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A Review

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In mid-Tudor England a young Cambridge student interrupted his reading of Aristotle to seek recreation from the dry abstractions of philosophy by heeding Plato's advise: "when thou arte fatigate with studie… repose thy selfe with revolving worthy Histories", which led him to Edward Hall's *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*. Impressed by the rhetorical skills and the use of classical exempla in a speech that the historian ascribed to the Earl of Westmoreland, the student decided to go *ad fontes* and read "some of the famous Histories, out of which he had picked such pleasant pearles". He turned first to Perotti's Latin translation of Polybius, and then to Livy, whose imitation was admonished by educators like Roger Ascham for a proper training in Latin because he provided indirect access to an eminent group of Greek historians: "the best part of the thyrd Decade in Liuie," says Ascham, "is *in a maner* translated out of the thyrd and rest of Polibius" (Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, London, 1570, fol. 52^{v}, my italics). Eventually, Christopher Watson—for that was the name of the student—decided to produce his own translation of Polybius into English. As he did so, he juxtaposed his own rendering of the Greek original with the texts that had impressed him so much in Hall. His eventual scheme was to appropriate the capital of all these Greek, Roman and English historians in support of the Protestant settlement during the early years of Queen Elizabeth I.

This account features in Warren Boutcher's chapter in *Tudor Translation* ("Polybius Speaks British: A Case Study in Mid-Tudor Humanism and Historiography"), who concludes that it all "points to a crossover between the readership of native English chronicles and of translated classical histories, a readership that would later double up as the audience for Shakespeare's plays". As is well known the speeches that inspired Watson also found their way into Shakespeare's *Henry V*. By tracing the sources that led to Watson's Polybius and its eventual legacy in a canonical author like Shakespeare, Boutcher proves how reading practices and rhetorical education were used alongside translation to inform cultural and literary artefacts.

Boutcher's chapter exemplifies the scope of this collection of essays edited by Fred Schurink, which originated at a conference on 'Translation, Politics, and Society in Tudor England' and focuses on the period that goes from the reign of Henry VIII until the death of Elizabeth in 1603. The subject of Schurink's own chapter ("How Gabriel Harvey Read Anthony Cope's Livy: Translation, Humanism and War in Tudor England") is closely related to Boutcher's topic, since he deals with Cope's translation of Livy, *The historie of two of the moste noble captaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio* (1544), and aims—like the rest of the volume—to throw new light on the frequently undervalued humanism of mid-sixteenth-century England. *Tudor Translation* surveys a series of case studies that illustrate the notorious complexity of the processes, the agents and the strategies involved in translation. Several of its chapters, for instance, prove that patrons and dedicatees were important agents within domestic and

[1] This essay is a preview of a forthcoming book review to be published in *Translation and Literature* . I am grateful to the editors and publishers of *Translation and Literature* for allowing the publication of this version in our institutional repository.

international networks, and that they provide useful information about the material, political and religious interests within which these translators were working.

In his introduction to the collection Schurink calls for a fresh perspective in literary history that can actually take stock of the central importance of translation. Indeed, from its foundations upon linguistic and discursive processes, translation does conform culture—i.e. the symbolic codification of human societies and human knowledge—in a most decisive way by bringing together a large variety of disciplines and traditions. If on the one hand we must regard translations as autonomous literary artefacts, the translation scholar must also reorient his or her gaze towards the reception of texts, the material conditions, and the cultural contexts under which they were produced, as well as the status of translators as *über-readers* with the power to determine the eventual mode of reception of a particular text. Schurink also reminds us that the early modern educational programme trained students in a combination of rhetorical drills with the method of double translation. The stylistic habits, and the cognitive patterns that this method must have imprinted in generations of young students cannot have failed to remain deeply ingrained in their subsequent careers as cultural agents.

The whole volume makes a very strong case for a European, interdisciplinary perspective on Tudor translation. Within this amplified framework, translation can be contemplated as an agent of cultural change. When we approach translation as a cycle of codification, circulation, reception, and re-codification of all sorts of signifiers—or *culturemes*, as they are termed in semiotics—it does indeed stand at the centre of cultural studies. The current interest in paratexts, for instance, confirms that non-verbal components involved in the formatting of a volume are relevant constituents that turn books into complex multimedia artefacts.

Andrew Taylor's chapter ("Humanist Philology and Reformation Controversy: John Christopherson's Latin Translation of Philo Judaeus and Eusebius of Caesarea") illustrates the interconnectedness of translation with a large variety of cultural phenomena. Taylor focuses on Latin translations of Patristic Greek texts, a relatively obscure topic that was nevertheless fundamental within early modern international networks of power and knowledge. He outlines Christopherson's use of the Venetian *Biblioteca Marciana*, the repository of Cardinal Bessarion's collection of Greek manuscripts salvaged from the downfall of the Byzantine Empire and consulted by countless international scholars who then edited, translated and distributed these texts all over Europe. As he discusses the contrast between Christopherson as a Catholic translator and his Protestant compatriot Laurence Humphrey, Taylor describes how the latter's translations assimilated secular classical and also scriptural texts into a type of civil discourse which in turn influenced Sir Thomas Smith's *De republica anglorum*. Christopherson's connections with the circles of Cardinal Pole in Padua and Venice testifies to the presence within these networks of diplomatic agents and religious exiles. Refugees and travelling scholars frequently gathered around powerful aristocratic, royal or ecclesiastical patrons, and also around printers' workshops. They often found employment as printers themselves, proof-readers, editors, or translators. In some cases this led them to pen grammars and handbooks for language instruction—which frequently were used to propagate their own religious ideas. The experience of persecution and exile radicalised some of them, while others shifted towards more detached positions vis à vis the violent religious controversies of the day. Christopherson's position between Tunstall and Parr illustrates this *via media*.

Helen Moore's chapter ("Gathering Fruit: The 'Profitable' Translations of Thomas Paynell")—centred on Thomas Paynell's rendering of the French *Thresor des douze livres d'Amadis de Gaule*, *The treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce*—reminds us that when analysing the tropes used by translators to describe their trade we must take into careful consideration the shifts in meaning and usage that the particular terms in question have undergone. Moore provides evidence of the porosity of texts not just as regards interlinguistic exchanges, but also in cases of intralinguistic transfer between different disciplines—such as medicine and theology. With her reference to Paynell's edition of the English works of Thomas More she also explores the interesting case of translators who doubled up as editors in an age when encyclopedism went frequently hand in hand with translation in the rearrangement and classification of all sorts of knowledge. Although she correctly describes tabulation as "emblematic of Tudor humanism", this was actually a very common practice of European humanism in general. A significant example was Ravisius Textor's *Officina* (*Theatrum poeticum et historicum sive Officina Johannis Ravisii Textoris*, Paris 1520), which has been described as "a writer's workshop containing a wide assortment of classical instances easily applicable for poetic adornment or rhetorical support… conveniently broken down into categories and indexed".[2] The table prepared by Paynell for Rastell's edition of the English works of Thomas More is nothing less than a cartographical representation of the knowledge and *topoi* provided by the vernacular writings of the English humanist, a conceptual map that re-orients and determines the gaze of readers towards certain areas in detriment of others. Paynell the editor wields the power of an *über-reader*—a capacity that he shares with the early modern encyclopaedist, and with the translator. Translation—like cartography or lexicography—engages itself with the selection, classification and distribution of knowledge, a process which is of a piece with the early modern global redistribution of religious, political, military, financial and cultural capitals.

Moore also addresses the educational function accorded to chivalric romances, an important controversy that pervaded humanist doctrines on the public role of fiction and its proper reception. She emphasises the dialogical nature of instruction in the *Thresor*, and describes how its epistles facilitated patterns for the construction of a socio-linguistic persona and its emotional self. She also underlines the relations with the publishing business and the book trade—in her references to Thomas Hacket, the publisher of Paynell's *Treasurie*—and also with this translator's general interest in sayings and exempla, which he also displays in the *Treasurie*. This leads further into an examination of Paynell's moralising encyclopaedism—with interesting hints on how translation provided a language not just for moral instruction, but also a common, vernacular language for social normalisation, as it also opened up a common discursive space for other types of debate. Moore demonstrates that, in spite of valuable and pioneering research by Wakelin and Cummings, this is a fundamental field that calls for more detailed analysis.

Paynell is also an excellent example of the European dimension of Tudor humanism. Like other Erasmians in this period, Paynell was one the agents within the transnational networks of translators-humanists that established the foundations of Enlightened Europe. In his 1533 translation of a medical treatise, *De morbo gallico*, Paynell defended the task of the translator with arguments similar to those used by merchants to defend their trade: translators import into their target language the goods it lacks, in the

[2] Alan S. Trueblood, "The *Officina* of Ravisius Textor in Lope de Vega's *Dorotea*", *Hispanic Review*, 26(April 1958): 135-141, p. 135.

same way as merchants provide products for which there is a necessity, and consequently a potentially profitable demand. This trope, which predated Paynell in England and in Europe too, evinced the new mercantile and meritocratic ethos that was starting to move away from traditional aristocratic mentalities. This is a subject intimately related to the group of "mid-Tudor printers and booksellers who were meeting and fostering a demand for texts to educate the would-be magistrates and merchants of this new nation" described in Warren Boutcher's chapter. Christopher Watson's translation of Polybius was published, like Paynell's *Treasurie*, by Thomas Hackett in 1568 and dedicated to Thomas Gaudy—whose "family took its place amongst the clans of Cambridge- and Inns of Court-trained scholars, lawyers, and court officials buying up monastic and other properties in mid-Tudor Norfolk" (Boutcher, 2011, p. 103), i.e. the class of new men who would shape the political, economic and cultural future of the nation. Anthony Cope, the subject of Schurink's chapter, was also one of those part-time humanists that emerged from the milieu of Henry VIII's court at a time when linguistic abilities and scholarly accomplishment were just part of a much larger panoply of strategies that could be wielded for preferment in courtly circles.

The circulation of knowledge, narratives and topoi is also the subject of Robert Cummings chapter ("Reading Du Bartas"), which focuses on Sylvester's English translation of Du Bartas's *Les Semaines*, and provides an outline of the influence that this and other partial English translations of such an unwieldy poem exerted upon some unexpected quarters. The original poem itself was put together by adapting or translating a motley collection of texts. This led in turn to its reception as a compendium of poetically articulated knowledge, and to its use as a source for oracles, sayings, and other poetic devices which were then set in prolific circulation. Cummings describes how Shakespeare transferred Du Bartas's praise of France into his own famous speech about "This royal throne of kings, this scept'red isle" in *Richard II*. And Shakespeare in turn influenced Sylvester's own English rendering of Du Bartas. It is no less significant that one of the paths through which Shakespeare's version of the text reached Sylvester was *England's Parnassus,* Robert Allott's poetical dictionary and as such yet another fragmentary cultural artefact engaged in canon construction.

Like other authors in the volume, Gordon Braden sets out to provide an outline of a lesser known text ("Edward Fairfax and the Translation of Vernacular Epic"). His subject is Fairfax's *Godfrey of Bulloigne*—his rendering of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*—which Braden views as an epitome of some of the most important rhetorical features of Tudor translation generally, i.e. "careful observance of the original's *inventio* and *dispositio*, improvisational freedom with its *elocutio*". He also proves how an important component in the relations between the original and Fairfax's translation stemmed from certain contemporary English versions of the Italian poet that mediated between the Petrarchan subtext in Tasso's original and Fairfax's version.

Brenda M. Hosington's essay ("Tudor Englishwomen's Translations of Continental Protestant Texts: The Interplay of Ideology and Historical Context") surveys female translators of religious texts. She describes the case of Anne Cooke, who translated in 1548 five sermons by the Italian exile Bernardino Ochino, the founder of one among the several Stranger Churches that sprung up in London during the second half of the sixteenth century. Andrew Hadfield's chapter ("Edmund Spenser's Translations of Du Bellay in Jan van der Noot's *A Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings*") describes this polyglot environment within which Edmund Spenser grew up in London, then a booming metropolis teeming with a host of foreign diplomats, merchants, printers, as

well as religious refugees. This linked the English capital with a wide network of European connections as it also fostered the production of volumes in several languages. The subject of Hadfield's chapter is a series of French sonnets by Du Bellay translated by Edmund Spenser and included in Jan Van der Noot's *Theatre for Voluptuous Wordlings* (1586), itself a sophisticated multi-authored product that involved, in Hadfield's description, "production techniques that signified a juxtaposition of European and English culture, relevant to a translated work produced in exile". Hadfield explores how the sonnets and the woodcuts that illustrate them amount to an act of cultural multimedia translation, first from the *exempla* provided by Roman history, on to Du Bellay's appropriation in sixteenth-century France, and then through Spenser's translation within the framework of an international millenarian Protestant ethos with republican overtones. One of the sources of Du Bellay's lament for the loss of Roman republican liberties may have been Polybius, which proves the intricate paths that connect the subjects and individuals of other chapters in Schurink's collection. This *translatio republicae* of sorts, in turn, holds an interesting parallel with Marlowe's translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia,* a republican epic which like Polybius or Livy also bemoans the fall of the Roman republic and the onset of imperial tyranny. Marlowe's *Pharsalia* (*Lucan's First Book Translated*), first printed posthumously in 1600 but probably composed *ca*. 1586 (i.e. coinciding with the publication of *A Theatre*) dwells like Spenser in the contrast between harmony and turmoil. There are some promising links between Spenser's interest in republicanism and Marlowe's translation of Lucan's republican epic, among them certain instances of metrical innovation, and their respective connections with some literary circles, such as those around Edward Blount—to whom Thomas Thorpe dedicated the translation of Marlowe's *Pharsalia* when it was published in 1600. This fruitful—and much underresearched—relation between translation and metrical experimentation also crops up in Braden's analysis of Fairfax's translation of *Gerusalemme liberata*.

Like Hadfield, Joyce Boro ("Multilingualism, Romance and Language Pedagogy; or Why Were So Many Sentimental Romances Printed as Polyglot Texts?") also includes the phenomenon of multilingualism in her survey of two sixteenth-century bestsellers: language-teaching manuals and sentimental romance. She takes as her starting point the well-known fact that "the romances were marketed and intended to be read as foreign-language manuals and that they participate in the twinned didactic traditions of linguistic and moral pedagogy", and then proceeds to mention some other fundamental variables within this equation, such as diplomacy and trade. Sentimental romance is a most apt case study given the global European success of the genre. Its analysis yields revealing insights into the kind of reader reception that was accorded to it, and above all how it was used to normalise certain aspects of daily life, such as gender relations or political advice. The evidence summarily collected by Boro, together with the contributions about cultural diversity and multilingualism of chapters like A. Hadfield's are among some of the most interesting insights of *Tudor Translation*, and they should lead to further research into the intricate network of European literary, political, religious and mercantile exchanges. Boro also sets her readers on the path to a more profound analysis of the relations between humanist moral philosophy and its educational doctrines, as she provides interesting information about language instruction and the discursive construction of seduction, courtship, or marital behaviour.

Tudor Translation shows that we need a cultural analysis of translation as a common European phenomenon that can combine different national perspectives with the diversity of Europe's intellectual, political, social and religious life. The ground for the

project defined by Bacon in his posthumous *Instauratio Magna*—i.e. the colonization of new territories in the virtual realms of knowledge well beyond the cartographies of the earth and the skies—had been previously laid by early encyclopedists like Textor, or editors-translators like Paynell. *Tudor Translation* makes a contribution to the task of mapping more comprehensively the early modern exchange economy which translation fosters and channels