

ANTHONY MUNDAY AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOME CONTINENTAL WRITINGS ON WOMEN AND LOVE

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- 268** The prolific translator, author, playwright, and intelligencer Anthony Munday produced 34 printed translations between 1585 and 1623 (excluding reprints), with a 35th entered into the Stationers' Register but now extant only in autographed manuscript form; he also edited three others.¹ These covered a wide range of subjects, although Munday has long been associated primarily with "englishing" Continental romance. This essay considers three translations that have received little attention; all were participants in the transnational and transcultural phenomenon known as the *querelle des femmes*, the controversy about women, which was responsible for the appearance of a plethora of printed works, both original and translated, praising and dispraising women, love, and marriage from the late 1400s up to 1800. The first of the three translations, *The defence of contraries. Paradoxes against common opinion, debated in forme of declamations in place of publike censure: only to exercise yong wittes in difficult matters*, was published in 1593. It was made from Charles Estienne's 1553 paraphrastic translation of Ortensio Lando's 1543 *Paradossi*, entitled *Paradoxes, ce sont propos contre la commune opinion*, and contained several essays on women, two of which Munday translated. Six years later, he engaged more fully with the genre of paradox, which constituted an important dimension of the woman debate, translating a whole work that dealt entirely with the seemingly paradoxical fact that despite women's clear moral superiority over that of men, it in no way empowered them: Alexandre de Pontaymeri's 1594 *Paradoxe apologique ou il est fidelement demonstré que la Femme est beaucoup plus parfaite que l'Homme en toute action de vertue*. Munday's translation, *A Womans Woorth, defended against all the men in the world*, was published in 1599. One year previously, he had translated a rather different *querelle*-related text, the Italian humanist Leon Battista Alberti's *Ecatomphila che ne insegna l'ingeniosa arte d'Amore*, first published in Padua in 1471. Munday's *Hecatomphila. The Arte of*

Loue. Or, Loue discovered in an hundred seuerall kindes appeared in 1598.

In producing these three translations within six years, Munday and the printers and booksellers with whom he collaborated were clearly exploiting a subject that had proved lucrative for the print trade both on the Continent and in England.² In just the decade in which his translations were published, no fewer than nine other *querelle*-related works rolled off the London printing-presses. Four were translations: Robert Tofte's *Two Tales translated out of Ariosto* (1597) and *Of mariage and wiuing* (1599), a rendering of Ercole and Torquato Tasso's *Dello ammogliarsi piacevole Contesa*, an anonymous rendering of Bruto's *La institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente* and R[ichard] S[tapleton]'s *Phyllis and Flora. The sweete and ciuill contention of two amorous ladies*, a reprint of a text that had been included in the 1595 *Ouids banquet of sense*. Translations thus accounted for seven of the twelve *querelle*-related publications, or 58.3 per cent, a much higher figure than for works in general. As I have argued elsewhere, the combined role of translation and print in spreading the popularity of the *querelle* in early modern Europe is extremely significant yet remains to be examined; virtually none of the critical works devoted to examining the "woman question" in the early modern period have taken it into consideration (see Hosington, "Transit, Translation, Transformation").³

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This essay, although limiting itself to three works "englished" by one translator, proposes to demonstrate how *querelle*-related texts undergo various forms and degrees of transformation when transmitted into a new linguistic and cultural context. Our examination of such "transmission" will focus on the cultural and material, rather than linguistic, tools of re-mediation used to adapt the foreign texts to their new audience, and more specifically on their paratexts. The liminal space occupied by the early modern title page, the title itself, and discursive items such as dedications, prefaces, prologues and notices to the reader, affords the author and printer the possibility of presenting a work to a potential reader, "structuring [his or her] approach not only to the text in question but to the experience of reading and of interpreting the world beyond the book [... it is] a space which both frames and inhabits the text" (Smith and Wilson 7). Such paratexts do, indeed, function as a "threshold," as claimed by Genette, beckoning outwards to readers and inwards to the text, shaping their reception and perception of it.⁴ Other informative paratextual features such as marginalia, indices and tables of content function in similar fashion, reaching out to aid readers but at the same time "managing" them, to use William Slight's term.

The metamorphic, shapeshifting nature of the paratext is particularly visible in the case of translations, since the linguistic and cultural, and very often historical, context differs from that of the source text.⁵ Liminal space could provide supplementary information or explanation concerning the foreign author or work, act as a "frame" for appropriating the foreign text and "making it English," and constitute a new pulpit from which to confirm, rebut, or challenge ideological or political views expressed in the text. Finally, the translation was invariably directed towards a new

dedicatee, one appropriate to the changed sociocultural context. In all these ways, the translator or new printer could manipulate the text and reader response. Moreover, these transformations could be reinforced by material features such as font, mise-en-page, and illustrations that played a similar reframing role, since they too carry meaning and can be used to “manage” readers. The present study of Munday’s three rather neglected *querelle*-related translations from the point of view of their paratextual and material features will reveal how the translator exploited his unerring ability to manipulate his readers, to date explored only with regard to his translated romances; how he transformed them through personal, and for the most part more playful, paratextual intervention; and how he and his printers, most probably working together, employed the material at their disposition to create some very English versions of their Continental originals. In short, how these three works on women underwent a “transformission” when they crossed the Channel.

- 270 The first texts to be examined are found in Charles Estienne’s *Paradoxes, ce sont propos contre la commune opinion: debatus, en forme de Declamations forenses: pour exciter les jeunes advocats, en causes difficiles*, which he himself published in Paris in two separate editions in 1553; a third was printed in the same year by Jean de Marnef in Poitiers, while another thirteen (some abridged) appeared in Paris, Caen, Rouen, and Lyon before 1593, the year in which Munday brought out his translation (see Peach). This collection of 26 paradoxes, translated paraphrastically, as Estienne himself defined the term in his preface to his 1542 translation of Terence’s *Andria* (Norton 198), was a reworking of 25 of Ortensio Lando’s *Paradossi coiè, sententie favori del comvn parere nouellamente venute in luce. Opera non men dotta, che piaceuole, & in due parti separata*, published in Lyon in 1543, ten years earlier. Four of Lando’s “paradossi” focussed on subjects to do with women: No. VIII, “Meglio è d’haver la moglie sterile, che feconda” (It is better to have a sterile than a fertile wife); No. XI, “Non esser cosa detestabile ne odiosa la moglie dishonesta” (A dishonest wife is not something loathsome or odious); No. XXI, “Non esser da dolersi la moglie muoia” (Do not lament a dead wife); No. XXV, “Che la donna è di maggior eccellentia & dignita, che l’huomo” (That woman is of greater excellence and dignity than man). Estienne omitted only one of the four, number XI, by far the most controversial and one that he perhaps found embarrassing (Peach 17).

Munday’s *Defence of Contraries* is a rendering of the first 12 “paradoxes” in Estienne’s version of Lando’s text. Since a comparison of the Italian, French, and English works demonstrates that Munday used only Estienne’s mediating text as his source, ignoring the Italian, his rendering conforms to Kittel and Frank’s definition of indirect translation: “any translation based on a source (or sources) which is itself a translation into a language other than the language of the original, or the target language” (Kittel and Frank 3). His use of a French intermediary translation is hardly unusual; his translations of Iberian romances were all mediated through French versions and French was the dominant intermediary language used in early modern translating in Britain according to the Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue

(see Hosington et al.). Indirect translations, in fact, featured fairly prominently in early modern translation, although to date this has not been sufficiently studied, while their paratexts can provide valuable information, as Maialen Marina-Carta has said about much later texts (137-39). This is certainly true of Munday's title, title page, dedication, preface, various addresses to the reader, and a postface in his *Defence of Contraries*, which, at the same time, combine to transform the reader's approach to Estienne's *Paradoxes*.

Titles and title pages played an important role in marketing early printed books, which for the most part were sold without covers; they were what caught the potential purchaser's eye and, indeed, to this end were even sometimes displayed alone as advertisements for the work (see Saenger). However, as I have argued elsewhere, the importance of the title in particular extended beyond purely commercial considerations, since the title was also designative, connotative, hermeneutic, informative, and context-specific, leading readers into the text and modulating their response to it. Translated titles had to consider all these functions but also transpose them into a new linguistic and sociocultural context. Title pages, too, often had to be redesigned to respond to different cultural and aesthetic expectations. Early modern translators and printers very often worked together to rise to these challenges, and their collaboration rather muddies the waters of authorial responsibility in terms of a work's titular and material features (see Hosington, "Textual Standard-Bearers"). Munday and his various printers were no exception.

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While we cannot know with any certainty which edition of Estienne's *Paradoxes* Munday used, his translated title demonstrates that it was not one of the three 1553 publications, which specifically addressed "jeunes advocats" (young lawyers). A second edition in 1554 published by Estienne changed the addressees to the more general "jeunes esprits" (young minds), although the title retained the term "Declamations forenses" (legal declamations) and announced the purpose of the work: to help young readers "en causes difficiles" (in difficult legal cases). Moreover, it added a new paradox specifically for lawyers, not found in Lando, and claiming the usefulness of pleading: "Paradoxe pour le plaider, que le plaider est chose vtile." It would be included in all the subsequent French editions and in a list of paradoxes Munday announced he would translate in a projected second volume. Since, in one of the reprints appearing in 1554 and all subsequent editions and reprints up to 1573, the targeted readership was widened once again, this time to include "toutes gens" (all people), then "les amateurs de bonnes lettres" (those who love good literature), we can be almost sure that Munday used Estienne's 1554 edition. However, the reprint produced by Marin Masselin for Widow Fr. Regnault in Paris added a phrase that would be retained by all subsequent editors, a slightly reworked rendering of Landi's own "Opera non meno dotta, che piaceuole" (a work not less learned than pleasing): "Traicté non moins plein de doctrine, que de recreation" (a treatise not less instructive than recreational). This, in turn, appeared, again in reworked form, in Munday's title, along with some other interesting shifts (Fig. 1).

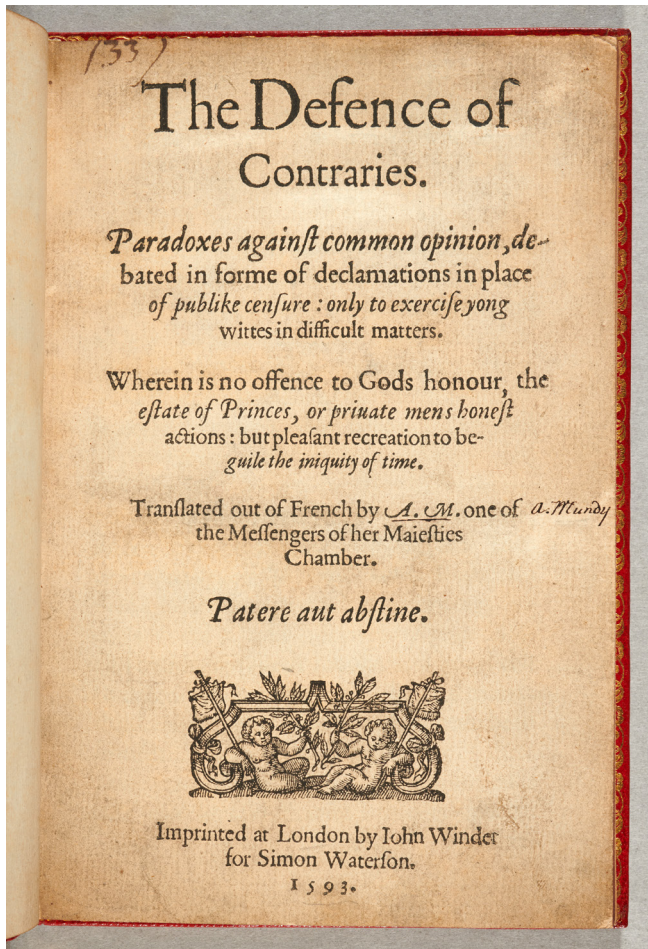


Figure 1. *The Defence of Contraries*, RB60961,
The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The English work was given a main title and a subtitle divided into three separate paragraphs based on Estienne's full title. The former, "The Defence of Contraries," is eyecatching and arresting from both a material and a semantic point of view. It uses a mix of very large and slightly smaller Roman font, with the first line in a thicker, bold-looking font. The word "defence" appeals to the reader by suggesting seriousness; it has a legal connotation suitable for a work intended for legal training; and it was a popular term in titles, as shown by the fact that the *English Short Title Catalogue* records 46 for the years 1583-93 alone.⁶ Moreover, as Margarete Zimmerman has pointed out, it was popular in titles of works related to the *querelle*. The subtitle is a mix of Roman and italic, again varying in size. The first section translates Estienne's

title quite closely, placing his definition of “paradoxes” prominently in large italics in the first line and for the most part preserving his legal terminology: “Paradoxes against common opinion, debated in forme of declamations in place of publike censure” (*declamations forenses*); the purpose of the work is “only to exercise yong wittes,” Estienne’s “jeunes esprits.” The one slip into a more general mode is the term “difficult matters,” replacing the specifically legal “causes difficiles” (difficult cases). The second paragraph tells us that in this work there is “no offence to Gods honour, the estate of Princes, or priuate mens honest actions: but pleasant recreation to beguile the iniquity of time.” This constitutes a strong defence of paradox as a genre, which is not found in any of the French titles; it covers all three sections of society—religious, political, and personal—that might, and often did, find “offence” in paradoxical writing. Significantly, it also transforms the Horatian principle of *dulce et utile* that appeared in the Italian title and all the French ones starting with the Marin Masselin edition: it dropped the notion of usefulness but emphasized the “pleasant recreation” the work affords by adding “to beguile the iniquity of time.” This is perhaps consistent with the fact that by the 1590s in England, paradoxes had become, above all, expressions of wit rather than a means of moral instruction (Pizzorno 31-32, 55).

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The third paragraph of the subtitle states openly that the work has been translated out of French but gives no author and supplies only the translator’s initials, “A.M.” This is how Munday’s name appears on 17 of his 34 translations. As Marcy North has argued, the use of initials was a popular way of representing authors on early modern title pages; in many cases it simply served practical ends, being an abbreviated form of the full name, while in others the initials were so well known that the author’s identity was clear to the potential buyer. Moreover, the use of initials did not necessarily denote modesty or a desire for anonymity. Nor, we might add, in the case of translators did it suggest inadequacy vis-à-vis the original author, as might well be thought, given the various forms of anxiety that Neil Rhodes attributes to English translation and translators,⁷ since their full names very often appeared in the paratextual materials. Such was the case with Munday’s dedications and addresses to the reader prefacing 13 of his translations, including the dedication of the *Defence*. Besides, the title page adds two clues to reveal Munday’s identity: it describes him as “one of the Messengers of her Maiesties Chamber” and prominently displays the Latin motto “Patere aut abstinere” (suffer or desist). Munday was appointed intelligencer to the Queen in 1588, and nine of his translations printed between then and 1616 announced him as such. As for the motto, it appeared on eight of these in the same period. As Louise Wilson has pointed out (211), it was filched from the Parisian printer Etienne Groulleau, whose two French translations of Spanish romances Munday used as intermediary texts for his own renderings.

Munday prefaces his translation with a dedication to Ferdinando Stanley, fifth earl of Derby, an address “To the King,” and a translation of Estienne’s address to the reader, “Av lecteur salvt,” the original authorship of which is unacknowledged. The first repositions the translation within an English context. Ferdinando Stanley Lord

Strange was a patron of the arts and particularly the theatre, having taken over his father's playing company of tumblers and turned it into one that performed plays, both at the Rose Theatre and at court. Munday wrote or collaborated on some of these. The dedication was written to console Ferdinando on his father's death in September 1593, but also, no doubt, to remind him of his patronage duties; Munday declares his affection and offers the translation as proof of his "vnfeigned zeale," adding "I likewise giue myselfe, and my very uttermost habilitie to your Honors seruice" (sig. A2^v).

274 Although couched in the conventional terms of dedicatory and consolatory epistles, the dedication nevertheless raises an issue that places it at the heart of a matter of immediate relevance to England in 1593. Hill questions why Munday is described on the title page as an "intelligencer," or pursuivant, rather than a playwright, given his position in the Strange's Men company (121). This seems even more odd since Munday was a particularly zealous "intelligencer" when it came to pursuing Catholics, yet Stanley's own religious affiliations were extremely suspect; his mother, a practising Catholic and an accused witch, had been banished from court by Elizabeth, but as a descendant of Henry VIII's sister, Mary, had bequeathed to her son a claim to the throne. Stanley had in fact been mooted as a potential successor to Elizabeth by some Jesuits and other recusants; among the latter was Richard Heskith, who, just before the publication of Munday's translation in 1593, had approached Stanley concerning this (see Manley). Yet there are two possible reasons why Munday appears here as one of the queen's "messengers" rather than as a playwright. First, as we have said, this was the usual way he was described on his title pages at the time, and the printer of the *Defence*, John Windet, was perhaps simply repeating what he had seen on translations printed in 1587, 1588, 1589, and 1592. Second, the Strange's Men company had been defiant of authority on several occasions and, despite considerable success in the 1580s, its popularity had been on the wane as of 1592 (Manley 254); indeed, the company was dissolved a few months after Munday's translation was printed.

The second paratext, "An Address to the King" (sigs. A3^{r-v}), is nothing if not mysterious. I would suggest it was written by Munday and intended as a joke, designed to inject a playfulness relevant to the work itself. Several factors point to this conclusion. First, such jocosity would be consistent with the emphasis in the title on "pleasant recreation" but also with the Lucianic, ludic perception of paradox that colours Estienne's composition, despite the accompanying pedagogical intent. Second, and more significant, Munday plays games with the reader in more than one of his translations, as we shall see below, and as Wilson has convincingly demonstrated with regard to his Iberian romances. Third, the author of the address expresses his hope that his "*Paradox' apologia*" will "pass the pikes." In his dedication of *The True knowledge of a mans owne selfe*, Munday apologizes to John Swynnerton that "in regarde of some breach of promise, concerning my Paradox Apologia" and due to "the troubles of the time, & misinterpretation of the work by some in authoritie," the work was never published. This not only supports Munday's authorship of "The Address to the King," but also explains the strongly-worded defence of paradoxes in both the

title of his *Paradoxes against common opinion* and the whole fiction of the exchange between author and king. Fourth, the expression “defend the contraries,” used twice, echoes the first line of Munday’s title. A final reason, if perhaps less convincing, is that to date no source for this paratext has been found, either in Lando, or, according to Pizzorno (quoting Peach), in any edition of Estienne’s *Paradoxes* (Pizzorno 59). Pizzorno correctly rejects the possibility that this text constitutes a printing error, but does not entertain the possibility that it is an elaborate joke.⁸

This anecdotal address puts the author, Munday, on centre stage, alongside a fictional king (since Elizabeth is still on the throne of England), who has commanded him to “set down mine opinion” of the paradoxes. The title “To the King” is placed beneath a decorative border that reinforces the joke, since in its centre sits what seems to be a large Tudor rose, and this is surmounted by a crown. It is not enough that the king has asked him to defend his paradoxes, despite having heard those of “diuerse learned Gentlemen”; the “author” further increases his own importance by likening himself to none other than Agrippa, that arch exponent of paradoxes who “deserued good report for his *Vanitas Scientiarum*,” and to Caesar for, he says, “I am of [his] mind: Jacta est alea” (the die is cast). The first reference heightens the humorous effect because Agrippa’s *De incertitudine et vanitas scientiarum et artium* had received anything but “good report,” being condemned by theologians and put on the Index by the Sorbonne, while contributing to its author’s dubious reputation as a scientist (see Van der Poel). The second amuses on account of its incongruity. An author defending his collection of paradoxes is hardly comparable to a Roman emperor crossing the Rubicon and triggering a civil war. The initials beneath the text, “R.G.S.D.M.,” increase the mystery. They could, of course, be simply made up, part of the whole fiction. On the other hand, they belonged to René Gaultier Sieur de Maignanne, who worked for the Duc de Bouillon and is mentioned in his *Mémoires*, along with Lord de la Noue, whom de Bouillon appointed ward of his sister’s lands.⁹ In 1589, Munday had translated a tract by la Noue, *The Declaration of the Lord de la Noue*, in which the Huguenot defended his siege of Sedan and Jametz on account of defending Mademoiselle de Bouillon.¹⁰ Admittedly, the connection is rather tenuous, but it would be in the spirit of Munday to create such a teasing allusion.

Estienne’s “Av lectevr salvt” is translated as “To the friendly Reader,” but is presented as an original text (sigs. A4^{r-v}). Pizzorno rather puzzlingly calls this an “abridged translation,” yet Munday follows his source closely. The address reinforces the usefulness of the paradoxes for preparing legal debates and defines their meaning, “things contrary to most mens present opinions.” In combining an omission of the French author’s name, a dedication to an English nobleman, a fictitious address to a non-existent king complete with a set of mysterious initials, and an unacknowledged authorship of the address to the reader, the paratextual materials manage to eclipse Estienne completely. The translator, on the other hand, leaves a clue as to his identity by putting his initials on the title page and signing his brief postface, thus making his authorship explicit. This paratext is addressed specifically to a male readership,

presumably composed of young lawyers, and is a fairly conventional plea for appreciation, couched nevertheless in monetary terms (“recompence,” “reward,” “passe for currant”). Munday asks them to correct any “harsh English in my rude Translation, or faults unwillingly escaped in the Printing,” correcting the former with patience and the latter with “your pennes.” The instruction sheds light on Elizabethan reading habits and the practice of using margins to correct the printed text. The translator, then, in contrast to the original author, whose name never appears and whose nationality and language are alluded to only in the phrase “Translated out of French” on the title page, is thus quite visible, providing a clear example of what Anne Coldiron has called “the changing construction of the visibility of the translator” (“Visibility Now” 195).

276 The postface, in turn, is followed by yet another paratext, “A Table of such Paradoxes, as are handled in the Second volume, which vpon the good acceptation of this first Booke, shall the sooner be published.” As Hill points out, Munday was adept at, and quite unabashed about, announcing sequels (45-46). He did so in the address to the readers prefacing his 1592 translation, *Archaioplutos. Or the riches of elder ages*, telling them to expect “a worke from the Presse very shortly,” a new version of Ariosto’s epic entitled *Orlando Amoroſo*, which, incidentally, remained unpublished. In a signed postface bearing his motto “Patere aut abſtine” he told readers of his 1596 *Palmerin of England* that he was taking action with the printer of his *Palmerin d’Oliva* to “hasten him the ſooner to ſend [it]” (sig. Ee^v); it came out the year following, promising in the address “To the Courteous Readers” that Part 2 “goes forward on the Printers preſſe [...] ſooner than you expect” (sig. *iii^v). In all theſe paratexts, as in the announcement of the ſecond volume of paradoxes, Munday managed cleverly to create anticipation in his readers, increased by the ſenſe of urgency that he imparts. Newneſſ was an important ſelling point in the marketing of early modern books (ſee Olſon), but Munday goes one ſtep further by announcing their imminent arrival before they are even printed.

In his liſt of promiſed paradoxes, Munday gives the titles of the remaining 14 found in Eſtienne’s *Paradoxes*. Two concerned women. Lando’s title, Paradoxe XXI, “Non eſſer da dolerſi la moglie muoia” (do not lament a dead wife), had become Eſtienne’s longer and explanatory “Contre celuy qui lamente la mort de ſa femme, Que la femme morte, eſt choſe vtile a l’homme” (Against him who laments the death of his wife. That a dead wife is a uſeful thing for man) (ſigs. 121^r-129^v). Munday’s “For a dead Wife. That a dead wife is a moſt profitable vertue to hir huſband, and better than a liuing Wife” ſhifts the emphasis in the firſt part of the title from the male mourner to the deceased wife. It alſo leſſens the dehumanizing effect of calling a dead wife a thing (“choſe”) but, through the uſe of puns, it nevertheless emphasizes the pecuniary benefits ſhe represents: the word “vertue” denoted both monetary value and female chaſtity, while “profitable” could alſo allude to both material and moral worth. Finally, Munday explicitly adds that the dead wife is ſuperior to the living one. The ſecond promiſed *querelle*-related paradox is “For Women. That

a womans excellence, is much greater than a mans.” This was Estienne’s Paradox No. 24, “Pour les femmes. Que l’excellence de la femme est plus grande que celle de l’homme” (sigs. 148^r-155^v), a rendering of Lando’s “Paradosso XXV. Che la donna è di maggior eccellenza che l’huomo” (sigs. L.3^v-M2^v). The subject occupied a large place in a line of works debating the worth of women and the paradox inherent in claiming their superiority (see Daenens). Indeed, as Gisela Bock has observed, “it was no coincidence that a number of woman-friendly voices presented themselves precisely as paradoxical” (6).

Munday’s intention to publish this paradox in a second volume, along with “For a Dead Wife” and Estienne’s other 13 paradoxes, came to naught, perhaps because of the resistance to the genre that he mentioned in his dedication to Swynnerton prefacing his 1602 “Heauen of the mynde.” However, not to be deterred, he published it in a different place. To date never identified, this paradox appears in 1599 as a complement to Munday’s translation of Alexandre Pontaymeri’s 1594 similarly titled paradoxical encomium, *Paradoxe apologique, ou il est fidelement demonstré que la Femme est beaucoup plus parfaite que l’Homme en toute action de vertu*. The placement of Estienne’s paradox in this volume was after all perfectly appropriate, yet Munday defended his inclusion of the text in a short introductory paragraph set out like a half-diamond-shaped title that dominates the page with its mix of large Roman and italic fonts and its separation from the text’s title by a horizontal line: “An other defence of *womens vertues*, written by an Honorable personage, of great reckoning in *Fraunce*, and therefore thought meete to be ioyned with the former discourse” (sigs. 62^r-70^v). The opening words, “An other,” clearly link it to Pontaymeri’s preceding text. A second connection is made by describing the author in the same terms as those used in the dedication of *A Womans Worth*, “written in French by a Lord of great reckoning” (sig. A2^r), while a third is the term “defence of womens vertues” that continues the running title used throughout the Pontaymeri translation. Matthew Day has demonstrated how the running title played varied hermeneutic roles that could shape the reader’s response to the work and “could be used to make a point” (47). Here, it certainly does both. The final three lines of the introductory paragraph explicitly justify the text’s inclusion: “[it is] therefore thought meete to be ioyned with the former discourse” (sig. 62^r).

Munday does not identify the author, yet he teases the reader in his usual manner by stating he is French, while at the same time affirming the importance of the text by emphasizing his status as “an Honorable personage” (in large Roman) who enjoys “*great reckoning*” (in italics). By the same token, of course, this authorizes his translation. Despite the claimed appropriateness of this text in the Pontaymeri volume, the translation functions in a different way from Estienne’s French version, in which it was just one of a series of paradoxes on a variety of subjects. Here, it is a standalone text, enjoying greater visibility and thus serving to support more forcefully the argument in favour of women’s superiority presented by a new French author some forty years later.

That author was Alexander Pontaymeri, a Huguenot man of property, soldier, and poet, who published his *Paradoxe apologique, ou il est fidèlement démontré que la Femme est beaucoup plus parfaite que l'Homme en toute action de vertu* in 1594 with Abel l'Angelier, a Parisian printer of importance and *libraire juré* licensed to sell university publications at the Palais de Justice. He had printed Marie de Romieu's reworking of Estienne's Paradox XXIV on the subject of women's superiority back in 1581 and in the years between 1594 and 1600 produced a second edition of the *Paradoxe apogetique* and several more works by and about women (Warner 164-71). By the 1590s, the paradoxical encomium of women, a first example of which was Agrippa's 1529 *Declamatio de nobiltate et praecellentia fœminei sexus*, was well established as a genre in the continuing proliferation of *querelle*-related works. Pontaymeri owes much to it, and also to Lando's and Estienne's paradoxes on the subject. However, as Richard Carr convincingly argues, he offers a new perspective on the matter of female superiority, blaming false interpretations of history for the

278 disparaging portraits of women that a long line of authors had bequeathed, while denying Estienne's definition of paradox as a point of view that contradicts common opinion, thus, in the case of encomium, discrediting the object of praise.

Munday's translation of the *Paradoxe apologique* appeared in 1599 under the imprint of John Wolfe, an equally prodigious if rather more controversial printer and bookseller than L'Angelier, although he too held an official position, Printer to the City of London. Like Pontaymeri's volume, Wolfe's was in duodecimo format, but the material similarities end there. As was the case for Munday's previous translation, the French and English title pages, titles, and discursive paratexts all demonstrate transformative changes that make the English work very different from its source text.

In appearance, the title pages are very similar, displaying a mix of large and smaller Roman font and a sparing use of italics (Figs. 2 and 3). The titles, however, are not. Pride of place on the French page is given to the word "Paradoxe" and its slightly smaller qualifier, "apologique"; this, as Carr points out (255), does not denote the same thing as an "Apologie paradoxale" but points to Pontaymeri's defence of a doctrine that had always been considered nothing more than a paradox. Be that as it may, the English page makes no mention of paradox at all. The alliterative "Womans Woorth" dominates both visually and affectively, authoritatively announcing the subject of the work, and is followed by a long, hyperbolic declaration of female superiority. While the French says simply that the work faithfully demonstrates that woman is "beaucoup plus parfaite que l'Homme" (much more perfect than man), a soberly articulated if controversial claim, the English pronounces rather exaggeratedly that she is to be "defended against all the men in the world," thereby pre-empting universal male criticism; moreover, the work proves that not only is she more perfect, but also more "excellent and absolute" in virtue, and not simply than men in general, but "then any man of what qualitie soeuer." The use of italics for "against all the men"

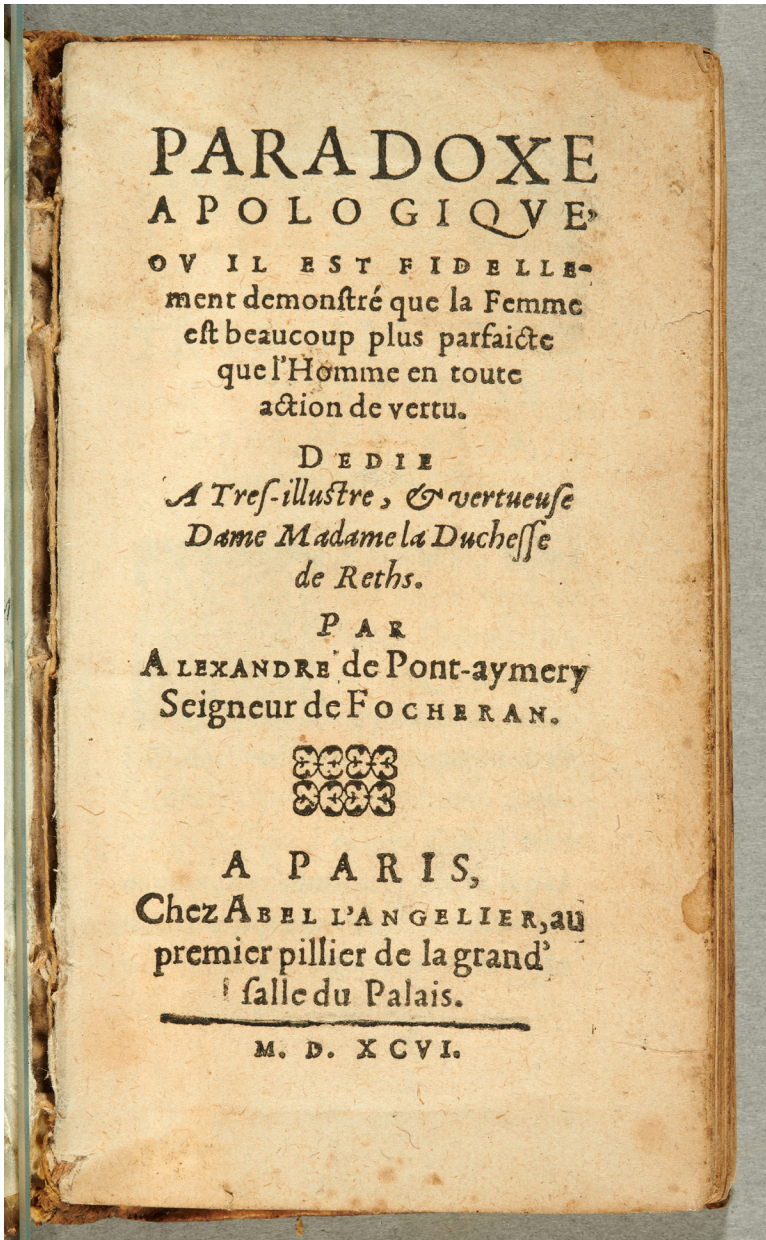


Figure 2. *Paradoxe apologique ov il est fidellement demonst^ré que la Femme est beaucoup
pus parfaicte que l'Homme en toute action de vertu,*
RB 381373, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

A
WOMANS
Woorth, defended
against all the men
in the world.

Proouing them to be
more perfect, excellent and
absolute in all vertuous
actions, then any man of
what qualitie soeuer.

Written by one that hath
heard much, seene much, but knowes
a great deale more.

Patere aut abstine.



Imprinted at London by *John Wolfe,*
and are to be solde at his shop in
Popes head Alley, neere the
Exchange. 1599.

Figure 3. *A Womans Woorth, defended against all the men in the world*, RB59965, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

and “then any man of” emphasizes the intensity of the statements but at the same time contributes to the hyperbolic nature of the title, sounding a very different tone from the French and alerting the reader to a possibly ludic treatment of the subject announced.

Another difference between the French and English texts is that while the name and title of the author appear clearly in the centre of the French title page, no names feature on its English counterpart. Rather, they are replaced by the mysterious and ambiguous “Written by one that hath heard much, seene much, but knowes a great deal more,” surely a teasing manipulation of the convention of anonymity. The ambiguity of “Written” and “one,” which could indicate either author or translator, and the use of anonymity are nevertheless rather undercut by the appearance of the Latin motto “Patere aut abstinere,” which, as noted above, was used by Munday on other translations. Here, however, it adds a peculiarly ironic, and even paradoxical, touch; “suffer or desist” is not an entirely appropriate message for a work that pretends sympathy for women.

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One final difference commands attention. The identity of the dedicatee, rather unusually, appears above the author’s name in the centre of the French title page. The “Tres-illustre, & vertueuse Dame Madame la Duchesse de Reths” was Claude-Catherine de Clermont, also known as the Mareschale de Retz, as the title page of L’Angelier’s 1594 edition demonstrates. She was a member of the court and a friend of Marguerite de Valois and Catherine de Medici, as well as a popular and respected host of one of Paris’s literary salons, a member of an elite coterie, and a poet in her own right, although none of her work is extant. She had been praised as a “learned lady” by Marie Romieu in her 1581 *Brief discours* but also by several male authors such as Théodore Agrippa d’Aubigné and Estienne Pasquier in the 1590s (see Campbell). Her husband was Pontaymeri’s patron and supporter, despite the author’s Huguenot religion. The use of her title rather than her name, along with Pontaymeri’s title, “Seigneur de Focheram,” suggests a volume intended for a fairly elite readership, and this is maintained by the two paratexts he addresses to her, a dedication titled “A tres-illustre et vertueuse Dame, Madame la Duchesse de Reths” (sigs. Aii^r-Aiii^v) and a 44-line poem in alexandrines, “Hymne de l’Auteur. A Madame, Madame la Duchesse Reths” (sigs. Aiv^v-Avi^r). Calling her “l’unique merveille de ce temps” (the unique wonder of the present time), Pontaymeri applies Hermes Trismegistus’s description of the divinity and Sappho’s representation of perfection to her. The Sappho quotation leads into a declaration that he has written this work presenting the virtues of her gender so that, by depicting the history of many women, he will make their infinite graces known to an infinite number of men (sig. Aiii^r).

The dedication thus, indeed, acts as a threshold into the work, for Pontaymeri’s argument is that “woman represents nothing more nor less than physical and moral perfection: she is ‘le chef d’œuvre du souverain artisan’ (152), while her soul is ‘l’entiere image de Dieu’ (153)” (Carr 250). The poem repeats the religious vocabulary of the dedication: the words of Madame de Retz, “Princesse des vertus,” are “oracles,”

her thoughts “divine” and her actions “miracles,” while her comportment is “celestial.” It also reprises the image of the sun found in Sappho’s description of perfection, likening Madame de Retz, a “modest sun,” to Apollo emerging at dawn and restoring gold in the sky. Furthermore, the dedication prepares the reader for a new way of addressing the question of paradox, which Pontaymeri says is how other men will qualify his work; he is defending a belief that most people thought was a paradox but that he holds as truth, even if had only Mme de Retz’s perfection as proof that women’s superior virtue has long been wrongly overlooked.

282 The discursive paratexts of the English translation, like their French counterparts, direct the work to a socially elite female readership. Munday, however, unlike Pontaymeri, addresses not one woman of the court but four: Elizabeth Vernon Countess of Southampton and three “vertuous Maydes of Honor, to her royal Maiesty,” Anne Russell, Margaret Ratcliffe, and Mary Fitton; he also widens his focus to include a dedicatory epistle to “all the Honorable Ladies, and Gentlewomen of England.” The epistle to the three maids of honour also allows the author to allude to Queen Elizabeth, “the only vertuous Ladye and Maide in the Worlde,” while in the sonnet to Margaret Ratcliffe he mentions two English poets, Edmund Spenser and Samuel Daniel. One final important distinction between Pontaymeri’s choice of dedicatee and Munday’s selection of recipients of epistles and sonnets remains. Mme de Retz’s reputation reposed on her learning, wit and culture, praise of which outweighed the rumours of dubious morality (Campbell 3). Elizabeth Vernon, on the contrary, incurred the queen’s wrath for getting pregnant in 1598 and secretly marrying the child’s father, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. Both were briefly imprisoned in the Fleet and never regained Elizabeth’s favour. Mary Fitton, too, was known for her affairs.¹¹ Moreover, none of the dedicatees was known for her learning, and all are praised simply as sources of inspiration for male writers. These paratexts, then, result in a complete “englishing” of the foreign work, but also a transformation of it in terms of the different social, cultural, and intellectual contexts in which it was created.

Yet another joke Munday plays on his readers, one of which I and others have been victims, contributes to his paratextual shifts. The epistle to Elizabeth Vernon is signed “Your Honours euer obliged. Anthony Gibson,” and the epistle to the ladies and gentlewomen of England, “Yours euer most deuoted. Anthony Gibson.” The account given by “Gibson” of how his “fellow and friend” entrusted him with the translation and how other “diuers [...] good friends” encouraged him to present it in public somehow had the ring of truth. First, the usual topos of the reluctant translator with ambitious, publication-oriented friends is here reversed; second, this same “Gibson” contributed a poem to Munday’s 1602 translation, *The third and last part of Palmerin of England*, in which he purportedly defends Munday as a translator and praises his work (sig. A3^v); finally, various catalogues and bibliographies, as well as the few scholars who have written on *A Womans Woorth*, have believed the fiction and attributed the whole work to Gibson. Even Hill, discussing the ambiguity of the

signed paratexts and saying that Gibson's "indeterminate" use of pronouns makes himself and his friend "undistinguishable," with "needs and motives [that] are as one" (52-53), fails to expose Gibson as a figment of Munday's imagination. Munday and Gibson are indeed one, but in a literal sense, as had been Munday and "Lazarus Pyott," the pretended author of Book II of Munday's *Amadis de Gaule*, printed in 1595.¹²

Munday plays a final joke on the reader in the two remaining discursive paratexts, an epistle "To all the Honorable Ladies, and Gentlewomen of England" (sigs. A8^r-A9^v) and an address "To the Reader" (sigs. A10^r-A10^v). The first is a translation of Pontaymeri's dedication, the second of his "Av Lectevr" (sig. Aiv^r), although Munday does not admit this. Again, he domesticates and changes the paratexts. He executes a shift in the dedication by replacing Pontaymeri's one French recipient with a group of Englishwomen. A cheeky final sentence promises "I shall binde all my hability to a further employment, eyther of enlarging this, or anything else wherein I may doe you seruice," and an even cheekier Latin-spelled signature, "Anonimus," follows. Munday's translated address to the reader strikes an even more different note from Pontaymeri's text. The French addressee is simply called "Amy," whereas Munday's is "Friend or foe," followed by the dismissive "I care not whether." Speaking of potential criticism, Pontaymeri says generously, "[la censure] ie receuray tousiours en bonne part de toy," which Munday directly translates as "I will take all in good part from thee" but undercuts by adding "euen till thou hast run thy mallice out of breath." While Pontaymeri's modesty topos indicates that should someone write a better book, his own "petit cayer" (little work) will be a mere "ombre" (shadow) of it, Munday's takes the form of an extended and more negative avian metaphor: his work is a "scant fledge" needing "some royall Birde" to protect it "from greedie Cormorantes" and defend it "vnder the shaddowe of her wings." The mention of foes, malice, and greedy cormorants perhaps reflects his uneasiness with the paradox genre alluded to in his "Address to the King."

The third *querelle*-related text to be discussed here is Leon Battista Alberti's *Ecatomphila che ne insegna l'ingeniosa arte d'Amore*, a conservative treatise instructing women, through the ventriloquized voice of a woman of experience named Ecatomphila, how to find and keep a lover. She has learnt only too dearly that the way to such success is by submission. The lover is portrayed in idealistic terms as virtuously modest, wise, and above all a man of letters. The work, composed in Alberti's youth, is extant in eleven manuscripts and was first printed one year before Alberti's death by the Paduan printer Lorenzo Canozzi in 1471 as volume one in a quarto edition titled *Baptistae de Albertis poetae, laureati de amore liber optimus feliciter incipit*. It went through twelve Italian editions before 1580 and was twice translated into French, the first time in 1534, followed by no fewer than twelve editions before 1540, and the second in 1584, re-edited in 1596 and 1597 in a bilingual format with the Italian text and facing French translation (Furlan 165-68). As with Estienne's *Paradoxes*, we cannot be sure which of the many available editions or reprints served

as Munday's source text.

A perusal of the Padua *editio princeps* and Venice 1534 edition of the *Hecatompnila*, the 1537 reprint of the 1534 French translation, the subsequent 1584 one, and its 1597 re-edition as a bilingual text establishes only that Munday did not use the earlier French translation. However, given the presence of some words and phrases found only in the Italian text and others found only in the French translation (a close rendering of the original), he quite probably used the bilingual edition.¹³ Since his translation was entered in the Stationers' Register on December 16, 1597 and was printed in 1598, he might well have had access to it. Only one other thing is certain: Anthony Munday is the translator of the text, as will be demonstrated below.

284 The English title page, unlike the Italian and French, places the Greek name of the female speaker in evidence by separating it from the title and placing it in a cartouche. Its commercial value as a prestige marker is thus enhanced. The first line of the title is in large Roman font, "The Arte of Loue." This allusion to Ovid's *Ars amatoria* had appeared in the original Italian title as "arte d'Amore" and was repeated in all the subsequent ones except for the Venice 1491 and 1524 editions, as well as in the 1584 French translation and its reprints, which included the phrase "contenant l'art d'aymer"; this, too, was a prestige marker and thus constituted a selling point. The English translation reinforces the connexion between the Ovidian and Albertian works with its running title, "The Arte of Loue." The remainder of the main title explains the word "Hecatompnila," which neither the Italian editions nor the later French translation apparently found necessary: "Loue discouered in an hundred seuerall kindes." The author, named in the Italian and French titles, is completely absent from the English title page, as is his intent for the work to be instructive: Alberti's "insegna la ingeniosa arte d'amore" and the French "enseigne l'art d'aymer" are ignored. The title at the head of the text, however, mentions both author and intent: "Master Leon Baptista Alberto, Florentine, wherein is taught an hundred kindes of Loue" (sig. B^r).¹⁴

Alberti prefaced his treatise with an affectionate but instructive dedication to his young relative, Nerozzo, warning the young man and his lover of the possible pains and ill effects of love ("dolori e mali"), which, he says, you should know about and be disgusted by ("sappiate e schifiate"), spurning the irrational behaviour that encourages them. He describes the work as "non meno eloquente che pratica, maestra delle cose amatorie" (not less eloquent than practical, a guide in matters of love). However, the dedication did not appear in all the manuscript versions or in any printed editions before 1491, while the 1528 Venice edition by Sessa, which included Alberti's other text, *Deifera*, was prefaced by a new dedicatory letter. It was addressed by Niccolò Garanta, an editor and bookseller in Venice, to a member of a powerful Venetian family, Giovanni Erizo, praising both works as "due dilettevoli operette" (two delightful, light little works). The subject of the *Ecatompnila* was, he explained, to show that love can make "scempii e rozi, saggi e gentili ne fa divenire [...] come scrive esser di Cimone accaduto il Boccaccio" (people who are destructive and coarse

become wise and courteous, as happened, Boccaccio writes, in the story of Cimone) (A1^v). He goes on to say that Alberti wrote truthfully but also, not less important, humorously; however, the works should only be read by those who will not be misled by them, such as, of course, Erizo. Both dedications are addressed by men of letters to familiars (a relative and a friend) who belong to a similar elite, well-educated circle, and both respect the humanist conventions of dedicatory epistle composition. The French translation of 1584 and its reprints contained no dedication or other prefatory materials.

Munday prefaces his translation with a dedication and an “Argument” that provide the context in which Hecatonphila delivered her monologue, while he or the printer also included a ten-line Latin poem by the writer and translator Francis Meres. The dedication, as well as inevitably domesticating the text by being addressed to an Englishman rather than an Italian, is written in a very different strain. The dedicatee is Henry Prannell, son of a wealthy vintner and Alderman of London, a lawyer in the Middle Temple, and the husband of Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas, first Viscount Howard of Bindon and cousin of Baron Thomas de Walden, later Earl of Suffolk. The dedication is entitled “To the Right Worshipful Ma: Henry Prannell Esquire, the true Friend and Fauourer of all laudable Professions” (sig. A4^r). The term “Fauourer” suggests that the translator enjoyed—or hoped to enjoy—his patronage, although there is no record of any support given by him to either Munday or the Rose theatre in 1598. The expression “laudable Professions” presumably refers to those of vintner and lawyer, but Munday, once again, might well be speaking tongue in cheek, as it were, since those that he himself practised were certainly not considered “laudable”: actor, playwright, translator, spy.

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The first sentence alerts us to the fact that Munday is up to his old tricks, playing games with the reader in reworking the topos of the translator entreated by a friend to translate and publish a text. Here, he even outdoes Alberti in ventriloquizing his female speaker; he impersonates her, casting himself as the Italian translator of the text but signing the dedication “Hecatonphila”: “I being a Stranger and neuer treading on English ground till this instant,” she says, am “intruding myselfe as a guest” in choosing Prannell “as my first Entertainer.” The person to blame for this presumption is “a kinde Countriman of yours, who would needes haue mee leaue my honourable Friends in Italy, and those great preferments allotted me in France, to trie the aire & climate of faire Englands Maiden Kingdome” (sig. A4^v). In a final joke, the speaker says “The rude English I speak, I leardn it of him” but then begs that “if you allow me any grace, bestow it on him,” since his affection is greater than that of many and therefore “(in mine opinion) if you trie him, you shall finde him as forward to your welfare as anie” (sig. A5^r). Three clues confirm Munday’s authorship of the translation: the persona of the “Stranger,” with its double meaning of foreigner and bizarre person, hinted at in the punning statement, “the stranger my these my salutations seeme vnto ye, in that being a Stranger [...]”; the humorous yet appropriate feminizing of England as a “Maiden Kingdome,” pointing both outwards to Elizabeth, the

virgin queen who had been unable to find a husband, and inwards to the text, where an authoritative woman prescribes the supposedly correct way to do so; and finally, in a typical Munday-like flourish, the signature of the fictional Ecatonphila herself.

The second discursive paratext, "The Argument," is original to Munday, although based on and expanding the setting described at the beginning of Alberti's text. There, Ecatonphila delivers her monologue while waiting for a play to begin. Seeing her "sisters" in the theatre desperately searching around for a lover, she decides to help them by telling them how to find one. She breaks off only when the actors have put on their costumes and the performance is about to begin, but promises, ironically, to divulge more "amorose astuzie piu dotte" (more learned amorous tricks) at a different time and place. Munday retains the theatre setting but moves it from an unnamed location to a fictitious one, the wedding of Ludovico, son of Vincentio Bentivoli, Duke of Ferrara, and Annabella, daughter of the Marquis of Mont-Ferrat. As Matthew Steggle has pointed out, three of these people were completely imaginary, while the fourth, the Marquis, should have been upgraded to a Duke by then.¹⁵ The "idle howres" at the celebration were spent in "stately Tragedies, and queint conceited Comedies" but when neither this nor other activities sufficed to occupy the guests, there was discourse on various subjects, one of which was "Loue, laying downe Rules, grounds, and principles, whereby (at full) to instruct the true Arte of Loue" (sig. A7^v). While "a pleasant Comedie" was being prepared, Hecatophila, "chiefe Speaker" in the discourse about love, decided to speak once again, for already "shee had indifferently instructed the company [...] concerning the proceeding in so weightie a matter." Thus Alberti's theatre setting is retained in the "Argument" but its role is transformed into a paratextual one, namely to provide a space in which to focus on, and convince the reader about, the issue to be treated in the work. It also possibly looks outwards, beyond the work itself. Other debates on love and women had been couched in dialogue form, such as Castiglione's *Corteggiano* or, more specifically, Lodovico Domenichi's *La nobiltà delle donne*, also set in the context of a marriage celebration. Secondly, as Steggle points out, it links the work to several English plays, one lost but two by Shakespeare: a Vincentio Bentivoli appears in *The Taming of the Shrew* and a Marquess of Montferrat in *The Merchant of Venice*, both performed in the 1590s.

A final word must be said about the social context within which this translation and its paratexts were produced. In discussing the first French translation, Nancy J. Vickers identifies a courtly coterie enamoured of all things Italian and a print network stretching across Paris that enabled the composition, production and consumption of the *Hecatophila*, thus making available a text that offered "courtly pleasures to a market of aspiring bourgeois professionals" (171). Although the English *Hecatophila* was not based on this translation, we can point to a similar context for its production. As in France, Italian works were very popular, especially those dealing with the woman question. The setting for the story remains a courtly one, with Hecatophila and her audience being presented as noblewomen; the English

translation nevertheless emphasizes the courtliness by naming the nobles and the aristocratic occasion and location in the “Argument.” Moreover, the English dedication also has a threefold courtly connection. Henry Prannell’s wife, Frances Howard, was of noble lineage. Munday’s translation was offered to Prannell on his return to England after a long trip abroad in 1597, during which time Frances had fallen in love with the Earl of Southampton; he in turn was conducting an affair with Elizabeth Vernon, Queen Elizabeth’s maid of honour who, one year later, would be the chief dedicatee of Munday’s *Womans Woorth*.¹⁶ Finally, Frances had been a ward of no less powerful a courtier than William Cecil, Lord Burleigh before illicitly marrying Prannell.

The print context is rather different from that represented by the network of Parisian printers responsible for the many editions of the 1534 translation, who apparently borrowed, bought or stole images and text from one another (Vickers 175-79). It is nevertheless equally complex. The four men involved in the production of the English translation, and with one another, are the printer, Peter Short; the bookseller, William Leake; the contributor of a commendatory poem, Francis Meres; and of course Anthony Munday himself. Short was a prolific printer who produced, among other things, works by Marlowe, Drayton, Greene, and Nashe, and a second edition of Mary Sidney’s *The tragedie of Antonie*. More important for the *Hecatonphila* context, however, is his publication of several quarto editions of Shakespeare’s plays and other plays by Daniel, Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher. His interest in the theatre, especially the Rose, must have forged a link with Munday. So too, perhaps, did his interest in translation, since over one-third of his publications were translated works. William Leake, for whom Short printed *Hecatonphila* and six other works, was also related to Munday and continued to be so. Three years after *Hecatonphila*, he ordered the publication of a play written for the Admiral’s Men by Munday and Henry Chettle, *The death of Robert, earle of Huntington*; the following year, he ordered Munday’s translation of Philippe de Mornay’s *True knowledge of a mans owne selfe* from James Roberts, with whom Munday was involved in editing works in the Bodenham Miscellanies, a series that included Meres’s *Palladis tamia*;¹⁷ then, in 1605, Leake ordered the printing of Munday’s translation *The Dumble divine speaker* from R. Bradock.

Francis Meres was connected with Short, who printed his *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury*... in 1598, but also rather notoriously with Munday, whom he described as “the best plotter” on the English stage (sig. 283^v), praise that would earn the playwright mockery at the hands of Jonson in his 1609 edition of *The case is altered*. Another connection between Meres and Munday is in their choice of dedicatees. As David Kathman points out, Meres’s dedicatees for his *Palladis tamia*, and also his 1598 *Granados deuotion*, were members of the Middle Temple; so too, we remember, was Munday’s Henry Prannell (National Archives Wills. Prob.11/65/112: 4-6). Last but by no means least, there is a connection in material form: Meres’s Latin ten-line encomium prefacing the *Hecatonphile*, “In Artem amandi. Decastichon” (sig.

A6"). The title evokes, once again, Ovid's *Ars amatoria* or *De arte amandi*, but also Munday's title, *The Arte of Loue*. Meres places Munday in the company of Cicero, apparently the latter's favourite Classical author (Hill 49), and Apelles, both of whom incurred envy on account of their excellence, as Munday will do, and tells him to scorn criticism because the "liber est nitidus, miscetur & utile dulci" (the book is refined, mixing profit and pleasure). The poem ends with praise of the "Candidus Interpres" (Splendid Translator) and "optimus Author" (very good Author). While neither the poetry nor the sentiments expressed are out of the ordinary, the use of Latin in this volume seems out of place. Meres, who had pretensions of becoming a university man, also chose to pen an address to the reader of the *Palladis tamia* in Latin, published in the same year as the *Hecatonphila*, but his intention there apparently was to prevent the printer from reading that Meres called him stingy (see Kathman). Here, the Latin poem demonstrates Meres's standing as a scholar, but by the same token it enhances the authority of the translator. Moreover, Latin paratexts

288 prefacing a vernacular text were also intended to raise the tone of the volume and could constitute a selling point by appealing to a wider—or more status-conscious—readership. All these factors were no doubt at play in the choice to include the "In Artem amandi" poem but, perhaps, so too was Hecatonphila's insistence that men of letters made the best husbands.

In translating these three works, Munday participated in the transnational cultural phenomenon that was the *querelle des femmes*. It had started in England, thanks to translation, with Caxton's 1484 rendering of *Le livre du chevalier de la Tour de Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*, Wynkyn de Worde's early publications of translated French anti-feminine satires, and Bryan Ansley's 1521 translation of Christine de Pisan's *Cité de dames*. Translation into and out of various languages guaranteed its continuation throughout the sixteenth century and beyond, with reworked and repackaged texts on women and love bringing commercial success to English printers. Such texts, however, were invariably transformed to suit a new readership in a different sociocultural and even historical context. One powerful way in which translators and printers could affect such changes was through transforming paratextual and material features. Munday was a past master in the art of such manipulation. Dedicating his translations to English potential patrons and peppering his dedications with allusions to English culture contributed greatly, and inevitably, to domesticating his texts for a new readership. Changing the focus of the original by making substantive changes to titles and title-page layouts presented the work in a very different light to the potential buyer. His discursive paratexts set a far more jocular tone, not entirely inappropriate for Estienne's and Pontaymeri's paradoxes or contrary to Alberti's light touch in admonishing his young dedicatee, but shaping a different response in the English reader since they downplay the instructive elements of the original texts. Furthermore, the use of a persona, as in the *Hecatonphile* dedication, the creation of fictional events presented as real, as in the address prefacing the *Defence of contraries*, and the teasing manipulation of the convention of anonym-

ity all contributed to presenting these Continental writings in a new and English way. At the same time, they made the translator visible, placing him centre-stage, even if in the guise of an author in the court of a king, or a woman of a hundred loves, and eclipsing the original author. Munday thus distinctly transformed these three texts, yet in transmitting them, he contributed in some measure to slaking the seemingly endless thirst for works on women and love.

NOTES

1. Two bibliographies included in monographs on Munday contain many but not all the translations (Hamilton; Hill); the only general study of Munday as translator, admittedly very brief, mentions but seventeen (Moore).
2. Munday himself contributed another three: "The heaven of the mynde, or The myndes' heaven," dated February 1603 but never printed, was attributed to Isabella Sforza, whom he praises in his dedication (BL Additional MS. 33384); *A true and admirable historie, of a mayden of Consolens* (1603), told the story of a young woman who did not eat for three years but survived unharmed; *A most Christian epistle, written by [Charlotte Tremouille], to the ladyes of Fraunce* (1608), recounting her conversion to Protestantism, was addressed by Munday "To those mis-led Ladies and Gentlewomen of England," recusants who read Catholic books and were seduced by "Popish Seminaries and Popish Priests."
3. One notable exception is Anne Coldiron's discussion of the subject regarding early modern English translations printed between 1476 and 1557 (*English Printing*).
4. Genette's other claim that the liminal space provides a place for authorial and editorial control, guiding the reader into the text and "ensuring a destiny consistent with the author's purpose," has been convincingly challenged by Smith and Wilson with regard to early modern English printed works. They consider his focus on front matter to the virtual exclusion of other paratextual features similarly inappropriate and also limiting, since Renaissance paratexts are far more varied and complex.
5. For a detailed discussion of the factors influencing paratextual use by early modern translators and printers of translations, see Belle and Hosington (1-23).
6. Patrizia Grimaldi Pizzorno rightly points out that titles with "defence" and "apology" sold well and that such Latinate terms suggest gravitas; however, she attributes their use to "hack writers" (58), seemingly unaware it is in no way limited to authors of this ilk and that printers, working alone or sometimes in collaboration with authors, were often responsible for the choice of titles and title-page layout. Moreover, the opinion of Munday as a hack writer has been convincingly countered by Tracey Hill (44-49).
7. Rhodes discusses English Renaissance translators' use of paratextual space to express various forms of status anxiety but does not address the question of anonymity.
8. The only other comment on this paratext is by Celeste Turner, who clearly took it at face value. The paradoxes, she says, "must have pleased even the King of France to whom 'R.G.S.D.M.' dedicated them" (90-91).
9. They also appeared on the title page of a work by an Angevin mathematician of the same name, whose *Invention nouvelle et briève pour reduire en Perspective par le moien du quarré toutes sortes de Plans...* was published in 1648, although written much earlier. Obviously, Munday could not have known this work.
10. De la Noue was certainly popular in England, especially with the spy-master Walsingham. His *Politicke and militarie discourses* had been translated by Edward Aggas one year before Munday's

Declaration and an anonymous *Discourse upon the Declaration published by the Lord de la Noue* was published by Wolfe in 1589.

11. In 1601, William Herbert was sent to the Fleet for making Mary pregnant and refusing to marry her. She had further liaisons with two other men whose children she bore. For more on Fitton, see O'Day (1590).
 12. Muriel St. Clare Byrne, arguing that "Lazarus Pyott" was a pseudonym for Munday, offered as one reason the fact that Munday's anonymous publications between 1595 and 1599 had a "highly suspicious element of one sort or another" (241). Celeste Turner demonstrated that the "Lazarus Pyott" hoax was more convoluted than at first appeared and involved other subsequent misrepresentations and deceptions on the part of Munday and his friend Henry Chettle. Louise Wilson discusses the elaborate paratextual fictions created by Munday and Chettle in the second part of *Gerileon of England* and *The second book of Primaleon of Greece*.
 13. The flyleaf of the British Library copy of the bilingual edition (Shelfmark 8416.a.57) has an anonymous handwritten notice dated December 28, 1963 stating that "the translation seems to have been made rather from the French than from the Italian." No reasons for this opinion are given.
 14. The Italian designation of Alberti as "Fiorentino" does not appear in the French title.
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15. Steggle discusses the translation in the context of English theatre but makes no comment on the translation *per se* or the role of its paratexts; he also puts into question Munday's authorship.
 16. Donald W. Foster first suggested Frances as the author of the translation and identified a few passages as proof that the work referred to Henry's absence. In fact, they are found in Alberti's text and in both French translations. Later, he attributed the work to Munday but insisted that Frances was "transparently figured as 'Hecatonphila' [...] an affectionate and faithful wife during her husband's absence, Penelope-like" ("Stuart, Frances"). However, the fictitious woman, with her hundred loves and amorous wiles, and the real one, with her extramarital pursuit of the Earl of Southampton, hardly evoke Homer's long-patient Penelope.
 17. Celeste Turner Wright describes some of the theatre and print connections linking Meres.

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