'If the Past is a Foreign Country': Neo-Latin Histories, their Paratexts, and English Cultural Translation

Brenda M. Hosington
University of Warwick/Université de Montréal

432 In the late 1970s, a 'cultural turn', to use Susan Bassnett's and André Lefevere's phrase, took place in translation studies, following quickly upon the development of cultural anthropology and another new field, cultural studies (see Bassnett). The term 'cultural translation' was in fact first used, not by translation theorists, but by anthropologists. It denoted the exchange between the members of one culture or cultural group and another, requiring negotiation and the skills of an 'interpreter' in order to arrive at mutual comprehension, but also some degree of adaptation to the culture of the target population or audience. The appropriateness of both the concept and the terminology to interlingual translation is obvious and has been explored within the parameters of translatability studies by both translation theorists and anthropologists, as seen in the introduction to a collection of essays, *Translating Cultures: Perspectives on Translation and Anthropology* (Rubel and Rosman 1-24).[1] The process of translating a text 'culturally' is governed by the values of the target culture, which determine the selection of text to translate, influence the decoding of its cultural and linguistic context, guide the choice of translating strategies, and result in an encoding of the new text in a form that makes it accessible, appropriate and acceptable to the target readership.

The concept of cultural translation has been applied to many genres of text but particularly effectively by Peter Burke in his treatment of early modern translated histories. He begins his first chapter in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* by reworking the opening sentence of L.P. Hartley's novel *The Go-Between*: 'The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there', says Hartley.[2] If such is the case, Burke asserts, 'even the most monoglot of historians is a translator', for historians 'mediate between the present and the past and face the same dilemmas...attempting to reconcile fidelity to the original with intelligibility to their readers' (Burke

and Hsia 7). The analogy had been made a few years earlier, as Burke points out, by another historian, Paul Cohen, who stated that both historian and translator must be acquainted with two languages, the former with those of the past and the present, and both must be able to navigate between two very different worlds. Furthermore, Cohen's description of the historian's potential to misconstrue and 'introduce meanings alien to the material under examination' on account of his or her 'outsidedness' is of course also applicable to translators. In a later chapter in *Cultural Translation*, 'Translating Histories', Burke follows what he calls 'the anthropological model' presented in his introduction, discussing both some general trends in translating contemporary histories and some examples of cultural translation, 'in other words an adaptation to the needs, interests, prejudices and ways of reading of the target culture, or at least some groups within it' (133). In the present essay, I shall be discussing Burke's comments in the context of early modern translations of histories either written in or translated into Neo-Latin and published in England between 1540 and 1640.[3] The corpus comprises sixteen source texts made into eighteen translations: thirteen from Latin into English, two from intermediary Latin translations of texts composed in French and Italian, one from Latin into French, and two from Italian into Latin. Many of these have received little detailed attention to date, and some have received none; they certainly have not been considered as a group that might throw light on the attitudes and practices of early modern English translators of histories.[4] They constitute a cohesive corpus of texts in which to test Burke's contention that 'the dominant "regime" of history translation was...a domesticating one' ('Modern History and Politics' 319). However, in this study we shall cut our coat according to more modest cloth, investigating whether the paratextual materials accompanying the neo-Latin originals and their translations also reflect target-oriented cultural changes. While Burke demonstrates the importance of dedications and devotes a section to other paratexts in this same essay, his treatment is of necessity brief and touches on only three of the histories in our corpus.

As Michael Saenger has said of paratexts, 'marginal texts are no longer of marginal importance' (13). The discursive nature and mediating functions of paratexts, these 'margins' or 'thresholds' into the text, were first analysed and organised into a taxonomy by Genette in *Seuils* (1987). Since then, critics of early modern English writing and printing, while recognising his seminal contribution to a hitherto neglected field, have pointed out the inappropriateness of that taxonomy for Renaissance texts and questioned his overly narrow view of the book as cultural artefact that focusses on the legible at the cost of the visual (Smith and Wilson 1-14).

Much criticism, however, concerns Genette's insistence on the illocutory role played by paratexts. The question of authorial intention, and indeed independence, in the Renaissance is far from being as cut and dried as Genette claims for later periods, with printers and booksellers wielding greater power over the production of their publications but also collaborating more with the author in the final appearance of the work.[5] The functions of the paratextual materials are thus far more varied. Paul

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Voss, for example, sees prefatory materials as an important means of advertising the book, and serving as marketing tools to reach a potential readership, while Saenger goes as far as to say that in the Renaissance 'meaning is subordinate to advertising the text' (15, fn. 35).

Meaning is not only conveyed in the paratexts themselves, but also in their physical presentation. As scholars involved in multimodal studies like Anthony Baldry, Paul J. Thibault, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuven claim, composition and layout are structuring devices possessing semiotic value; visual design is important in encoding meaning through connotation and metaphor. However, to be understood, as van Leeuwen points out, these require cultural knowledge (139). A title-page, like any other printed page, creates meaning through combining linguistic, graphic and spatial resources, again in response to cultural factors. More specifically yet, typography carries meaning; typefaces and letter-forms can play a semiotic role but their meaning-potential, too, depends on cultural factors as well as context. Mark Bland has **434** written at length on how the typographical appearance of early modern English texts affected their 'reception, history and interpretation' (91), and how it carried cultural associations and reflected cultural changes. Typefaces, font, spaces and format all reflect the way in which printers and their compositors could manipulate the visual and structural appearance of a text in accordance with, as Bland says, the intended readership and the nature of the publication (117). For translation, the pertinence of these multimodal approaches that incorporate linguistic and typographical features is obvious for two reasons. Firstly, the meanings encoded in graphic design and typographical features rely on culture-specific resources and conventions and require culture-based knowledge in the receptor. Secondly, since visual appearance affects his or her reception and interpretation of a text, with elements such as the nature of the text, its intended purpose, and its market appeal all playing their part, the presentation of the translated text will very often differ from that of its source. Culturally dictated changes will influence the English printer's choice of *mise-en-page*, typeface and font for the translated volume. To date, little has been done in this field of investigation for translations, let alone for those of the early modern period.[6]

While Genette admits to deliberately excluding the practice of translation from his discussion because it would require a separate study, he concedes that its relevance is undeniable (372). Yet apart from Bennett (1: 166-177; 2: 87-101; 3: 67-74), who briefly discusses translators' comments made in their prefaces, Saenger, who relates them to the purpose of advertising the work (99-106), and Rhodes, who sees them as privileged sites for expressing anxiety about translating (106-120), the paratexts accompanying translations have attracted little general discussion and have certainly not been examined within the context of cultural translation. In our examination of the paratexts in our corpus of translated histories, we shall see whether, in Genette's terms, they play the role of an interpretative intermediary between author/publisher and reader, guiding the latter into the text, whether they serve a commercial function as claimed by Voss and Saenger, and whether in fact they demonstrate any features

of cultural translation. In order to do so, we shall focus on various paratextual components: titles, title-pages, illustrations, dedications, addresses to the reader, and commendatory or other verses.

Titles and Title-Pages

Titles and title-pages, as Saenger points out, are important if little-discussed features of the early modern book (39). Yet, as Marie Maclean claims, titles in particular have a special relationship with the reader, providing what she calls a 'key to reading in many different ways' (275). Not surprisingly, then, titles of early modern source works and their translations frequently demonstrate marked differences. Translation titles are for the most part considerably wordier than those of their originals. Indeed, such is the case for fifteen of our eighteen original titles. Although more detailed titles became fashionable in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries generally, this alone does not account for the additions in translated titles, of which I have identified six types.

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Praise for the author is sometimes added since, separated from the target reader in time and space, he or she might well be unfamiliar. In 1575, in the translated title of Curione's *Sarracenicae historiae libri tres* (1567), Thomas Newton calls him and other contributors to the work 'good authours'. Robert Norton describes Camden, author of *Annales rervm Anglicarvm* (1613), as 'most learned' in 1630, although this is reduced to 'learned' in the 1635 edition. Similarly, Richard Robinson, in 1582, calls Leland, author of *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii* (1544), a 'learned English Antiquarie of worthy memory', although in the Latin title he is simply an antiquarian author. For Abraham Darcie, whose translation of Johann Sleidan's *De quatuor summis Imperijs* (1556) appeared in 1627, the author is an 'excellent and most learned man'.

Praising the source text is more frequent, again on account of its possible unfamiliarity for the potential reader, but also because it would justify and help to sell the translation. Ten of our sixteen translated titles, all from Latin into English, contain such praise. Apart from commercial considerations, no doubt the second-order status of both translation and the English language played its part. Significantly, no fewer than eight titles specify that the works were translated out of Latin, presumably to bestow prestige and credibility on the work. Praise is given to Bruni's 1441 *De bello Italico adversus Gothos*, first printed in 1470, 'a worke very pleasant and profitable', as well as to Curione's *Sarracenicae historiae* and Polydore Vergil's 1528 expanded *De rervm inventoribus*, both called 'notable'; Ocland's *Anglorum prælia* (1580) is 'compendious', while Camden's two volumes of *Annales* record the 'most Important and Remarkable Passages of State'; Sleidan's *De quatuor summis Imperijs* is 'most methodicall', his *De statu religionis et reipublicae* (1555) constitutes for John Daus in 1560 a 'famous chronicle', and his *Froissardi, nobilissimi scriptoris gallici* (1537), according to Arthur Golding, presents a collection of the 'most memorable histo-

ries'. Leland's *Assertio inclytissimi Arturi* is 'learned and true' for the Elizabethan Robinson, while Meteren's *Historia Belgica* (1598) is also called 'a true discourse' in the title of the 1602 translation; veracity was the hallmark of excellence according to humanist historiography.

Often included is a brief qualitative description praising the worth of the translation, no doubt to reinforce its authority, and its newness, presumably to make it more commercially attractive. Fidelity to the source text is sometimes mentioned. All four books of Camden's *Annales* are 'faithfully translated' in the 1630 edition, while the eight books of Sarpi's *Historia del concilio tridentino* (1619) are 'ex Italicis summa fide & accuratione Latini facti' ('made into Latin from the Italian with the utmost fidelity and accurateness'). Newness is mentioned in the translated titles of both Ocland's *Anglorum prælia* and Leland's *Assertio inclytissimi Arturi*, while Thomas Browne's 1629 translation of Book IV of Camden's *Annales* contains an appendix 'never before imprinted'.

436   An appeal is often made to the new English reader by adding relevant details concerning England, usually complimentary in nature and intended to evoke nationalist sentiments. This frequently results in striking cultural changes, as clearly demonstrated in several of our histories. The relatively short title of Sleidan's *Frossardi, Nobilissimi scriptoris gallici*, telling us simply the name of the author and stating the abridged nature of Sleidan's Latin rendering of his chronicles of the Hundred Years War, is turned into an elaborate vehicle of praise for a former English king and his sons by Arthur Golding in *An Epitome of Froissard*. Completely eclipsing Sleidan's praise of Froissart as a 'very noble French writer', Golding states he will tell English readers of the 'famous Warres and Conquests of King Edward the third, with the honourable achievements of the Blacke Prince, and his other sonnes'. Reminding them of the glorious days of Crécy and Poitiers would presumably entice them into buying the book, although it would no doubt have the opposite effect in France and have far lesser impact on most European readers of the Latin version. Similarly, the 1630 English title of Camden's *Tomus alter annalium* adds fulsome praise of Elizabeth, 'regnante Elisabetha' becoming 'the most Renowmed and Victorious Princesse' during her 'Happy, Long and Prosperous Raigne'. Even more significantly, the titles of the 1629 and 1634 editions of the translation mention the 'yeare of the fatall Spanish invasion', evoking a glorious moment in English history for the English reader, but not one that would necessarily have appealed to an international Latin-literate readership.

Ocland's histories of English military activities from 1327 to 1558, *Anglorum prælia*, and peacetime activities from 1559 to 1582, *De pacatissimo Angliae statu imperante Elizabetha compendiosa Narratio* (1582), were combined in one volume by their translator John Sharrock with a very different title. He enhances the 'prælia' ('battles') by making them 'The valiant actes And victorious Battailes of the English Nation', renders the adjective describing Edward III, 'inclytissimi' ('very renowned'), by the more flattering 'most mightie', translates the superlative adjective 'pacatissimo' ('very peaceful') by a reinforcing doublet, 'peacable and quiet', and transforms

the simple 'imperante Elisabetha' into 'vnder the blessed gouernment of the most excellent and virtuous Elizabeth'. Lastly, the English reader's eye would have been drawn particularly to the words 'Edward' and 'England' since they are the only words to be printed in upper case, an example of typography playing its part in making a work marketable. The appeal to national feelings, and hence to a potentially larger readership, is thus clearly articulated on this translation's title-page.

The change wrought by Churchyard and Robinson, or their printer, in the title of Meteren's *Historia Belgica* is even more nationalistic. The Latin title mentions the Burgundian and Austrian princes and names Philip II and his father, Charles V. These European royals are replaced by 'honourable' English military folk, and especially Sir John Norris, whose exploits in countries even beyond the Netherlands are praised. Moreover, a specific reason for reading the work is added: 'euery good subiect...for defence of prince and countery' needs to learn of the kind of 'martiall actions' it describes. In 1602, when the translation was published, the Essex rebellion had just been quelled and the future seemed uncertain; a little encouragement to patriotism was obviously not thought to go amiss.

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The new English reader is often catered to by the addition of explicit information not needed in the original title. Again, Churchyard and Robinson make their title more target-orientated. Meteren's 'turbas' ('disturbances') and 'bella et mutationes' ('wars and changes') in the years leading up to 1598 become 'ciuill warres' and the date 1565 is given for their commencement. The author's Dutch and international Latin-literate readers would presumably need no such information. Similarly, Newton turned Curione's history of the Saracens, Turks, and 'aliarumque gentium' ('of other peoples') into the individually named 'Souldans, Mamalukes, Assassines, Tartarians and Sophians', and his 'septingentos annos' ('seven hundred years') into the specific 'from the byrthe of Mahomet...for 700 yeeres'. Sleidan's *De quatuor summis Imperijs* does not name the four empires, whereas Abraham Darcie's title, intended for a less well educated readership, spells them out, 'Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome', and adds a time-frame for good measure, 'from the Flood'. It also reassures readers they will be aided by a 'marginall chronologie' of the major figures and events and 'briefe illustrations' of the 'more obscure names, places and offices'. John Daws, the translator of Sleidan's *De statu religionis et reipublicae*, is similarly reassuring. His title stipulates that the work has 'the argumentes set before euery booke, conteyninge the summe or effecte of the booke following'.

Ideology, too, plays a role in effecting cultural change. Newton's description of Mohammed in his title of Curione's history of the Saracens shows clearly what he thought of that 'first peevish Prophet', a depiction notably absent from the original title. In a time of religious upheaval, translated titles could powerfully proclaim the beliefs of the translator or printer, often reinforcing or lessening the ideological or polemical import of the work. In Sarpi's *Historia particulare delle cose passate tra... Paolo V. e...Venetia* (1624), an account of the quarrel between papal and civil jurisdiction regarding clerical matters in Venice, ideology inspires the desire to make

the work accessible to a new readership. While the Italian title is rather vague about the 'cose passate' ('things that happened') in Venice, Adam Newton's and William Bedell's Latin title, *Interdicti Veneti historia de motu Italiæ* (1626), is not. It spells out the punishment Paul V imposed on the city in 1606, an interdiction, and mentions the ensuing rebellion ('motus') against papal authority. True, an English reader in 1626 might well need to be told what those 'things' were, but the Latin title was most certainly inspired by the fact that Bedell, the translator and a fervent Protestant, was in Venice at the time and shared the hope that the city would unshackle itself from papal allegiance. Two more examples of ideologically motivated title changes will be discussed later in this essay.

The translation of Leland's response to Polydore's Vergil's denial of King Arthur's existence in his *Anglica historia* (1534) provides a striking example of how a title-page and title can combine culturally-dictated changes in both form and content in order to accommodate and appeal to a new readership.
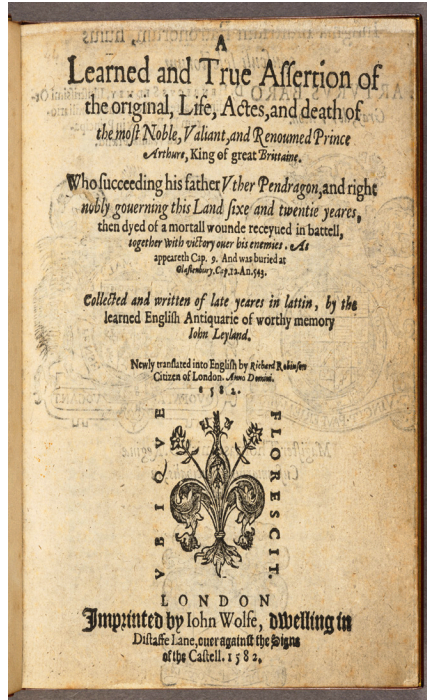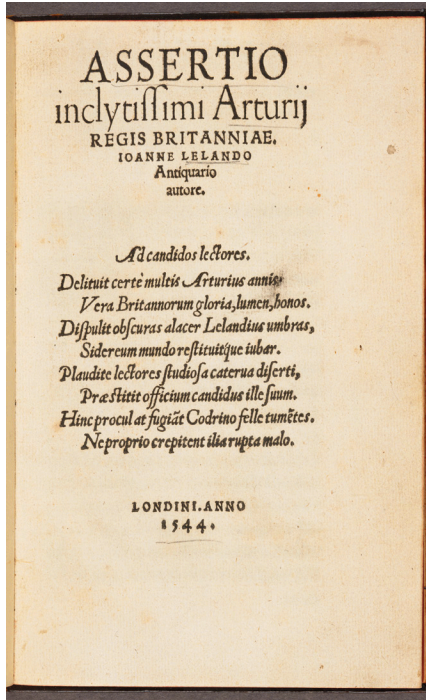
Fig. 1. John Leland, *Assertio inclyitissimi Arturij regis Britanniae*. STC 15440. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Fig. 2. John Leland, *A learned and true assertion of the life of prince Arthure*. STC 15441. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The English title-page illustrates several of the changes we identified above. Printed in the largest letters, the first part highlights the erudition and veracity of the original, raising the account from a simple 'Assertio' ('Assertion' or 'Vindication') to the rank of 'true' history in the best humanist tradition. Leland, in Latin simply an antiquarian, is said to be 'learned' and 'of worthy memory', as we mentioned above. On the other hand, the English printer moves the Latin title-page poem, 'Ad candidos lectores', praising Leland for revealing the truth about Arthur, inside, where it plays a slightly different role, as we shall see later (B2ʳ). The poem dominates the Latin page, being placed in the centre and set in italics. The English page replaces it with an incredibly detailed account of Arthur's life, intended to appeal particularly to the English reader's sense of nationalism by placing the king in the royal succession of his father and emphasising the length of his reign and extent of his prowess. Leland's 'inclytissimus' ('very renowned'), a title given to his dedicatee, Henry VIII, and retained even after the break with Rome, would undoubtedly have been familiar to an English Latin-literate audience in 1544. However, forty years later, Robinson **439** expands this to 'the most Noble, Valiant, and Renowned Prince'. Arthur's kingly conduct and military valour, 'he governed 'right nobly' and achieved 'victory ouer his enemies', are repeated in order to reinforce the appeal to national pride. The 'historical' résumé establishing his pedigree, describing his life and reign, and ending with his death and burial-place is intended to prove the veracity of the Arthurian legend, for by 1582 others had echoed Polydore Vergil's scepticism, and this explains why it takes up most of the space, dominating the page in an arresting mix of fonts and a complex design. Finally, the printer is at pains to point out that the work is 'newly translated', as we said, a good selling point, and executed by a person of some standing since he is a freeman, a 'Citizen of London'.

Illustrations

Illustration, another type of paratext, can also demonstrate changes made with a new English readership in mind. Although, for example, Edward Grimeston and his printer reproduce virtually all the engravings from Meteren's *Historica Belgica*, in two notable places they do not. Book XIII treats the years the Netherlands were governed by Queen Elizabeth's appointee, the Earl of Leicester, and opens with a reproduction of an engraving of the queen portraying simply her head and shoulders, with a border bearing her name and title in Latin and a rose (424). Grimeston's *Generall historie of the Netherlands* (1602), on the other hand, substitutes a full-length portrait of her in regalia and wearing her signature long rows of pearls; above her is the heading, 'Elizabeth Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defendress of the Catholicke Faith and Protrectrix of the libertie of the united Provinces of the Netherlands' (904). Similarly, Leicester's small engraving in the original (466) is replaced by a full-length portrait of him placed beneath the same heading that described Elizabeth (909).

Furthermore, verses in English are placed under the portraits, flattering to an embarrassing degree, even for the times, although Grimeston admits he himself approved them (Aviᵛ).

At the end of this same book, Grimeston again tellingly changed the original illustrations in his source to suit the new cultural context of the translation. Meteren's account of the years 1585-1587 ends with a long, detailed narrative of Mary Queen of Scots' treatment and execution at Elizabeth's hands and a portrait of a demure Mary, smiling benignly out at the reader (411). Both text and illustration have been omitted in the translation. While the earlier enhanced portraits and added encomia were clearly designed to appeal to an English readership by reminding them of Elizabeth's and Leicester's valiant assistance to their Protestant brothers against the Catholic oppressor, the materials pertaining to Mary would have had the opposite effect. In 1608, evoking a not particularly happy day in English history, and one that saw the execution of the mother of the reigning monarch James I, might well have been perceived as impolitic.

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Prefatorial Paratexts

Many other components of front matter—prefaces, dedicatory epistles, addresses to the reader, commendatory verse, printers' notes—as Wendy Wall says, 'form a lens through which the reader views the text and assesses its relationship to its public audience' (174). Translations, inevitably, will call for a change of lens. Translators and their printers thus went beyond simply making changes in titles, title-pages, and illustrations to make their work more appealing to a linguistically and culturally different readership. In fact, the paratexts prefacing many works in our corpus underwent even greater transformation and so a general discussion of what was retained, omitted, and added will certainly reveal features that contribute to the production of cultural translations.

In discussing English Renaissance dedicatory epistles, Saenger points out that not only do they act as a protective vehicle for authors publishing controversial writings, but they constitute a crucial means of soliciting and hoping to secure patronage, offer an opportunity for the author to assert his or her social worth, and provide a space within which to comment, often in deprecatory mode, on the work they accompany (55-59). Given their primary role as a vehicle for seeking patronage, it is hardly surprising that only four source text dedications are translated. In 1585, Sharrock added to his own dedicatory epistle addressed to Sir William Mohun, Member of Parliament for Cornwall, Ocland's 1558 dedications of his *Anglorum prælia* to Elizabeth and his *Ειρηναρχια siue Elizabetha* to Mildred Cecil, both of which he translated. Since the former was still on the throne while the latter was a patron and powerful woman in her own right as well as the wife of the Lord Treasurer William Cecil, the decision is understandable. In 1563, Wythers translated Sleidan's *De quatuor summis Imperijs*

Imperijs (1556) dedicatory epistle to Prince Eberhard Duke of Wirtemberg and in 1560, Daus translated the same author's *De statu* (1555) dedication to Augustus Duke of Saxony. Both translators unsurprisingly placed the dedication after their own, which were to Lord Russell Earl of Bedford. For obvious reasons, theirs needed to be placed in a more prominent position. Perhaps the fact that the original Latin dedications specifically mentioned the German dedicatees' active support of Protestantism earned them a place in these translations, especially as Lord Russell was himself a force in England's reform movement. Sleidan's dedicatory epistle in the *De quatuor summis Imperijs*, interestingly called 'The Preface' in the running head, also offered a discussion of historiography, which set it apart from Wythers' commendatory but more straightforward dedication, and would no doubt have widened the appeal of the translated volume to include educated, if not Latin-literate, readers. Less understandably, because seventy-one years had elapsed since Sleidan had written the *De quatuor summis Imperijs*, Darcie made a new translation of Sleidan's dedication to Eberhard for his 1627 *The key of historie*. It was placed after his own address 'To the **441** indifferent reader' and was the only dedication in the volume. The three translators and their printers perhaps believed that the presence of these two foreign royals, a prince and a duke, would add prestige and authority to the translated histories but would also underline the international nature of Protestantism. The latter would have been appropriate in the early, post-Marian years of Elizabeth's reign when Wythers and Daus published their translations, and again in 1627 when Darcie published his, a year of religious uncertainty that saw Charles I defend the Huguenots by attacking the French navy in La Rochelle, despite his defiant marriage to the Catholic Henrietta-Maria. As always, the historical context plays a role in the production of translations and their paratexts.

Thirteen of the sixteen translations have new dedications. The dedicatees represent a social spectrum extending from kings through the aristocracy to high-ranking courtiers, the gentry, and one Catholic exiled bishop. Only four translators, Golding, Bellegent, Churchyard and Wythers, actually refer openly to their need for patronage and mention the dedicatee's previous favours towards them, a reminder for the dedicatee but also a selling point, advertising the translator as someone who has already attracted the attention of someone of note. Moreover, although addressed to a specific person, the dedication becomes by virtue of its being in print a document for public consumption.

Several of the usual *topoi* (the modest translator, the friend who insists on publication) and metaphors (the translation is 'a first fruit', a piece of clothing, a plant) appear in these new dedications, but there are few comments on translating methods. Peter Ashton tells Sir Ralph Sadler he has chosen plain language for his translation of Giovio's *Tvrcicarum rervm commentarius*, as does Abraham Darcie in dedicating his rendering of Sleidan's *De quatuor summis Imperijs* to Sir Robert Aiton.[7] Two translators explain why they have demonstrated a certain freedom in translating their sources. John Daus tells Lord Russell he has added illustrations and accounts

of more memorable events to Sleidan's *De statu* in order to satisfy his English readers, while Thomas Langley, fearing their boredom, informs Sir Anthony Denny he has omitted the more tedious parts of Vergil's *De rervm inventoribus*. Both provide examples of cultural translation. The declared motivations of the translators are various if commonplace, but they suggest the translations will target specific readerships. Concern for making a Latin work more accessible in the vernacular inspired Langley and also Bellegent, who tells James I that he translated Camden's *Annales* into French because that is the only international language, not perhaps the most diplomatic way for a Frenchman to obtain patronage from an English monarch. Patriotism proved a strong inspiration for Wythers and Darcie, who tell their respective dedicatees they have translated Sleidan's *De quatuor summis Imperijs* for the good of their country, and for Churchyard, who claims he translated Meteren's *Historia Belgica* to commemorate the glory of English soldiers in the war in the Netherlands. The overriding motivation, however, is usefulness, an attribution commonly found in Renaissance

442 translation prefaces but one that takes on a further dimension in the case of translating histories.

Humanist belief in the value of history to teach by example and the need to write 'truthfully' is expressed in very many prefatorial paratexts accompanying both the original and translated histories in our corpus. Arthur Golding carefully translates Bruni's views of history and historiography expressed in his dedicatory epistle to the unnamed Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini in his *De bello italico adversus Gothos*. Bellegent and Richard Norton, translators of Camden's *Annales*, reproduce the author's opinions with similar accuracy. Some translators, however, in expressing their own views on history in their paratexts make them particularly pertinent to their English readers. Grimeston, translating Meteren's *Historica Belgica*, insists in 'The Translator to the Reader' on his author's integrity in imparting the 'truth of the historie' of the wars in the Netherlands but nevertheless confesses to adding information gleaned from others, '[enriching] the history with good matter', so that it might stand as an accurate account for 'our owne nation, which hath had so great a share in those warres' (Aiᵛ). His employment of strategies of elaboration and explicitation were clearly adopted to make the translation more appropriate to his English readership. Arthur Golding, in his address to the reader prefacing his *Epitome of Frossard*, praises Froissard's methods of writing history but makes no mention of the fact that he is actually translating Sleidan's compilation, not the French original.[8] More impressive for an English reader, however, would have been its claim that the history outdid all others in being 'so honourably and sincerely [related] concerning our English nation' and in raising England 'to what height of honour and reputation' (A2ᵛ).

The most impassioned plea for English citizens to know history comes, however, from Peter Ashton, translator of *Tvrcicarum rervm commentarios* (1537), a Latin version of Giovio's *Commentario delle cose de' Turchi* (1531) made by Francesco Negri. In his preface, Giovio argues in favour of writing a history of the Turks in order to learn

more of their culture and military strategies; this in turn will improve European chances of quelling their advances. Ashton, in his dedicatory epistle to wealthy courtier and diplomat Sir Ralph Sadler, takes a different tack. He defends the value of reading history, as opposed to listening to accounts of events, and likens history to a looking glass, a commonplace simile he repeats several times because it reflects events that help us understand our own world and offers examples to stir our hearts to action, particularly against the Turks. However, Ashton also aims his epistle specifically at his English readers in several ways. He tells them that the pleasure they feel in hearing about their country's former victories over the French will be outweighed by their delight in reading of similar Christian successes against the Turk (*.v^v), reassures them that he has added marginal notes 'drawn out of other good & faithful authours' to support Giovio's statements and explanations of any 'harde and straunge wordes', and says he has given the names of warriors at the end of the book (*vi^r). Finally, well aware of his English readership, he explains that he has chosen 'most playn and famylier englishe speche', free of 'Chaucers wordes', now 'almost out of use', and inkhorne termes...whiche the common people, for lacke of latin, do not understand' (*vi^v). In so doing, he is adapting Giovio's own rejection of ornate language in favour of 'simpliciori atque uniuersae Italiae communiori linguae' ('simpler and more ordinary [terms] of the entire Italian language') to the needs of the English reader and to the debate in England in the 1540s over the English language, led by Sir Thomas Elyot defending the use of imported, Latinate or 'inkhorn' terms and Sir John Cheke and Thomas Wilson arguing in favour of 'pure' and 'simple' English ones.

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Addresses to the reader also play a role of mediator, leading the addressee into what Genette calls 'an imminent reading' (179-80). Seven of our translators address their readers. Two give them supplementary information about the subject of the work, Golding for Bruni's *De bello italico aduersus Gothos* and Bellegent for Camden's *Annales rervm Anglorvm*. Three, Norton, Darcie, and Golding in his translation of Sleidan's *Frossardi*, emphasise the importance of reading history. Just as authors could set forth their reasons for writing, methods of composition, and choice of subject and style, so translators could use their addresses to the reader to explain their translating methods, although this corpus of translated histories is not particularly rich in comments of this sort. Browne, in translating Book IV of Camden's *Annales*, resorts to the *topos* of the reluctant translator egged on by an admiring friend. Grimeston gives the frequently heard reason of patriotic duty for translating Meteren. He defends his 'harsh' and 'plaine' style of writing by pointing out that it consciously mirrors that of his author's, although he also claims that he has followed the 'laws of translation', which have allowed him to add materials to the source text for the good of his readers. While the former reflects a concern with reproducing one feature of the original, the latter, with its use of the word 'laws', suggests that cultural translation was widely practised. Darcie, too, in 'The Translator to the indifferent Reader' prefacing *The key of history*, wishes to replicate Sleidan's plain style, even saying 'Plainnesse is my ambi-

tion', but he relates this to accommodating the English reader. He even admits to 'swerving' from Sleidan's meaning for the same reason as Grimeston, to assist his readers, although he considers clarity of meaning of paramount importance (B3ʳ). Moreover, with the same intention, Darcie provides in all three editions a list of the names of Assyrian kings, 'which *Sleidan* mentions in the beginning of his first Booke, but names them not' (376-77), and he says he gives the names of countries both as they were in the time of the ancient empires and as they are now (B3ᵛ). The semantic changes and the additions are made for a less educated readership and thus constitute a clear example of cultural translation.

A final type of prefatorial paratext appearing in these histories takes the form of verse. Commendatory and other poems, while being literary in nature, also serve a marketing purpose and act as a 'threshold' into the text (Saenger 73). In their transla-tion of Meteren's *Historia Belgica*, Churchyard's and Robinson's inclusion of three Latin commendatory poems to John Norris by the Italian historian and spy, Pietro Bizari, serve only the first of these, although of course they also underscore the praise of Norris that appeared in the title. Together with other poems scattered throughout the text, they add prestige to the translation by being in Latin and the work of a scholar of international reputation, and thus make the work more marketable. On the other hand, by remaining untranslated, they do not function as a threshold into the text for the non-Latin-literate English reader for whom this translation is presumably intended. In fact, they interrupt the cultural transfer effected in both the other para-texts and the translation itself. Their presence alongside Churchyard's dedication to Edward Seymour mentioning another notable English commander, Sir Francis Vere, together with the omission of all Meteren's prefatorial paratexts, provides an example of how the translator and printer can re-orientate a translation towards a specific domestic readership. Only two other histories, however, use prefatorial verse in this way. Ashton, or his printer, places a quatrain on the title-page of *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes* stirring all Christians to action in the face of the Turkish threat; however, on the verso is printed a thirty-six line poem comparing the Turks to Hannibal, Rome's Carthaginian enemy, and ending with a specific appeal to the English to take heed of the warning contained in the translation: 'all ye gentry of Englande this boke embrace'. The other example, Robinson's translation of Leland's *Ad candidos lectores*, we mentioned above as a threshold into the text.

Ideology, Translation, and Print: Two Case Studies

Earlier in this essay, ideology was identified as a force for change in translating titles for a different cultural context; in fact, through the inclusion of prefatorial paratexts and the choice of format and graphic design, it can significantly alter both the form and content a work. Two religious texts in our corpus will serve as examples. Cardinal

Cesare Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588-1607) was the officially commissioned history of the Catholic Church, published in a magnificent twelve-volume folio edition by his order, the Congregation of the Oratory, as an answer to the anti-Catholic ecclesiastical history known as the *Magdeburg Centuries*, which had been particularly harsh in criticising the papacy and its on-going quarrels with secular authorities. One untitled section of Volume XII of the *Annales* describes such disputes between Adrian IV, the only English Pope, and Frederick, Holy Roman Emperor, and between Pope Alexander III, Henry II and Thomas Becket. In 1639, one part of this section of the Annales was translated into English as *The life or ecclesiasticall historie of S. Thomas archbishope of Canterbury*. The translator signed the dedicatory epistle 'A.B.', although in actual fact he was Richard Lassels, a Paris-based English recusant priest who signed other translations 'R.B.', standing for his maternal grandfather, Richard Bold.[9] The initials A.B., I would suggest, stand for his mother, Anne Bold, although they also belong to his patron as of 1644, Lady Anne Brudenell, whom he quite possibly knew as early as 1639.

The differences between the translation and its source text are many. Rather than being simply an untitled section of a book, it appeared as a stand-alone work in Paris, published under a false imprint but in fact emanating from the press of Widow Françoise Blageart, who produced eleven English recusant works, eight of which were translations. It was a modest octavo publication, thus standing in stark contrast with the Latin folio volume, and its plain title-page, devoid of decoration, in no way corresponded to Baronio's, which elaborately depicted Saints Peter and Paul, Mary enthroned with the infant Jesus, and another saint wearing the papal crown. The Latin title boldly addressed a universal readership, whereas Lassels's was clearly intended only for an English one: suffering, exiled English Catholics in need of support, potential converts in England, and those involved in the on-going dispute over ecclesiastical versus secular rights.

Baronio's three paratexts prefacing the *Annales* confirm the importance of the work suggested by the format and title-page: the dedication to Pope Paul V bears witness to the papal commission and underlines the immense task Baronio has undertaken; the rather authoritarian and sententious 'Auctoris ad lectorem suprema contestatio' ('The author's final testimony to the reader') nevertheless serves as a kind of benediction delivered to the Christian reader; the 'Praefatio', which immediately precedes the account of the opening year of each volume, talks of the church's history and persecutions and strongly affirms that it will conquer and triumph for ever. Lassels's paratexts are of a different order. His dedication is to Richard Smith, bishop to the Catholic exiles in Paris, a churchman far further down the ecclesiastical ladder but who, as Lassels points out, has had to endure the same exile and criticism as Becket. Lassels claims he has told the story of the saint by culling material 'out of the most authenticall and best Authors'—and therefore not just out of Baronio—in a manner not 'crooked and fitted to selfe endes by artificall amplifications but furnished by knowne fact' (aiiᵛ). This claim to objectivity and truth is sorely put to the test, how-

ever, in the following forty-page preface that replaces Baronio's address to the reader. Substituting polemic for benediction, Lassels explains he chose to translate only that part of Baronio's history concerning England because he desired to quell the efforts of the 'olde enemie [who] maketh continuall warre against the church' (Aiiʳ) and wished to appeal to English readers. He maintains consistent praise of Popes Adrian and Alexander, of the French king who upheld papal supremacy in the quarrel, of Thomas Becket who did likewise, and even of Henry II because he lived to regret his disobedience and seek penance. Lassels's interest in Becket was no doubt attributable, not simply to his own loyalty to the papacy, but also to the saint's particular appeal to English sensibilities; his shrine had been the most popular in all England before suffering particularly ruthless treatment under Henry VIII.

Lassels's paratexts thus constitute a clear example of domestication for ideological reasons. In the process, Baronio's wide-angle lens capturing the universality and timelessness (twelve hundred years up to 1198) of the Catholic Church is exchanged for Lassels's zoom lens that focusses on a single country, England, and on only one short period, while the Cardinal's attempt at retaining objectivity is sacrificed on the altar of recusant fervour. However, Lassels's translation must, like any other, be seen in context. Quarrelling over papal versus secular power had earned James I, with his 1606 Oath of Allegiance, the disapprobation of Paul V and his cardinals, and the Oath continued to cause trouble for English Catholics throughout Charles I's reign. A work addressing the question of papal authority in 1639 was thus extremely timely for an English readership.

Paratextual changes driven by ideology also characterise the Latin translation of Sarpi's *Historia del concilio Tridentino*, a controversial account of the Council of Trent emphasising its political rather than theological preoccupations and revealing the behaviour of the Pope and Curia there. Unpublishable in Venice, where Sarpi wrote it, the work was smuggled to England via members of the English embassy, amongst whom were Nathaniel Brent, an English ecclesiastical lawyer and friend of Adam Newton, Dean of Durham, and William Bedell, the ambassador's chaplain.[10] An Italian priest and friend, Marco Antonio de Dominis, later converted to Anglicanism and fled from Venice to England, where he prepared Sarpi's manuscript version. A fourth sympathiser, and a printer of no mean Protestant zeal, John Bill, published it in 1619 and followed it one year later with a Latin translation by Newton (Books I-VI) and Bedell (Books VII-VIII) and a complete English one by Brent. The Italian title, no doubt composed by de Dominis, who possibly made his edition more explicitly Protestant than Sarpi's original, contained words whose negative connotations set the tone for the whole work. 'Corte di Roma' (repeated in de Dominis's dedication to James I) rather than 'Curia Romana' suggested the autocratic nature of the prelates' dealings, while 'artificii' ('deceits') and 'si scropono' ('are uncovered'), highlighted their dishonesty in preventing the revelation of true dogma and discussion of papal and ecclesiastical reform.[11]

Again, features such as *mise-en-page* and typography combine with substantive

changes to make the title-pages of the Italian original and neo-Latin translation very different, each suited to its intended audience. The original proudly bears the name of the English printer in Italian, 'Giovan. Billio', together with the royal coat of arms dominating the central space and denoting Bill's position as King's Printer, a title repeated in the attribution just beneath, 'Regio Stampatore'. The main title is in large Roman capitals, with the word 'Historia' in bold, but the polemical sub-title is set off in italics, to draw the reader's attention and emphasise the nature of the work. This is not simply a 'history' but a denunciation of the Pope and Catholic hierarchy. Its readers—in Italy, in the Italian community in England, and possibly those in the English court who knew Italian but not Latin—are to be left in no doubt as to its nature.

The translated Latin title, *Petri Svavis Polani Historiae Concilii Tridentini*, is nevertheless pruned considerably and contains no inflammatory words. The author's name still appears as an anagrammatic pseudonym but the publication details are very different.[12] The place of publication both on the title-page and in the colophon is given as 'Augustæ Trinobantum', the legendary medieval Latin name, rather than 'Londinium', while the printers' names, John Bill and Bonham Norton, appear nowhere. The title is printed in the same large Roman capitals, with what we mentioned earlier as a typical addition, an attestation of the translation's fidelity to its source. Set against the neutrality of the upper part of the title-page is a quotation from one of Seneca's *Epistolae morales* (Ep. 79) to Lucilius, prominently printed in italics in the centre and replacing the royal coat of arms. It was clearly chosen for its apposite nature: Seneca claims that 'nihil simulatio proficit' ('pretence accomplishes nothing') and warns, 'Quae decipiunt, nihil habent solidi. Tenue est mendacium: perlucet, si diligenter inspexeris' ('things that deceive have nothing of substance; a lie is a meagre thing: it shines through if you examine it carefully').

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We find further differences once inside the volume. The first is the inclusion of a new one-page text in Latin, elaborately typeset in the manner of an inscription in small Roman capitals beneath a decorative border and comprising alternating paragraphs praising truth as represented by God, Christ and the Trinity, and castigating fraud, fallacy and deceit. These culminate in a quatrain set in italics and entitled 'Interpres', which means both agent or go-between and translator: the *Historia*, 'in Latino cultu' ('in Latin dress'), has drawn truth out of the shadows and, acting as a mediator between the original and new readers, exposed human trickery in matters of piety. This clearly sets the stage for what is to follow.

The Latin address to the pious Christian reader is far more sober than De Dominis's Italian dedication to King James, which concentrates on vilifying the Church for its heresies, abuses, oppressions, fraudulent attempts to hide the truth, diabolical tricks, passions, violence, and deceptions, all 'iscorperti, & minutamente raccontati' ('uncovered and recorded in detail') in Sarpi's history (a2ᵛ). It is clearly directed at a very different, more educated readership, since it focusses on the importance of history and demands of historiography, quoting Cicero and Persius. It also claims to be an objective rendering of the original. However, any objectivity ends there. The

two texts following bear witness to the nature of the Council of Trent (A8^{r-v}) and are offered, supposedly, so that the reader can come to an independent decision on the matter, for 'I neither disclose my opinion nor prejudge' ('meum [iudicium] non promo, nec praeiudico: sed ut tui res arbitrii sit' (A7^v)). The first, entitled 'Anglus ad academicos' ('An Englishman to academics'), is a brief excerpt from Edmund Campion's *Rationes decem* (1581), distributed to students at the University Church of St Mary the Virgin in Oxford, but printed in France and Italy and known throughout Europe in both Latin and the vernacular for its defence of Catholicism in the face of Protestant opposition from councillors, university professors and ecclesiastical lawyers. The translators' or printers' inclusion of 'Ratione IIII', with its high-blown praise of the Council, is specifically intended for English Protestant readers and is clearly being used ironically, for in their eyes Campion was a papist traitor. The second text, Bishop Andreas Dudith's widely circulated letter to Maximilian II sarcastically criticising the prelates for their secret manoeuvrings in conclave, is obviously meant to contrast with Campion's and to uphold Sarpi's contentions. Dudith, as bishop of Knin in Croatia, had attended the Council of Trent in 1560 but five years later converted to Protestantism. Overall, although the polemical nature of the Latin *Historia* is evident from the paratexts, they are more subtle and sober than those of the original and this, no doubt, is in part attributable to the nature of the targeted audience, English and Continental Latin-literate readers. Cultural translation here is dictated, not by a question of accommodation to nationality, but to class.

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This essay has examined the prefatorial paratexts accompanying histories translated out of and into neo-Latin in order to explore how they acted as 'thresholds' leading the reader into the text, functioned as a means of marketing the work, and, above all, reflected changes that would make it more attractive and accessible for a new readership in a different linguistic and cultural context. Changes in titles and title-pages occur in seventeen out of the eighteen translations, with *mise-en-page* and typography playing their parts in presenting texts, authors, and subjects in a manner specifically designed to attract the eye and purse of those readers unable to access or read the original. Prefaces, dedications, addresses to the reader, and poems included in the original texts are generally excised and most often replaced by new ones, demonstrating that the translators and printers purposefully redirected the translations for a new and culturally different readership. The bulk of the changed prefatorial comments proclaim the worth of the source text or author, the value of reading histories, and the duty the translator has felt to make the work available to a wider public, while often providing additional information of a factual or ideological nature. The few comments on translating methods nevertheless assert that the translators have acted in the interests of English readers and translated in such a manner that the content of the text will be understood more easily. This often carefully and elaborately structured threshold leads the reader to venture into the unfamiliar world of the foreign text, thus contributing to the work's attractiveness and accessibility and making it more marketable. Finally, all the paratexts we have discussed exploit the

potential of the new feature of print to produce works accommodated to a different audience and thus confirm the method of cultural translating that Burke claimed as the dominant mode of history translating in the early modern period.

NOTES

1. For interlingual translation as negotiation, see Eco and, for a more theoretical approach, Pym.

2. Interestingly, Hartley's title served Burke elsewhere as a metaphor for the translator: 'The Renaissance Translator as Go-Between'.

3. Texts and translations are listed with full titles and bibliographical information in the Appendix but given in abbreviated form within the essay. Excluded are short accounts of individual historical events such as battles and massacres, documents such as letters and speeches, translations assembling and conflating within one narrative multiple texts in Latin and other languages, and translations of neo-Latin works made from an intermediary translation in another language. The texts used are the first editions of the translations and the appropriate contemporary editions of the source texts.

4. In all, over sixty individual texts of contemporary history were translated and printed in England in the period under consideration, as demonstrated by the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translation in Britain 1473-1640*, ed. Brenda M. Hosington et al. (www.hrionline.ac.uk/ rcc). They were composed in French, Latin, Italian, Spanish and Dutch, in that order of importance.

5. For a cogent discussion of these matters, see Smith and Wilson 1-14.

6. For a discussion of the subject in the context of present-day translating, see Bokar and, in far greater detail, Schopp. The only scholars to treat typography and early modern English translations in particular are Anne E.B. Coldiron and Guyda Armstrong.

7. The signed dedication with full name appears in one of the British Library's two copies, the other having only the initials, while in other copies, including those on EEBO, the dedication is cancelled.

8. The address is wrongly signed 'Thy friend, P. Golding', the name that also erroneously appears on the title-page. Both translation and address were in fact by Arthur, Percival's father. The authorship question is discussed by Golding 137-48 and 159-60.

9. Edward Chaney, in his entry for 'Richard Lassels' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, writes that Richard and his brother used Bold as their religious alias. He attributes the Baronio translation to Lassels but does not discuss the initials, paratexts or translation.

10. For the role of the Venetian embassy in promoting Sarpi's work, see Sarpi 635-741.

11. The English title, although toned down a little from the Italian original, spells out clearly the polemical nature of the work: *The historie of the Covncel of Trent. Conteining eight Bookes. In which (besides the ordinarie Actes of the Councell) are declared many notable occurrences … And, particularly, the practices of the Court of Rome, to hinder the reformation of their errors, and to maintaine their greatnesse* (London: Robert Barker and John Bill, 1620).

12. The initial letters of the first three title-words stand for Pietro, Sarpi's baptismal name that he no longer used, *suavis*, meaning agreeable or pleasant, and Paulo, the name Sarpi exchanged for Pietro.

Appendix

Baronio, Cesare. *Annales ecclesiastici.* 12 vols. Rome: Ex typographia
Congregationis Oratorii apud S. Mariam in Vallicelle, 1588-1607.

---. *The life or the ecclesiasticall historie of S. Thomas archbishope of Canterbvry.*
Colloniæ [i.e. Paris: Printed by the widow of J. Blageart], 1639. [STC 1019]

Bruni, Leonardo. *De bello Italico adversus Gothos.* Foligno: Johann Neumeister and
Aemilianus de Orfinis, 1470.

---. *The historie of Leonard Aretine, concerning the warres betwene the Imperialles
and the Gothes for the possession of Italy, a worke very pleasant and profitable.
Translated out of Latin into Englishe by Arthur Goldyng.* London: Rouland Hall
for George Bucke, 1563. [STC 3933]

Camden, William. *Annales rervm Anglicarvm, et Hibernicarvm, regnante
Elizabetha, ad annvm salvtis M. D. LXXXIX. Gvilelmo Camdeno Authore.*
London: Typis G. Stansbij, Impensis Simonis Watersoni, 1615. [Bks 1-3] [STC
4496]

---. *Annales des choses qvi se sont passees en Angleterre et Irlande sovbs le regne de
Elizabeth : ivsques a l'an de salvt M.D.LXXXIX. Traduites en Langue Françoise
par P. De Bellegent Poicteuin, A.A.P.D.P. Du Latin de Gvillavme Camden Autheur.*
London: R. Field, 1624. [Bks 1-3] [STC 4502]

---. *Tomvs alter annalivm rervm Anglicarvm, et Hibernicarvm, regnante Elizabetha,
Qui nunc demum prodit: siue pars qvarta. Autore Gvil. Camdeno.* London:
Excudebat Guil. Stansby, Impensis Simonis Wateroni, 1627. [Bk. 4] [STC 4496.5]

---. *Tomus Alter, & Idem: or the historie of the life and reigne of that Famous
Princesse, Elizabeth Containing a briefe Memoriall of the chiefest Affaires of State,
that haue passed in these Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France or Ireland, since
the yeare of the Fatall Spanish Invasion, to that of her sad and euer to be deplored
dissolution. Whereunto also is annexed an Appendix of Animaduersions Upon
seuerall passages, Corrections of sundry errours, and Additions of some remark-
able matters of this History, neuer before imprinted.* Oxford: T. Harper, 1629. [Bk.
4] [STC 4498]

---. *The historie of the life and Reigne of the most Renowmed and Victorious
Princesse Elizabeth, Late Queene of England. Contayning the most Important and
Remarkeable Passages of State, during Her Happy, Long and Prosperous Raigne.
Composed by Way of Annales, by the most Learned Mr. William Camden. And
faithfully Translated into English.* London: Printed for Benjamin Fisher, 1630).
[Bks 1-4] [STC 4500.5]

Curione, Celio Augustino. *Sarracenicae historiae libri tres, ab avtore innvmeris locis
emendati atque expoliti. In quibvs Sarracenorum, Turcarum, aliarumque gentium*

origines & res per annos septingentos gestae, continentur. Hic accessere Volfgangi Drechsleri earundem rerum Chronicon, siue breuiarium...Cum rerum & verborum in hisce praecipue memorabilium copioso indice. Basel: Oporinus, 1567.

---. *A notable historie of the Saracens. Briefly and faithfully descrybing the originall beginning, continuaunce and successe aswell of the Saracens, as also of Turkes, Souldans, Mamalukes, Assassines, Tartarians and Sophians. With a discourse of their Affaires and Actes from the byrthe of Mahomet their first peeuish Prophet and founder for 700 yeeres space. Wherunto is annexed a Compendious Chronycle of all their yeerely exploytes, from the sayde Mahomets time tyll this present yeere of grace. 1575. Drawen out of Augustine Curio and sundry other good Authours by Thomas Newton*. London: William How for Abraham Veale, 1575. [STC 6129]

Giovio, Paolo. *Turcicarum rerum commentarius Pavli Iovii episcopi Nucerini ad Carolvm .v. Imperatorem Augustum: Ex Italico Latinus factus, Francisco Nigro Bassianate interprete. Origo Turcici imperii. Vitæ omnium Turcicorum imperatorum. Ordo ac disciplina Turcicæ militæ exactissime conscripta, Eodem P. Jouio autore*. Strasbourg: Excudebat Wendelin Rihel, 1537.

---. *A shorte treatise vpon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Iouius byshop of Nucerne, and dedicated to Charles the .v. Emperour. Drawen oute of the Italyen tong in to Latyne, by Fransiscus Niger Bassianates. And translated out of Latyne into englysh by Peter Ashton*. London: E. Whitchurche, 1546. [STC 11899]

Leland, John. *Assertio inclytissimi Arturij Regis Britanniae. Joanne Lelando Antiquario autore*. London: Impressum apud Ioannem Herford, 1544. [STC 15440]

---. *A Learned and True Assertion of the original, Life, Actes, and death of the most Noble, Valiant, and Renoumed Prince Arthure, King of great Brittaine. Who succeeding his father Vther Pendragon, and right nobly gouerning this Land sixe and twentie yeares, then dyed of a mortall wound receyued in battell, together with victory ouer his enemies. As appeareth Cap. 9. And was buried at Glastenbury. Cap. 12. an. 543. Collected and written of late yeares in lattin, by the English Antiquary of worthy memory Iohn Leyland. Newly translated into English by Richard Robinson Citizen of London*. London: John Wolfe, 1582. [STC 15441]

Meteren, Emanuel van [Emanuel Demetrius]. *Historia Belgica nostri potissimum temporis, Belgii svb quatvor Burgundis et totidem Austriacis Principibus coniunctionem et gubernationem breuiter; tvrbas avtem, bella et mvtationes tempore Regis Philippi, Caroli V, Caesaris filij, ad annum vsque 1598. plenius complectens, conscripta*. Cologne: A. Mylius, 1598.

---. *A trve discovrse historicall, of the svcceeding governovrs in the Netherlands, and the Ciuill warres there begun in the yeere 1565, with the memorable seruices of our Honourable English Generals, Captaines and Souldiers, especially vnder Sir Iohn Norice Knight, there performed from the yeere 1577 vntill the yeere 1589, and after-*

wards in Portugale, France, Britaine and Ireland, untill the yeere 1598. Translated and collected by T.C. Esquire, and Ric. Ro. Ovt of the Reuerend E.M. of Antwerp, his fifteene books Historiæ Belgicæ; and other collections added: altogether manifesting all martiall actions meete for euery good subiect to reade, for defence of Prince and Countrey. London: [F. Kingston] for M. Lownes, 1602. [STC 17846]

---. A generall historie of the Netherlands. With the genealogie and memorable acts of the Earls of Holland, Zeeland, and west-Friseland, from Thierry of Aquitaine the first Earle, successiuely vnto Philip the third King of Spaine. Continued unto this present yeare of our Lord 1608, out of the best authors that haue written of that subiect: By Ed. Grimeston. London: A. Islip and G. Eld, 1608. [STC 12374]

Ocland, Christopher. Anglorvm prælia, Ab Anno Domini. 1327. Anno nimirum primo inclytiss. Principis Eduardi eius nominis tertij vsque ad annum Do. 1558. Carmine summatim perstricta. Christophoro Oclando Buckinghamiensi Anglo, Authore. London: Excudebat R. Neuberie, ex assignation Henrici Binnemani typographi, 1580. [STC 18772]

---. Ειρηναρχια siue Elizabetha. De pacatissimo Angliæ statu, imperante Elisabetha, compendiosa narratio. London: Excudebat Christophorus Barkerus Regiæ Maiestati Typographus, 1582. [STC 18775a]

---. The valiant actes And victorious Battailes of the English nation: from the yeere of our Lord, one thousand three hundred twentie and seuen: being the first yeare of the raigne of the most mightie Prince Edward the third, to the yeere 1558. Also, of the peacable and quiet state of England, vnder the blessed gouernement of the most excellent and vertuous Princesse Elizabeth. A compendious declaration written by C.O. And newly translated out of Latine verse into English meeter. By I.S. London: Robert Walde-graue, 1585. [STC 18777]

Sarpi, Paolo. Historia del concilio tridentino. Nella qvale si scoprono tutti gl'artificii della Corte di Roma, per impedire che né la verità di dogmi si palesasse, né la riforma del Papato, & della Chiesa si trattasse. Di Pietro Soave Polano. Londra: Appresso Giovan. Billio. Regio Stampatore, 1619. [STC 21760]

---. Petri Suavis Polani historiæ concilii Tridentini libri octo, Ex Italicis summa fide & accuratione Latini facti. Augustæ Trinobantum [i.e. London]: [Bonham Norton and John Bill], 1620. [STC 21764]

---. Historia particolare delle cose passate tra' l sommo pontefice Paolo V. e la serenissima repvblica de Venetia gl'anni MDCV. MDCVI. MDCVII. In Lione [Venice]: s.n., 1624.

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