators give texts an appearance of solidity, a traceable element that provides some measure of proof to the reader. References to original languages and specific publications from named locations and named printers gave weight to the printers' claims of veracity: these items could be traced back if necessary.[39] This sat alongside the

[38] Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News*, 2; Brownlees, "Narrating Contemporaneity," 235–6.

[39] The most basic example of this kind of practice is seen in *The late nevves from France: being an important remonstrance or admonition to the King of France, concerning the disordered affaires of that estate at this present. Faithfully translated out of the French copy* ([London]: [Augustine Matthewes], [1620]) (STC 11278). Slightly more information is given in *The Popes letter to the Prince: in Latine, Spanish, and English. Done according to the Latine and Spanish coppies printed at Madrid* (London: [Edward Allde and Eliot's Court Press for Nathaniell Butter], 1623) (STC 12357). *Two remarkable and true histories*, discussed earlier, gives the most detail possible, including the full details of the original printer on the final leaf, 'Englished according to the Copy printed at *Vtrecht* by *Iohn Amelison*, at the signe of the golden *ABC*. 1619.' B4^{r}.

detail in the text previously outlined. The inclusion of such detail gives the reader points of reference on which to hang their interpretation – they could, if they wanted, verify the places and possibly the people discussed, and upon learning of their veracity, confer credibility upon the rest of the pamphlet. There is a conscious attempt to make the exotic palatable, even traceable.

Translation of news pamphlets also comes to bear on the other area of concern for scholars of early forms of journalistic press, the push to periodicity. Collecting the news together soon proved itself to be a worthwhile venture for news printers. In some cases it is clear that contents of translated news pamphlets came from multiple source texts – where more than one edict or proclamation or dated letter is included for example. In other cases, the printer only had time to include the latest tidings as a postscript or as a synopsised extract. This move to collect similar news items, alongside the imperative to print as quickly as possible, must be seen as a discernible stage in the development of the newspaper.

Early modern readers might have been induced by the thrill of the news, but except for the attempt to produce regular editions of the corantos in the 1620s, they did not enjoy the luxury of regular news. Instead, they were treated to 'new' news reports as quickly as possible. And the printers' boasts about their product's quick turnaround were not, it would seem, misplaced. Where it has been possible to trace an original printed title from which the translation was made, these are almost always within the same year. Editors would seemingly hang on to news that could be usefully packaged together, rather than putting individual items out independently as they arrived from overseas. News was a genre that is essentially momentary and fleeting, and good news men usually need to act fast. This overriding concern saw them blend the barriers between print, orality and manuscript in ways that are perhaps yet to be fully realised.

There are three main forms of collected news in the catalogue, although these should be seen more as a continuum than hard and fast divisions. Firstly, there are pamphlets made up of a number of items concerning a specific event, thoughtfully selected, packaged together, and presented to the reader as a finished product. These clearly demonstrate a desire to collect the most appropriate material and put it together in a convenient package for the consumer. There is something of a range within this category. Some are quite sophisticated collections. A pamphlet of seven items concerning the fall & execution of the Marshal of Biron includes petitions to the king, decrees of the *parlements*, synopses of letters, entire reproductions of other letters, and a description of Biron's

execution.[40] Others are far less cohesive endeavours, where relevant material has been added in with less consideration for the cohesiveness of the final product: texts of relevant treaties and edicts being appended to accounts of battles for example.

Similarly, we might find examples of additional information added as supplements to the main text, a common example being the inclusion of lists of participants in important ceremonies or military statistics. These are essentially collections of relevant material packaged to interest and inform the reader. The most basic way to update a pamphlet involved the use of a postscript. An account of the taking of the city of Alba Regia[41] includes four such updates, from Alba Regia (17 September 1601), Prague (24 September 1601), Vienna (24 September 1601) and from Italy to London (letters received on 14 'this present Month of November').[42] The post script served a multi-faceted purpose here. Firstly, and most importantly, it brought the story up to date. News publishers were aware that they were operating in a world where news was still primarily oral, with a significant manuscript contribution. To remain commercially competitive, printers of news had to demonstrate they were equally integrated into the channels of news communication and could keep up with events as closely as their manuscript newsletter writer counterparts. The postscript then was essentially a demonstration of a news man's professional credibility.

It was also an indicator of personal credibility. Printers had to find ways to make their news credible. Perhaps the most instant way of achieving credibility was to indicate some kind of an author, someone to whom the information could be traced back, but this, as seen, was hard to do. Displaying the internal mechanics of the news gathering process, showing how the news arrived in the print house, was one way of giving the system a veneer of credibility, by inviting the reader to place themselves as an active participant within the process, hearing the latest news at the same time as the printer: hence the benefit of the postscript containing the very latest from 'our man in Antwerp' or Vienna or Prague. Thus, the development and inclusion of the postscript must be considered a key stage in the push to periodicity. And it was a development which owed much to the practicalities of getting foreign news out to a British reading public.

---

40 *A true and perfect discourse of the practises and treasons of Marshall Biron: together with the particulars of his arraignment and execution* (London: P. S[hort], 1602) (STC 12002).

41 Modern day Székesfehérvár.

42 *A True relation of taking of Alba-Regalis in the German tongue, called Sfullweissenburgh* [*sic*]*, the chiefe cittie in Nether-Hungarie, which was taken by the Christian armie, the twentith* [*sic*] *of September last* (London: Ralph Blower, 1601) (STC 256.5).

Other forms of news gathering are evidenced in the sample. Some stories printed together had no direct link but were packaged together by printers because of a common theme, usually a moralistic one. Floods in Germany were recounted alongside fires in Constantinople,[43] whilst the accounts of a money lender devoured by rats near Aix-en-Provence in August 1606 were printed alongside the crimes and subsequent punishment of a matricidal youth from Savoy.[44] Clearly from the sensational end of the market, these were moralising stories, intended to terrify the reader into remaining, or becoming, an upstanding member of society. Several news translations indicate some level of collectivity on their title-page, specifically references to multiple stories, but upon closer inspection, these are in fact subsections of the same text. *A discourse and true recitall of euerie particular of the victorie obtained by the French king, on Wednesday the fourth of March, being Ashwednesday*, an account of Henri IV's decisive victory at Ivry, advertises that it contains accounts of events after the battle, *Also of his good successe that he hath had since that time, in taking of certaine Townes*. The account of the battle and subsequent events, including the dismissal from the king's service of various gentlemen who gave him good service, an account of a vision concerning the battle reported after the fact, the King's entry into Mantes, and subsequent departure for Corbeil and Moulins, were added as paragraphs within the main text, rather than separate sections.[45] This trend indicates consumer interest in the purchase of collected news items, a wish to get as much in a pamphlet for one's money as possible, which was picked up on by printers who wished to cater for consumer demand. It is also worth considering in terms of commercial advertising: the printer gave potential consumers as full an indication as possible of the work's contents, by indicating its essentially composite nature on the title-page, thus intriguing the consumer into making a purchase.

Early modern news translation was typified by its range and complexity. This survey has shown the multiple market pressures that helped shape its

---

[43] *A wonderfull and most lamentable declaration of the great hurt done, and mighty losse sustained by fire that hapned: and mighty stormes of winde, thunder, lightning, haile, and raine, with inundations of water, that fell in the towne of Erfford and Weinmar...* (London: [N. Okes for] Thomas Archer, 1613) (STC 10511.7).

[44] *A spectacle for vsurers and succors of poore folks bloud* (London: [G. Eld] for J. Wright 1606) (STC 23030.3).

[45] *A discourse and true recitall of euerie particular of the victorie obtained by the French king, on Wednesday the fourth of March, being Ashwednesday, Also of his good successe that he hath had since that time, in taking of certaine Townes* (London: Thomas Orwin for Richard Oliffe, 1590) (STC 13131).

areas of concentration, the ambiguities faced by those who worked in this area, and the ways in which translating impacted on wider news practices. Early modern readers were in their own way as avid and demanding consumers of news as their modern counterparts. Above all, news was a medium expected to be shared, passed on to others, discussed and above all transmitted. Translation was another way of pushing the reach of the story further. What the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue demonstrates is the extent to which translation was an intensely practical, increasingly essential act in an age of shifting political and religious boundaries. Printers and editors thought about how to market their translated news pamphlets to a demanding yet discerning audience. They strove for new ways to counter the problems of credibility and periodicity, borrowing from other print traditions, and in the process helping print journalism and the newspaper take their early forms. In bringing the news to an information-hungry public, by dominating news production so thoroughly as it did, translation can be seen to be essential to the functioning of the early modern news world in Britain.

INDEX