Early Modern Cultures of Translation

Edited by

Karen Newman and Jane Tylus

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Introduction

KAREN NEWMAN AND JANE TYLUS

> *Evans.* What is *lapis*, William?
> *Will.* A stone.
> *Evans.* And what is "a stone," William?
> *Will.* A pebble.
> *Evans.* No; it is *lapis*.
> —Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* IV, i, 26–30

Would there have been a Renaissance without translation?[1] According to the scholars whose essays are gathered in this collection, the answer is a resounding no. In demonstrating not only the choices individual translators made in translating ancient and contemporary texts, but as Peter Burke puts it, the "collective processes of transmission" that characterized early modernity, this volume reveals how critical translation is to our understanding of the period and its definition of itself. Given, moreover, that early modern translation was so often a collaborative venture in ways seldom considered today, these essays contest a version of the Renaissance that is still too often read in terms of a glorified individual who broke free from guilds, courts, and confraternities to pursue intensely personal forms of self-expression. Instead, we ask what are the differences that a focus on translation can make in retelling the story of early modernity—and what are the differences that story can make for current thinking about translation?

The studies that follow—beginning with Burke's own essay—both revisit canonical texts (*Don Quixote*, the King James Bible, Shakespeare's *Taming of* *the Shrew*) and comment on lesser-known works (macaronic poetry, Katherine Philips's translations of Corneille, a little-known treatise of Louise Labé translated by Robert Greene) as they highlight translation practices in the period: a story about collectivities and collaborations, of "borrowings" and thefts, about drearily accurate renderings of "alien" texts and generative misprisions. As they span the period from 1400 through 1800, our contributors analyze and theorize the work that translators did in early modern Europe and the Americas, as well as in at least one non-European domain: China, which presents a fascinating case study and counternarrative in its own right. Moreover, in opening up early modernity to the questions posed by contemporary translation theorists and practitioners, many of the essays suggest that current preoccupations with fidelity, accuracy, authorship, and proprietary rights were alien to this moment formative for the production of the vernaculars in which we speak and write today. At the same time, the essays also reveal preoccupations with gender, professionalism, mobility, and epistemological uncertainties that characterize our postmodern era.[2]

In short, these essays not only emphasize the variety and quantity of translation in early modern Europe; they also demonstrate how such a broad scope makes early modern translation an ideal locus for considering translation in its linguistic and historical specificity, as well as its theoretical dimension. Thus one ongoing question in translation studies has been the extent to which a text's cultural specificity should be updated or conserved. Should it be "domesticated" for its new readers, or remain "foreign"? Is the production of historical distance a feature of readability or unreadability? Writing at the close of the early modern era to which this volume is dedicated, the eighteenth-century German theorist Friedrich Schleiermacher famously observed that there are two ways for translators to address the challenge posed by cultural distance. One approach is for the translator to bring the author's linguistic and cultural world closer to the reader of the translation, what Martin Luther in his letter on translating had called "Verdeutschung" or "Germanizing." Schleiermacher himself objected to such translation practices because he claimed they distort the text. He advocated a second path: the translator should bring the *reader* toward the text's distinctive linguistic and cultural world.[3] Schleiermacher's question remains salient today, as Sandra Berman and Michael Wood paraphrase it in the introduction to their recent collection, *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation.* "How much of the 'otherness' of the 'foreign' should the translator highlight? How much of the foreign should he mute or erase in order to make texts easier for the 'home' (target) audience to assimilate?"[4] Questions of proximity and distance, of "foreignizing" and domesticating, of target and source, continue to structure debates in translation studies today, just as Luther and his contemporaries were concerned with the reader's role vis-à-vis a translated text.

But perhaps an older question in translation theory is encapsulated in St. Jerome's much-quoted phrase, *non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu*, "I render not word for word, but sense for sense,"[5] an opposition Jerome drew from Horace and from Cicero's *De oratore.* As Jacques Derrida points out in his reflections on translation, Cicero, Horace, and Jerome articulate a view of translation "freed from its obligation to the *verbum*, its debt to word-for-word," a view that values the translation of "sense" over "word" and that has come to dominate the ethics and practice of translation.[6] This prejudice against the "literal" thus goes back to antiquity, or, as Derrida continues, "the first imperative of translation was most certainly not the command of 'word-for-word.' The operation that consists of converting, turning (*convertere, vertere, transvertere*) doesn't have to take a text at its word or to take the word literally. It suffices to transmit the idea, the figure, the force." By contrast, Derrida argues that "a philosophy and ethics of translation—if translation does in fact have these things—*today* aspires to be a philosophy of the word, a linguistics or ethics of the word" (180). Like Walter Benjamin in his reflections on translation, Derrida insists that translation always necessarily points in the direction of other words and other meanings to expose complex and multidimensional networks of signification itself.[7] Words are constantly converting, turning, transferring, from one language to another, from one sense to another, from one context to another, from one historical moment to another: *lapis*, stone, pebble.

Even as Derrida criticizes the emphasis on "sense," he challenges us to reconsider the binaries mentioned above—domesticating a text or rendering it foreign; translating individual words or the sense of a text—as well as the (unfortunate) modern terminology of "target" and "source." Yet even if Jerome's admonition was echoed throughout early modernity, and Luther was concerned with bringing the reader *to* the text, it is nonetheless the case that the scholarship represented in this volume reveals that a heightened sense of translation's capacity to overturn binaries was already at play in the early modern era. This is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in attending to the constant theme of mobility in both translation theory and practice, as early modern subjects reflect on the way that translation takes us from one realm to another, from the global to the local, from the grammatical to the political, as the oft-cited meaning of the word "transfer" insists. To return to the passage from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* that opens this introduction, Shakespeare's Evans betrays a stultifying lack of mobility in his insistence that a stone is *lapis* and no more. Like Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, who refuses to recognize his own "translation," so Evans, the Welsh Parson, resists the kind of lateral thinking at which his student, with his timidly offered "pebble," proves to be more adept[8]—as do the many participants in the great project of early modern translation discussed here.

Nevertheless, in insisting that "stone" be retranslated back into *lapis*, Evans resists remaining within a wholly English framework, one which dominates today's world, but which had not yet been instituted in early modern Europe.[9] If one dimension that this volume illustrates is a theoretical one, another is chronological: the essays depict a world before English became the dominant language. More precisely, they trace an arc of some four hundred years in which English was at first utterly unimaginable as a lingua franca to a moment when it emerges as a powerful contender.[10] As Gordon Braden argues in his introduction to the recent *Oxford History of Translation in English: 1550–1660*, early modern translation moved "in a 'polyglot' environment, crossing, and indeed transcending national and linguistic boundaries."[11] And the English language itself, as Anne Coldiron demonstrates in her essay reading fifteenth-century macaronic poetry, was polyglot, peppered with the "foreign" and with dialects that crisscrossed. Her fascinating conclusion is that the foreign always and already cohabits the "home" language. The fact that the majority of the essays that follow are about translations *into* English reflects the historical truth that with respect to its fellow tongues on the continent, English was for a long time drastically behind.[12] The collection's penultimate essay takes us to the late eighteenth century, László Kontler's discussion of the Enlightenment period of "multilingual modernity." Tellingly, it is the first and only essay in this collection to focus on the translation of a text written in English into another tongue, in this instance the Scottish writer William Robertson's *History of Charles V* into German, on the threshold of that conversion into our increasingly Anglophone world. The volume also contains one example of a language that today may be emerging to displace English in its current hegemony, Chinese.

The rest of the introduction will explore in some more detail issues of "mobility" in early modern translation by considering several examples of Renaissance translators defending their work, including the first acknowledged theorist of the period, Leonardo Bruni, and then moving to a broader discussion of the new kinds of literary and theoretical narratives that a focus on translation produces. What was distinctive about this early modern moment,

and how has it influenced the ways we continue to think about and practice translation today?

* * *

At the beginning of the print era, late in the fifteenth century, a Florentine notary and diplomat named Alexandro Braccesi[13] translated into Italian a scandalous little Latin tale by a man whose own life had its scandalous dimensions until he embraced a "spiritual" way of life and eventually became pope: Pius II. One of the great humanists of the fifteenth century, Pius wrote as the secular Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini a tale of two lovers who sinned outside wedlock, and eventually were forced to pay the price: the adulterous woman dies and her lover is made to take someone else in marriage. Pius's salacious story veers off into the moralistic, but Braccesi will have none of it. Writing fifteen years after Pius's death in 1464 and for a Florentine patron, Lorenzo Pierfrancesco de' Medici, Braccesi produces quite a different story. Noting that he himself has been in love and that he has found in Pius's story much that is "useful to lovers," he goes on:

> It's true that I haven't observed the duties of a faithful translator. I've left out many parts of the story that seemed to me little suited to proffering delight; and in their place I've inserted very different material designed to give continuity to the story with pleasant and mirthful things. And at the end where the author had one of the lovers die to the tune of bitter laments, I've changed sadness into joy, allowing them to join in marriage and thus experience the greatest of delights. I won't deny that the author wrote his story with singular prudence and learning. . . . But considering, as I have done, that although given their variety stories [*le storie*] contain infinite examples that could instruct one about the [dangers of love], love's force is nonetheless so overwhelming that who can really defend himself against it, and what remedy or precept can really be drawn [from these tales]? . . . Having thus exercised myself in this translation [*traductione*] and amatory composition for my own consolation, while reflecting on this present moment, so troubled and difficult for so many reasons, I have decided to do something for you that you might find pleasing. . . . Such have been your favors to me, that I desire nothing more than to satisfy your most exquisite wit.[14]

In so changing Pius's Latin novella into something far less gloomy for its Medici reader, Braccesi makes the tale of two lovers hospitable to his own time. The date of his translation was 1479, the year plague struck Florence. In fact, Braccesi's original version of the prologue speaks specifically of the "upheaval and fear that have been the result of the plague."[15] And only a year earlier, Giuliano de' Medici, brother of Lorenzo de' Medici and cousin of the dedicatee Lorenzo Pierfrancesco, had been brutally murdered in Florence's Duomo. In Braccesi's hands Pius's novella becomes a palliative, aleatory text, designed to bring comfort rather than melancholy or admonition, as it becomes, in the words of a recent commentator, "an amusing and joyful celebration of illicit love that culminates in a splendid marriage."[16] And in any case, what use really are such "remedies" to love, given the overwhelming force of passion itself, as Braccesi seems ready to attest from his own experience? But particularly surprising is that Pius's text in fact had no need of translation, at least not for its cultivated dedicatee, Lorenzo Pierfrancesco. Patron of several of Botticelli's most famous paintings, including the *Primavera*, Lorenzo knew Latin, as Braccesi observes when he writes, "I believe that you won't take issue with my changes when you read the original Latin, because in many places you'll find it full of sad things and mournful words that can't possibly delight; no one goes about with such a happy heart that reading these pages wouldn't depress him."[17] Braccesi thus does not translate Pius's tale because Lorenzo has no linguistic access to the original. Rather, he translates it in order to *change* the original, to offer Lorenzo cultural access, as though the very raison d'être of translation were its powers to transform. And so the translated tale will now bring Lorenzo delight rather than embittered reflections in these "tempi noiosi e gravi."

Today we would call Braccesi's work not a translation but an adaptation: a new text, in the way that seventeenth-century productions of *King Lear* changed the tragic ending by letting Cordelia and her father live. Whereas in translation studies today practitioners and theoreticians argue about the translator's "invisibility" and about the ethics of linguistic and cultural appropriation, early modern translators seem to view appropriation positively, often using metaphors of conquest and empire to describe it. Consider, for example, the following lines from Samuel Daniel's dedicatory poem prefacing the English translation of Du Bartas's *La Semaine, ou, Création du monde*:

> Thus to adventure forth, and re-convay
> The best of treasures, from a Forraine Coast,

> And take that wealth wherin they gloried most,
> And make it Ours[18]

The "make" in the final phrase implies a kind of transformation, while the collectivity implicit in "Ours" is telling. This is not so much about Daniel's preemptory attempt to make Du Bartas his "own," but to make him "English," gathering in wealth from a foreign shore to be disseminated among his countrymen. In the same way, reasonable as the question might seem to modern ears as to the "real author" of *I due amanti*, it is a question that would have been meaningless to Braccesi. In both passages cited above, the most important figure is neither writer nor translator, but the reader—arguably a standard feature of most dedications, and yet someone for whom Braccesi and Daniel alike fashion a new world more hospitable than the old one.

"My good friend, Hary-Osto, or mine Host Hary." With this wonderful pun noted recently by Jason Scott Warner, Joshua Samuel Reid, and others, the first English translator of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, John Harington, plays on the guest/host relationship so important to recent translation theory as well as early modern translation practice, as Margaret Ferguson observes in her essay in this volume.[19] Harington is ostensibly speaking about the innkeeper in the *Furioso's* Canto 28 who tells the pagan Rodomonte a misogynistic story about female infidelity, and here he labels Ariosto himself as the host of his poem. "Hary Osto" is a fabulous play on words, "Ariosto" translated into English in a way that invokes Harington's name as well—so turning translator and author into a single figure. Moreover, as Janet Smarr has remarked, it also recalls the famous "host" who preceded Harington as a translator of Italian into English: the Chaucer disguised as "Harry" Bailly of *Canterbury Tales*, amiable and fierce in his own gathering of stories and of tale-tellers.[20] The phrase, which is at once creative pun and literary reference, suggests how Harington conceptualized his own relationship to early modern translation: as a space in which multiple acts of reading and rhetorical invention produced works of all sorts by writers who happen also to be translating—and like Harry and his pilgrims, in motion.[21]

"Englishing" Ariosto for his readers, Harington destabilizes identities—who is the host, who is the guest?—in a fashion that anticipates the comments of philologists and contemporary theorists from Lévinas to Foucault to Derrida, as they argue for a dynamic and unsettling relationship that undoes rather than fixes notions of property, the proprietary, and the proper. In her remarks on a play that was contemporary with Harington's translation, *The Taming of* *the Shrew,* Ferguson draws on Emile Benveniste's discussion of hospitality in which he criticizes the often cited "global" and "transhistorical" notion that the Latin word *hostis* "means guest but also enemy," arguing instead for a concept and social practice of hospitality as reciprocity between two equals. In thus considering translation, Ferguson—and arguably Harington—challenge us to think outside the dominant dyadic model of translation of source and target. Such a model implies that the translator has full mastery of two languages as she moves from one to the other with something like a focused aim or intention. Yet this model is unsuitable, even misleading, for premodern translation generally, for the multiple translation acts to be found in *The Taming of the Shrew* or, for that matter, in Harington's *Orlando furioso*, where he claims to be working as much with Ariosto's own presumed model, Virgil's *Aeneid*, as with the *Orlando furioso* itself.

As Harington's modus operandi suggests, in an early modern England where cross-linguistic and cross-cultural translation took place on a massive scale—the Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Project on translation at Warwick University documents over four thousand printed translations into English between 1473 and 1640 involving some thirty languages, over one thousand translators, and almost twelve hundred writers—literary translation was not necessarily distinct from other forms of imitation.[22] Thomas Greene's seminal *The Light in Troy* helps to elucidate the specificity of the early modern with regard to these debates, as he argues for the "double process of [the] discovery" of antiquity by which the Renaissance writer both "groped" for the text in its specificity and otherness and at the same time sought his own appropriate voice and idiom. Greene goes on: "The text cannot simply leave us with two dead dialects. It has to create a miniature anachronistic crisis and then find a creative issue from the crisis. Imitation has to become something more than a pseudo-archaeology contrived as an illegitimate solace. If Renaissance literature is troubled by an anxiety of validation, then it finds its true validation in the discovery of more hospitable codes."[23] Greene's speculations are akin to Paul Ricoeur's more recent notion of working to construct "comparables" during the process of translation, of finding a common turf that is neither the "host's" nor the "guest's." Returning to Luther, mentioned above, Ricoeur suggests that in translating the Bible into German, Luther "constructed a comparable" for Jerome's Latin. But in so doing, he virtually "created the German language as comparable to Latin, to the Greek of the Septuagint, to the Hebrew of the Bible."[24] To speak of either "domesticating" or "foreignizing," as did Schleiermacher in his essay on translation, driven in part by German rivalry with a culturally dominant France, seems inaptly oppositional to early modernity. To what extent can we speak instead of a third space: the common ground of Ricoeur's comparables, the discovery of more hospitable codes for Greene? This would be—and indeed was—a space of contingency yet also of creativity: Braccesi's altered translation of Pius II and Harington's text with its multiple hosts.

If these are some of the questions that arise from direct engagement with translated texts, it might be helpful to turn to the period's first substantial reflections on translation, Leonardo Bruni's *De recto interpretatione* of 1424. While generally considered a watershed text, it nonetheless might seem ill-suited for the era it inaugurates, since it is concerned not with translation into emergent vernaculars—though Bruni wrote after the productive fourteenth century of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch—but into Latin, from the Greek of Aristotle. Bruni himself wrote little in Italian, save for biographies of, in fact, Italy's two great vernacular poets, Dante and Petrarch. And yet it is unsurpassed in its breadth of vision and its redressing of what Bruni casts, at times disingenuously, as a limited notion of translation as practiced by medieval scholars of Aristotle, among others. For Bruni, translation is not about moving from word to literal word, but neither is it simply about "sense," though he is attentive to substance, as when he makes what would seem to be the banal observation that translators should command not only the language *from* which they are translating, but the one *into* which they are translating.[25] It is, rather, about the importance of having a *literary* sensibility when translating—"quicumque vero non ita structus est disciplina et litteris"—and being thus able to recognize and translate individual style, as when he notes that "just as every writer has his own particular and appropriate style—characteristic of Cicero is solemnity and copiousness, Sallust brevity and sobriety, Livy a certain grandeur that can be rather harsh—so the good translator should conform his own style in a way that approximates the style of his author."[26] Interestingly, the fact that Bruni claims to have found a style in his Latin translation of Aristotle's works that sparkled with the nuances and vibrancy of Cicero is precisely what got him into trouble. His conviction was that Aristotle's philosophy works not only through logic but also by means of persuasion; that not only semantic import but also rhetorical power compels us to accept his argument. His translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* was based on the conviction that the Greek philosopher was an orator, and it provoked the attack from which Bruni angrily recoils in the opening pages of his *De recta interpretatione*.[27]

Far from being "dead," Latin was a living language in fifteenth-century Florence, where Bruni was writing. It was as a spoken language—used for rituals, diplomatic negotiations, and intellectual exchange—that Bruni, Florence's chancellor, engaged with it, just as Alessandro Braccesi would several decades later as a member of Florence's diplomatic corps.[28] Yet if Bruni's predecessor in the chancellor's office, Coluccio Salutati, had maintained that eloquence was the result of *what* one said, Bruni insists that eloquence inheres in *how* one speaks, and thus how one moves one's listeners. Indeed, movement is at the heart of Bruni's remarks in this brief, at times combative defense of his own translation practices. His view that translation was transformative—thus foreshadowing what Braccesi would do with the Latin of Pius II—is especially apparent in a phrase that oddly has been mistranslated in its most recent English version. After citing the ideal painter as one who derives his work from another's, "thinking not of what he is doing himself but of what the other had done," Bruni turns to translation: "sic in traductionibus interpres quidem optimus sese in primum scribendi auctorem tota mente et animo et voluntate convertet et quodammodo transformabit eiusque orationis figuram, statum, ingressum coloremque et liniamenta cuncta exprimere meditabitur" (thus in his translations, the best translator will turn and in a certain sense, transform himself into the first author of the text with all his mind, soul, and will, and he will seek to express the structure, the position, the flow and the color, and all the outlines of his [i.e., the first author's] speech; paragraph 13).[29] Bruni goes on: "Each writer has his own particular style," and the translator should be driven and transformed by the force and personality of another's words. Or, as he suggests a few sentences later, "Rapitur enim interpres vi ipsa in genus dicendi illius de quo transfert": the translator is drawn toward—literally, enraptured by—the style or "manner of speaking" of the one whom he is "transferring" (paragraph 14). Here too we see an expression of the destabilization that characterizes early modern translation. In this case the "rapt" translator is caught up in a moment that can be seen in both rhetorical and erotic terms, as he is carried away by what Bruni will elsewhere call the "vis" and the "natura"—the force and nature—of another's words. Arguably, such transformation can occur only when the translator recognizes in himself some kind of lack: one is not oneself "whole," nor, ultimately, is one's own language; something is always lacking even in one's *own* language.[30]

This recognition of vulnerability is interesting when one reflects on the language into which Bruni was translating Aristotle: Latin. And it may be the shifting status of Latin in the period between Francesco Petrarch and Bruni—and so during the first three generations of the humanistic sensibility that was to alter the face of Europe profoundly—that was responsible for Bruni's revolutionary text. A brief comparison with Petrarch might be fruitful. Late in life—so we learn in the penultimate letters of his massive epistolary collection, the *Seniles*—Petrarch turned to translating the final story of the *Decameron*, the tale of the faithful, persecuted wife, Griselda, one of the few *novelle*, he declares to Boccaccio, from which he has learned something worth preserving. In order to save for eternity this tale written in the ephemeral and untrustworthy vernacular, he translated it into Latin two years before his death: the language that for Petrarch was permanent, built on "firm foundations," as he says elsewhere in his letters, unable to be unmoored and challenged by the unruly vulgar mob who, he complains, have massacred and misread his own limited productions in the vernacular.[31] Latin was for Petrarch a closed system, a perfect language. Translating Boccaccio's final tale from the Italian rendered that tale and its heroine Griselda newly authoritative in the Italian and European world of letters: free of contingency and of the unpredictable tastes of the "mob" of vulgar readers.[32] The language of communication across borders and emerging nations, Latin was primarily for Petrarch the language of writing, a grammar used by men in the schools, the courts, and the Church. The *volgare* that Petrarch resisted—but only to a point, as the *Rime sparse* witness—came from one's mother and one's nursemaid and was therefore belittled as ephemeral and impermanent.[33]

Writing only fifty years later, Bruni saw Latin not as a closed system but an open one, capable of growth and enrichment, and largely because he has at his fingertips the language from which Latin had taken so much and next to which it had been found wanting, Greek—a language Petrarch spent much of his life regretting he did not know. In many ways, then, Bruni's is the true return to the bilingual world of Roman antiquity. Only in the late first century AD did Greek begin to lose its prominence in the empire as Latin emerged as the hegemonic language of education, diplomacy, medicine, law, the Church, the learned, and the leisured elite. But it could do so only because of its fierce competition with Greek[34]—a competitiveness that Bruni revives when he insists that translators of the *Politics* not succumb to the temptation of importing Greek words wholesale into Latin, but that they find Latin equivalents in the same way that Cicero and Lucretius once did when translating Greek philosophy and orations. Bruni defends Latin's "excellence," but not at the price of its capacity to absorb new words. Like all languages, he argues, it is a living tongue, capable of growth and change, even a perfection it has not yet attained.

Like Horace rather than Petrarch, he accepts Latin's and, by extension, all languages' fragility. They are subject to historical process, as leaves that fall from a tree, in a metaphor from the so-called *Ars poetica* oft repeated in treatises on translation and still used today, and one that was already overdetermined in Dante's *Inferno*, where those leaves become sinners waiting on the banks of Lethe. Or as Horace originally had it in his defense of neologisms in the *Ars poetica*, the Epistle to the Pisos:

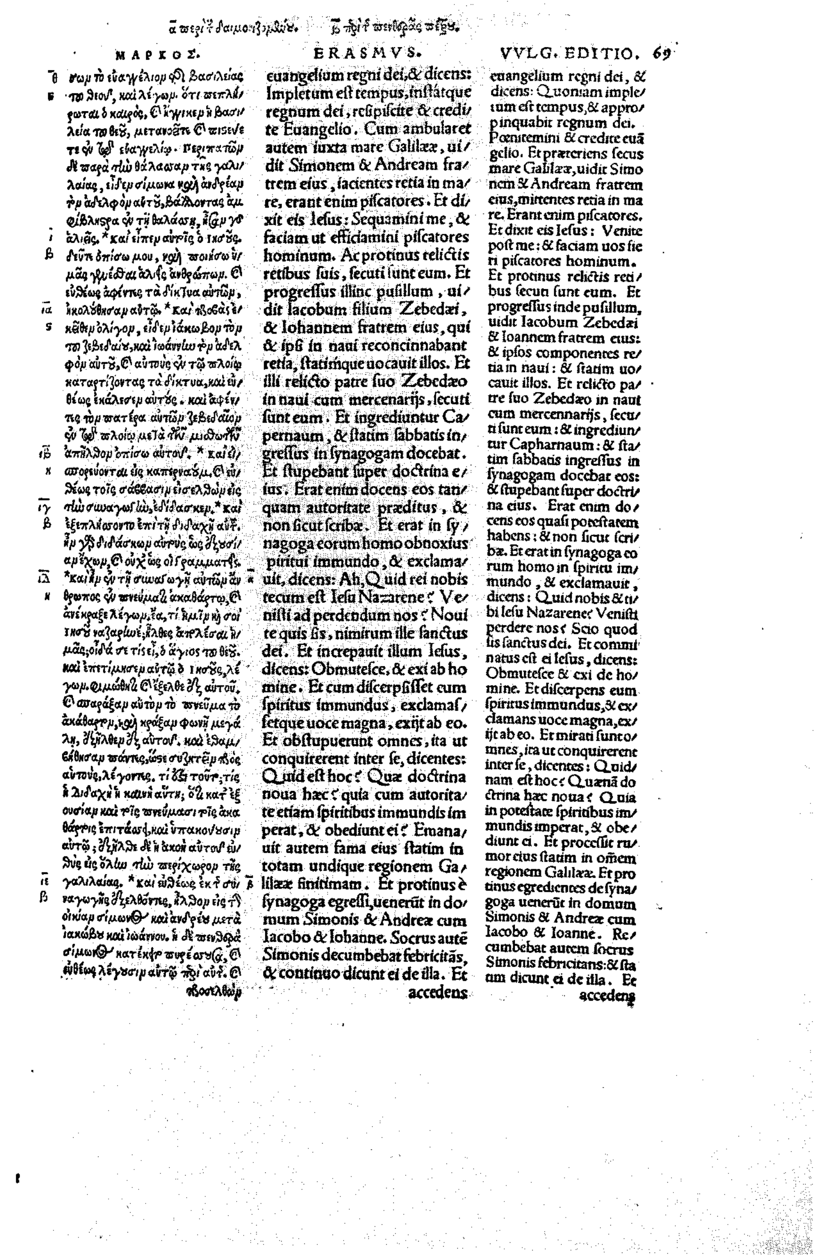
> Why should I be refused the right
> to put in my bit . . . ?
> It has always been granted, and always will be, to produce
> Words stamped with the date of the present. As trees change their
> leaves
> When each year comes to its end, and the first fall first,
> So the oldest words die first and the newborn thrive
> In the manner of youth, and enjoy life.

And in his sober finish: "All that we are / And have is in debt to death."[35]

Petrarch had certainly aided in this gradual recognition of Latin's historical impermanence. His discovery of new manuscripts of Cicero, Livy, and others allowed for an appreciation of the distinctiveness of the language of republican Rome. The recognition of a "historical" Latin that changed from Cicero to Sallust, Virgil to Lucan, and inevitably from those writers of empire to those of the Church in the centuries following the empire's decline, necessarily undermined its status as eternal and unchanging. This historical and comparative consciousness of Latin was critical to producing the philological revolution of Lorenzo Valla's study of the Donation of Constantine, which revealed this putative fourth-century document to be an eleventh-century fraud, and thus demonstrated that Latin had changed significantly from the time of Augustine to that of the medieval Church anxious to shore up its claims to empire. Valla's revolution in turn laid the foundations for Erasmus, Luther, and Wycliffe and the probing questions of the Reformation: What was the authority of the Latin Vulgate, a product of the saintly Jerome's erudition, but also of the vagaries of copying and misinterpretation over the course of a thousand years?[36]

The publication of Erasmus's 1516 New Testament, and particularly its 1527 fourth edition, is a stunning example of a "corrected" Latin text, based on the very philological analyses pioneered by Bruni and Valla, vis-à-vis its Greek original: each page was unequally divided into three columns (Figure 1), with the Greek to the left, Erasmus's new Latin translation center stage, and the old Vulgate squeezed to the right-hand side of the page, accorded less space and thus less authority since it is also the text we encounter "last."[37] Thus does Erasmus create, literally, a "third space" of translation: a new comparable. Erasmus's New Testament, in short, is Bruni's translation project a century later. Erasmus takes Christianity's most sacred text, returns to the Greek source, and revivifies Latin by opening it up anew to that Greek foundation, a Latin not always and already perfect, but capable of profound and dynamic change. It is Erasmus's example, perhaps more than any other, that would prompt the numerous translations of all kinds of vernacular texts into Latin well into the eighteenth century.[38]

One of the most famous changes that Erasmus made in his 1516 edition, as Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle pointed out, was to translate *logos* as *sermo*: speech or discourse, rather than the *verbum* or written word of Jerome and Origen.[39] In the same way that Bruni recast Aristotle as an orator, so does Erasmus see the *logos* of Christ as a spoken word, and he translates it as such. But in this act of transmission, more has changed than the *logos* that is now *sermo*: translation itself is marked by a movement across languages, across texts, and across centuries. Far from being an attempt to preserve something absolute and fixed, it transforms a new audience to be responsive to the new ways in which arguments and even sacred truths can be cast and understood. At the same time, even as the philological rigor of a Bruni or an Erasmus claims to unveil the "original" Aristotle or New Testament, that original is remade as the mirror image of the humanist-orator and conversationalist at home in a world of debate and exchange. Nonetheless, such transformation was not about mastery in the sense that Petrarch considers himself having outmastered Boccaccio by translating his Griselda into Latin—although Bruni and Erasmus took enormous pride in their translations into Latin, especially from the Greek, be it the New Testament or Aristotle. It was rather about making accessible to modern readers the habits of antiquity (and here you should hear the pun, habits in the sense both of garments and of customs of antiquity): the way early modernists believed that the ancients thought, felt, and worked, and in a style that made it seem as if Aristotle or Paul might have written in Latin. It is, in fact, the possibility of putting those habits on, much as Machiavelli famously remarked in a letter to his friend Francesco Vettori that after a tough day in the workplace he would come home and put on "noble garments" in order to read his beloved Latin authors: "And for four hours at a time, I feel no boredom, I forget all my troubles, I do not dread poverty, and I am not terrified by death."



ΜΑΡΚΟΣ.

ERASMVS.

euangelium regni dei, & dicens: Impletum eſt tempus, inſtátque regnum dei, reſipiſcite & credite Euangelio. Cum ambularet autem iuxta mare Galilææ, uidit Simonem & Andream fratrem eius, iacientes retia in mare, erant enim piſcatores. Et dixit eis Ieſus: Sequamini me, & faciam ut efficiamini piſcatores hominum. Ac protinus relictis retibus ſuis, ſecuti ſunt eum. Et progreſſus illinc puſillum, uidit Iacobum filium Zebedæi, & Iohannem fratrem eius, qui & ipſi in naui reconcinnabant retia, ſtatímque uocauit illos. Et illi relicto patre ſuo Zebedæo in naui cum mercenarijs, ſecuti ſunt eum. Et ingrediuntur Capernaum, & ſtatim ſabbatis ingreſſus in ſynagogam docebat. Et ſtupebant ſuper doctrina eius. Erat enim docens eos tanquam autoritate præditus, & non ſicut ſcribæ. Et erat in ſynagoga eorum homo obnoxius ſpiritui immundo, & exclamauit, dicens: Ah, Quid rei nobis tecum eſt Ieſu Nazarene? Veniſti ad perdendum nos? Noui te quis ſis, nimirum ille ſanctus dei. Et increpauit illum Ieſus, dicens: Obmuteſce, & exi ab homine. Et cum diſcerpſiſſet eum ſpiritus immundus, exclamaſſetque uoce magna, exijt ab eo. Et obſtupuerunt omnes, ita ut conquirerent inter ſe, dicentes: Quid eſt hoc? Quæ doctrina noua hæc? quia cum autoritate etiam ſpiritibus immundis imperat, & obediunt ei? Emanauit autem fama eius ſtatim in totam undique regionem Galilææ finitimam. Et protinus è ſynagoga egreſſi, uenerũt in domum Simonis & Andreæ cum Iacobo & Iohanne. Socrus autẽ Simonis decumbebat febricitãs, & continuo dicunt ei de illa. Et

accedens

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euangelium regni dei, & dicens: Quoniam impletum eſt tempus, & appropinquabit regnum dei. Pœnitemini & credite euãgelio. Et præteriens ſecus mare Galilææ, uidit Simonem & Andream fratrem eius, mittentes retia in mare. Erant enim piſcatores. Et dixit eis Ieſus: Venite poſt me: & faciam uos fieri piſcatores hominum. Et protinus relictis retibus ſecuti ſunt eum. Et progreſſus inde puſillum, uidit Iacobum Zebedæi & Ioannem fratrem eius: & ipſos componentes retia in naui: & ſtatim uocauit illos. Et relicto patre ſuo Zebedæo in naui cum mercennarijs, ſecuti ſunt eum: & ingrediuntur Capharnaum: & ſtatim ſabbatis ingreſſus in ſynagogam docebat eos: & ſtupebant ſuper doctrina eius. Erat enim docens eos quaſi poteſtatem habens: & non ſicut ſcribæ. Et erat in ſynagoga eorum homo in ſpiritu immundo, & exclamauit, dicens: Quid nobis & tibi Ieſu Nazarene? Veniſti perdere nos? Scio quod ſis ſanctus dei. Et comminatus eſt ei Ieſus, dicens: Obmuteſce & exi de homine. Et diſcerpens eum ſpiritus immundus, & exclamans uoce magna, exijt ab eo. Et mirati ſunt omnes, ita ut conquirerent inter ſe, dicentes: Quidnam eſt hoc? Quænã doctrina hæc noua? Quia in poteſtate ſpiritibus immundis imperat, & obediunt ei. Et proceſſit rumor eius ſtatim in om̃em regionem Galilææ. Et protinus egredientes de ſynagoga uenerũt in domum Simonis & Andreæ cum Iacobo & Ioanne. Recumbebat autem ſocrus Simonis febricitans: & ſtatim dicunt ei de illa. Et

accedens

Figure 1. Page 69 from *Ioannes Frobenius candido lectori*. Desiderius Erasmus, 1527. Universitätsbibliothek Basel.

But early modernity, of course, was not ultimately about Latin, even though the ability to historicize Latin as a language susceptible to change and flux is what, with some irony perhaps, dismantled its own hegemony and that of the institutions on which it depended—most powerfully, the Church. The recovery, interpretation, and imitation of ancient Greek and Roman texts that launched the cultural program sometimes called the Renaissance depended on the work of mediation, on a culture and practice of translation yet to be fully studied and understood. In Italy and France, the rediscovery of classical and biblical letters led to new texts and editions in Greek and Latin, but as Warren Boutcher observes in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, "for the majority of educated people, ancient letters were rediscovered by means of a comparative process of ongoing translations between Latin and a group of European vernaculars including English."[40] Translation shifted from being a means for "mastery of *Latin*, to an emphasis upon translation as a means of disseminating knowledge," and to what today is sometimes termed cultural translation.[41] It is with this in mind that we can move to the two narratives that the essays in this volume unfold.

* * *

The story of early modernity told with a focus on translation is first and foremost a story of the fraught competition between and among early modern vernaculars. It produces a narrative far from linear even as it seems to proceed from Latin, to Italian, to French, and finally to English as the authorized languages for cultural discourse in early modern Europe. Such a story disrupts national literatures and chronologies, insofar as translation is not the property of a single nation or author or period. It also disrupts an understanding of a single literary or cultural language in and of itself. As Sarah Rivett suggests in her essay, the transplanting of European languages on foreign soil may also transform indigenous words into divine signs, thus providing proof that God's chosen people once roamed the face of the earth, as the language of the Algonquians took on the same status as one of the original, "lost" languages from the beginning of time. With an alphabet, a dictionary, and a vocabulary list—all fetishes for capturing an original language—translation began as transcription, as so often in the Americas, as missionaries transcribed a wholly oral tongue into signs that would endure, just as Petrarch translates Boccaccio's one novella worth saving into Latin. Such a move was a reassuring one for the European settlers, if not for the Algonquians, as it placed them back into their own world—and brought the Algonquians with them. If grammar is what the vernaculars had supposedly lacked, or so Dante suggests when he along with the rest of his age acknowledges that only Latin was a fully "grammatical" language,[42] then the missionaries developed a grammar for these both young and ancient languages of the new and old world, a grammar that "unlocked its rules and secrets" from the divine. This was a way of recapturing something that was not simply lost, as Jefferson's patronizing concern might have it, but destroyed by the European colonial invaders.

And as Rivett's focus on the Bible suggests, nothing promoted the so-called rise of the vernacular more than the fraught story of religious difference.[43] The Bible's role in early modernity was pivotal. Once the authority of Saint Jerome's Vulgate was challenged as "only" a translation, as Erasmus's 1516 volume revealed, Catholicism's center began to fall apart. The vernaculars of Europe in fact defined themselves by means of new Bibles, the Church and the language of the Church becoming foreign irritants in nations that defiantly held their own vernaculars to be superior to the ideologically biased Vulgate of Roman Catholicism. Clement VIII's 1596 restoration of a "new Vulgate," in use in the Catholic Church until Vatican II, was in many ways already belated when it appeared. By then Luther's German New and Old Testaments had been published for over sixty years, sparking a revolution not only in theology but in literacy; Calvin's Geneva Bible appeared in 1560. Heads of nation-states became involved in sponsoring translations that would promote not only Protestantism but the languages of their kingdoms. The Bible known as King Christian III's Bible was published in Denmark in 1550, the first complete translation of the Bible into Danish, based on Luther's version, while in 1617, King Gustav II Adolf (better known as Gustavus Adolphus) would order several "divine men" to revise an earlier version in Swedish from the 1530s; that version is still read in Sweden today.[44] James I of England would appropriate for his national Bible the legend of the Septuagint in which seventy translators, all working in separate cells, translated the Hebrew Old Testament into Greek for the benefit of Jewish communities in Egypt no longer able to read the original.[45] Each translated the whole text into Greek, and in a Borgesian miracle, their translations were identical. So James, as Naomi Tadmor recounts in her essay, sequestered seventy wise men for two years in the hallowed halls of Oxford, thus solving the problem of how to speak with the voice of God—a project that had earlier been punishable in England by death (the fate of Wycliffe) or in Spain by imprisonment (Fra Luis de Léon's penalty for translating the Song of Songs). But in less charged situations—or with respect to translating less potentially scandalous books than the Song of Songs—biblical translation could spur literary and poetic production in newly emerging vernaculars. The Book of Psalms was particularly suited to this project, and the mid-sixteenth century saw many examples, including the Italian poet Laura Battiferra's translation of the penitential psalms "into the Tuscan tongue," which drew freely on Dante and Petrarch, along with similarly free translations by Du Bartas in France, Jan Kochanowski in Poland, and the Sidneys—Philip and, after his death, Mary—in England. Despite thorny doctrinal disagreements, these early modern renditions of David's Psalms all developed metrical and literary patterns critical for the development of vernacular poetry as translators wrestled with the question, in whose voice did the translator speak?

In short, the early modern period witnessed the success of the vernacular as a literary language across eastern as well as western Europe and prompted competition among the different vernaculars as to which would take the place vacated by Latin. As Bruni "opened" Latin to Greek, so did one vernacular language open itself to another, while at the same time, this opening revealed the extent to which those languages were still to a large extent unformed and in process. The "triumph" of the vernacular was not easily achieved, but instead incessantly repeated. Individual languages had microhistories of their own that the singular "triumph" obscures: the languages of translation rarely witnessed a conversation among equals, as "positive" terms such as *copious, rich, muscular, versatile,* and *serious,* and "negative" ones such as *effeminate, impoverished,* and *sterile* were invoked in the name of defending some vernacular writings and attacking others.[46] Inequities of translation, whether produced by conquest and colonial expansion, or by feelings of cultural superiority and/or inferiority, or by religious difference, can be traced throughout the early modern period. One suggestive narrative has Italian following Latin as the privileged cultural language, a title next extended to French and eventually, as Peter Burke has shown, to English.[47] The fact that Louise Labé wrote her first of twenty-four sonnets in Italian, or that Sidney was admired, in John Harington's words, as the "English Petrarke," suggests that Italian was seen by some as the jumping-off point for "elite" French, and certainly for the French sonnet, and then for the English sonnet as well. The sonnet's movement from Italy to Spain and France, and finally to England, enacts in miniature a narrative about cultural translation: not only were languages translated; so were genres. (Spain's place in Europe's cultural hegemony is puzzling, considering the sweep of its empire from the Iberian peninsula to Naples and Sicily, from the

Holy Roman Empire and to the Low Countries. More work is needed to ascertain how widely spread—and envied—the use of Spanish texts was on the continent.[48] The story in the New World, of course, is very different.)

Already with Erasmus, we have seen the important impact of print. Print vastly extended the reach of literacy and thus created the need for new books for new audiences. Less obviously, when we consider the materiality of the book, we see that, far from flattening out discourse, print could and did accentuate differences among differing linguistic and national traditions. As Peter Burke notes in his essay, in translations of Serlio's architectural treatises, cultural differences are marked even at the level of type: there is a shift from the Roman type of the Latin, to the Italic type of the Italian and French translations, to the Gothic type used in England, Germany, and the Netherlands. Roger Chartier observes that "when texts were presented in a new way and in a new physical guise that transformed their format, their page layout, the ways in which the text was sectioned and the illustrations, they reached new, broader and less learned audiences, and they took on new significations far removed from the ones their authors [and we would add translators] had intended or their original readers had constructed."[49] How else did the new opportunities offered by print lead to new relations and exchanges? The vernaculars made their way across Europe by way of a vigorous publishing trade, with books made available in the flourishing marts and markets of Venice, Lyon, and especially Frankfurt.[50] In his encomium to the famed Frankfurt book fair, the principal center of the early modern European book trade, the French humanist printer Henri Estienne praises the hospitality with which strangers, "as varied in garb and feature as in the tongues they speak," are received at the fair. At what Estienne dubbed the Fair of the Muses, they could buy books from all over Europe, whether published in Latin or in one of Europe's many vernaculars. Translations made up a significant portion of the thousands of books sold at the fair, a crossroads of Europe that was frequented not only by booksellers and printers but, as Estienne observes, by "those celebrated universities of Vienna, of Wittenberg, of Leipzig, of Heidelberg, of Strasburg, and, among many other nations, those of Louvain, of Padua, of Oxford, of Cambridge—these academies, I say, and many others which it would take too long to enumerate, send to the Fair not only their philosophers, but also poets, representatives of oratory, of history, of the mathematical sciences, some even skilled in all these branches at once—those, in short, who profess to compass the whole circle of knowledge, which the Greeks call *encyclopædia* or *encycliopædia*."[51] The city of Frankfurt and its book fair teemed with polyglot visitors, *peregrini*, as Jacques Lezra sees translators themselves. They communicated in Latin, which was still at the center of the humanist curriculum, but also in the European vernaculars. The fairs were places of free thought—often on borders of countries or empires—and encouraged freethinking, sometimes heretical thinking.[52] Booksellers early began printing general listings of books offered at the fair, organized by subject "basically following the order of precedence of university faculties: theology, law, medicine, the liberal arts."[53] Latin works were printed in Roman typeface, German in blackletter, and later catalogues might include "libri peregrini idiomatis," or books in foreign tongues—the European vernaculars, with no distinction between translations and "originals"—and sometimes a section announcing future offerings. Factors and bookmen such as John Bill, who later became the King's Printer for James I, early in his career traveled throughout Europe buying books for Thomas Bodley's library and for James himself. He, like the famous De Brys and many others, maintained a shop, with a partner, at the Frankfurt fair.

In this process of languages moving across borders, English was initially a thing apart. English was a language virtually unknown on the continent in the sixteenth century, and only gradually became known in the course of the seventeenth. The "hinterland" that was English produced what we might term a "trade imbalance," with many texts translated into English, but few texts in English translated into the continental vernaculars.[54] Whereas the Romance languages Italian, Spanish, and French were readable across each other's cultures, English was not, and so the English had to do more translation to have access to the cultural authority of classical antiquity and the humanistic study of the Renaissance—often emerging with amusing mistranslations, one of the points of both Margaret Ferguson's and Jacques Lezra's essays.

Which is one reason why so many of the essays collected in this volume are concerned with English translation. When English is in fact put into the mix of the continental languages that are the subjects of Ann Rosalind Jones's and Line Cottegnies's essays, interesting new constellations and possibilities for theorizing emerge. In short, the European Renaissance saw cross-cultural translation on a massive scale. The humanists negotiated status by means of their literary skills—as translators of culturally prestigious Greek and Latin texts; as scribes; as teachers of those same culturally prestigious languages; and as purveyors of the new technologies of writing.[55] Though the frequently translated Greco-Roman texts represented powerful cultural capital within the context of European humanism, the vernaculars, as we suggest, offer quite different and locally specific histories—histories that should not be considered in isolation, not least because national boundaries were still so unstable, and in some cases, such as Italy, nonexistent.[56]

The conflict among vernaculars also had an impact on the changing role of the translator him- or herself. The second narrative charted here and in the following essays could be called the rise of the professional translator, even though this was neither a role firmly tied to a distinct individual nor a craft with clear rules. Translation helped promote the image of an educated self in early modern Europe, particularly with regard to the woman writer.[57] Thus Louise Labé proves her humanist credentials by translating, establishing her authority to her courtly audience by her command of a humanist idiom. But as Ann Jones's essay demonstrates, whereas Labé had to hearken back, as it were, to a time when Latin was the lingua franca of the educated, her English translator Robert Greene undercuts those credentials by means of his own translation work. His anxieties about translation per se—let alone about translating a woman's writing—reflect a gendered feature of the early modern discourse on translation often repeated in recent criticism and encapsulated in John Florio's phrase, "All translations are reputed femalls, delivered at second hand."[58] Until recently, translation has often been devalued as derivative, as women's work, and much commentary on early modern women translators often perpetuates this view.[59] Yet it is not at all clear that early modern translators viewed translation as secondary, "femalls," or degraded. Line Cottegnies's essay on Katherine Philips considers the gendered performance of this transitional figure who was not only a polished translator of the French, but a recognized poet in her own right.

Philips, moreover, was in exile in France along with her king, the future Charles II, a biographical fact that might enable us to ponder the role of the early modern translator as a kind of *peregrinus*—a term Jacques Lezra takes up in both a metaphorical and a pragmatic sense as he considers how translators confronted issues of mistranslation and misunderstanding through a reading of the Spanish play *La Celestina*.[60] Philips was a literal *peregrinus*, as was Ovid, whom Gordon Braden considers in his essay on Ovid's less translated "exilic" poetry. For Ovid, life experience became a provocative way for thinking about the translator him- or herself: exiled, moving between texts and places rather than being at home in any one of them, the translator is suspended between two languages, dwelling in that third space we have begun to explore. The self-conscious character of exile is apparent on the rare occasions that translators such as Marlowe chose to translate Ovid's writings while

in exile. We might think about this "no space" of the exile as eventually being transformed into a professional space that enables the woman exile Katherine Philips, or Aphra Behn, to compete in the translation game. Women writers used translation to make a space for *themselves* as writers, a space where they could be "loyal to themselves," as Jones shows Greene being in his translation of Labé. And in a similar move, Braden traces Ovid's loyalty to the self in a period of exile in his defense of his erotic poetry, poetry that Marlowe translated during a time of uncertainty about his own professional career.

Yet despite these concerns for the space of the individual translator, early modern translation was, and is, a collective act. Although Erasmus translated the New Testament into Latin, the Vulgate, translated by others, remained his intertext. Burke shows how artisanal practices shaped and changed translations. And Carla Nappi describes how the Ming dynasty Translators' College struggled to assimilate the many languages with which the Chinese—far from being isolated from the rest of Asia, as has often been assumed—were increasingly in contact. Too often we have thought of translation as a creative, individual act such as that of Matteo Ricci, the Jesuit who busily overhauled Christianity for his Chinese emperor and who translated scientific, humanist, and religious texts into Chinese. But such individual, "heroic" acts of translation must be put alongside the collective activities of the Chinese translators at the Translators' College, or the dragomans (from the Arabic/Turkish *terjuman/tercüman*, meaning "interpreter")—Mamluk, Ottoman, and Venetian translator-diplomats residing across the Ottoman Empire—or the interlocking choices of countless translators, publishers, and printers across England and the continent.[61] Katharina Piechocki's essay, for example, invokes a collective undertaking for translating maps, as she examines the way in which the shifting borders of Poland were identified for the creation of something known as "Europe." As Piechocki shows, the production of the continent called Europe (whose borders are still shifting in current debates regarding member nations of the European Union) depends very much on the way in which geographical entities are translated across time as well as languages and space. The many voices in that conversation render insufficient any simplistic notion of early modern "mapping"—particularly as the new technology of print distances that process even further from its original "translators." Such was the case with Amerigo Vespucci, who physically moved from one culture and linguistic space to another. After all, Vespucci was not responsible for lending his name to the continents of the Western Hemisphere. It was the German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller who did so, only to subsequently revise his nomenclature to call the continent "Terra Incognita." But too late: his first version of the map had already been printed, in 1507, and the Americas have stuck.

The inability of Waldseemüller to influence readers' choices through future editions suggests that the production and reception of translations were collective enterprises that undermined the control of any individual traveler, printer, publisher, or translator. It also points to one final aspect of the process of early modern translation, and indeed, the process of translation more generally. Translation is not, and has never been, a science. Like Vespucci's voyage into the unknown, the messy, unmethodical practice of "carrying across" one form of cultural expression to another resists any attempt at formulaic compartmentalization. William's dry exchange of "lapis" for "stone" jars comically with Braccesi's genial defense of his translation of Pius II's novella. Even Leonardo Bruni's more systematic approach to his translation of Aristotle veers off from the prescriptive into the descriptive and contingent: Virgil's style is very different from Horace's, Livy's from that of Tacitus, and it is through these Roman writers in turn that Bruni chooses to read and interpret Aristotle. The varied practices that this volume as a whole showcases thus reveal the epistemological gaps with which early modernity was forced increasingly to contend, even as theoretical principles were continually invoked—and invented—to try to make sense of the confusing and productive ways in which ancient texts were juxtaposed with modern ones, Italian with French and Spanish, French with English, artistic languages with historical ones. Both Ferguson and Lezra comment helpfully and explicitly on the "misfires" between theory and practice in the period, the interesting mistakes that translators made when they pressed too hard to make their work align with an unreachable theory. And yet fascinating results of misprision are at the heart of almost all of these essays.

Some of the most interesting examples of early modern translation are the product precisely of translators' recognitions that the best translation theory is itself a practice in dialogue not only with the dead—Louise Labé in the case of Robert Greene, Pius II in the case of Braccesi—but with the living: the readers before whom Greene is concerned to prove his masculinity, or Braccesi the continued, yet new, relevance of Pius's text. Interestingly, Bruni's theory of translation is expounded as a letter, not as a dry treatise—a letter that angrily defends his translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and thus represents only one voice in a dialogue. Early modern theories of translation emerged from paratexts such as Bruni's letter or Braccesi's introductory comments to *I due amanti*, or the inserted dialogue between Will and his student in Shakespeare's comedy, or Florio's dedication to his translation of Montaigne's *Essays*. László Kontler's essay enables us to recognize the failure of a "rational" Enlightenment modernity to divorce itself from the messiness of aesthetic and emotional experience. The uneven emergence of translation, that is, goes hand in hand with that of the theory of translation. That this theory emerged and was inseparable from practice offers us a useful way of thinking about the institution of literature today.

These two narratives return us to where we began this introduction: early modern humanists and writers, printers and publishers, pursued not a narrow literal, linguistic view of translation so often assumed in the "word for word" theory that Horace toward the beginning of a new millennium had derided, and that in many ways has come to characterize the current, professionalized world of translation and translators in the computer age. We look instead, as Horace did, poised as he was between a once-imperious Greek culture and an emerging Latin one, to larger sensibilities and resonances, to that nebulous yet crucial concept of cultural translation. Our early modern authors are similarly poised between a receding Latin culture and the impure, inexact vernacular ones of a "new" Europe—or in the (not completely analogous) case of contemporary China, between the centralized body of Chinese philosophy and letters and the peripheral voices of Islamic and Christian cultures from the West. Yet even as all of the essays collected here are concerned with cultures of translation, the "work" itself is the patient toil of working with discrete words. If not always—or ever—transposing and exchanging one word for another, translation nevertheless involves engaging with language and linguistic choices embroiled in the at times lonely, at times creative, always difficult, process of living in more than one world at the same time, and weighing how best to make that crossing from one world to the other for that elusive third party, the reader. These are precisely the reflections of the final essay in this collection, by the noted translator Edith Grossman, as she comments on her work in translating the early modern classic *Don Quixote*. The translator's world is aporetic—from the Greek, being at a loss—since translation is impossible, never ending, a continuing conundrum, and thus John Donne's cautionary vision of translation from the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* might most suitably end these reflections: "All mankind is of one author, and is one volume; when one man dies, one chapter is not torn out of the book, but translated into a better language; and every chapter must be so translated; God employs several translators; some pieces are translated by age, some by sickness, some by war, some by justice; but God's hand is in every translation, and his hand shall bind up all our scattered leaves again for that library where every book shall lie open to one another" (Meditation XVII). Donne envisions a paradisiacal end not in a return to when the whole earth had one language and few words, but instead in a multiplicity of translators and translations "open to one another."

It is only fitting that this volume open with an essay by Peter Burke, a social historian who has raised critical questions over the last decade as to translation's role in defining and shaping early modernity. His work is a model in its historical breadth and theoretical rigor as he brings diverse national literatures and disciplines together to show the massive scale of translation across Europe. Above all, his essay is an appeal to the importance of the study of reception: in this case, the language of architecture and what happens to it when a frame of reference for an entire new lexicon does not yet exist, as Italian architecture struggled to make its way out of Italy through translation. Similarly, we present his and the other essays in this volume making their way toward a new understanding of early modern translation.

CHAPTER I

Translating the Language of Architecture

PETER BURKE

One of the major shifts in cultural history in the last generation, as indeed in economic history, has been the inclusion of consumption alongside production. The new emphasis on consumers of culture treats them not as passive receivers but as active "reemployers" and as makers of meaning. Literary historians now study readers as well as writers; musicologists study listeners as well as composers and performers; historians of art and architecture study clients and viewers as well as artists; and theorists of reception offer generalizations about all these processes, shifting attention away from the individual creator and examining collective processes of transmission that often involve changes of meaning, linked to the consumers' horizons of expectations.[1] It is therefore no surprise to see a rise of interest in the history of translation.

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In the case of the Renaissance (a term used here to refer to a movement rather than a period), an academic interest in the reception of Roman law and of humanism goes back to the later nineteenth century.[2] As his collected works show, the central enterprise of the scholarly life of Aby Warburg was the way in which the classical tradition was received and transformed over the centuries, especially but not exclusively in the realm of visual culture.[3]

All the same, it is only recently that reception has become a major theme in the study of the Renaissance, especially in the case of literature, often focusing on individual writers or their books.[4] General interpretations of the

The degree of likeness or unlikeness depends not on substantive similarities but rather on timing, verbal actions, and hermeneutic perceptions. In the eyes of Hortensio/Leechio, whose nickname connotes both lechery and license, as we have seen, while also (additionally) suggesting "lis, litis," the Latin nominative and genitive forms for a legal controversy or a suit, Bianca starts to look like a poorly trained hawk, one that rebels against her master by failing to seek her true prey and going instead for a "stale"—a decoy pigeon (3.1.84). Editors suggest, indeed, that that word applies to Lucentio as he is seen, at the end of the home-schooling scene, by his disappointed male rival; but Katherina, or the boy playing her, applies the same word to herself in her very first words in the play, words in which she is imagining herself as she is likely seen by others: "I pray you, sir, is it your will / To make a stale of me amongst these mates?" (1.1.157–58). As Karen Newman observes, Katherina plays here "on the meaning of stale as laughing stock and prostitute, on 'stalemate,' and on mate as husband."[73] Continuing Newman's feminist work of opening the compressed "puncept"[74] of "stale," I would like to note that according to the OED, the meaning of "stale" as "decoy pigeon" has a French genealogy (from "estalon"), whereas another set of meanings, from the Old English (Teutonic) intertwines "stale" with "steal" (the two "cannot be completely separated," write the OED editors). Moreover, the two lines of signification, Teutonic and Romance, as it were, cross and recross historically to produce meanings that associate "decoy" with "thief's accomplice," and specifically with that much-used male or female body for sale as a "prostitute." This meaning in turn mixes with those shades of stale that apply to food, drink, and erotic experiences that are "worn out," stale in the sense of not fresh, not new. "Stale," like "lechery," is clearly part of that transnational kinship group that, as we have seen, interests Derrida in "What Is a 'Relevant' Translation?" When Katherina protests vehemently her father's treating her as a "stale," she both displays a certain linguistic agency and presses upon readers and spectators the (not new) idea that the "stale" is a phenomenon with multiple parts, signifying in different times and places. Created in part by the reader's or spectator's act of "constering," the "stale" is a queer and labile sign. It resembles translation as I have attempted to trace it here, across and within the shifting, contested borders of an English language: a no-man's-land that no forces of homeland security can secure or make English only.

CHAPTER 7

On Contingency in Translation

JACQUES LEZRA

Here's how the story goes.

Calixto, a young man of good standing in the city, is trying to find a way to make contact with a protected, beautiful young woman he has glimpsed accidentally and then spoken to, while chasing his hawk into an enclosed garden. One of his servants arranges for a notorious go-between to offer her services; when this go-between knocks on the master's door, another servant announces to Calixto that the first servant, Sempronio, is at the door with an "old bawd hee hath brought along with him." We are of course in the landscape of Fernando de Rojas's 1499 work *La Celestina*, or as James Mabbe's translation has it, the world of *The Spanish Bawd*.[1] Calixto worries aloud that this serviceable go-between will feel insulted at being called a bawd, *puta vieja* in Rojas's Castilian. His servant, Pármeno, answers him:

> ¿Por qué, señor, te matas? ¿Por qué, señor, te congoxas? ¿E tú piensas que es vituperio en las orejas desta el nombre que la llamé? No lo creas; que assí se glorifica en le oyr, como tú, quando dizen: ¡diestro cauallero es Calisto! E demás desto, es nombrada e por tal título conocida. Si entre cient mugeres va e alguno dize: ¡puta vieja!, sin ningún empacho luego buelue la cabeça e responde con alegre cara.... Si passa por los perros, aquello suena su ladrido; si está cerca las aues, otra cosa no cantan; si cerca los ganados, balando lo pregonan; si cerca las bestias, rebuznando dizen: ¡puta vieja! Las ranas de los charcos otra cosa no suelen mentar. Si va entre los herreros, aquello

> dizen sus martillos. Carpinteros e armeros, herradores, caldereros, arcadores, todo oficio de instrumento forma en el ayre su nombre. Cántanla los carpinteros, péynanla los peynadores, texedores. Labradores en las huertas, en las aradas, en las viñas, en las segadas con ella passan el afán cotidiano. Al perder en los tableros, luego suenan sus loores. Todas cosas, que son hazen, a do quiera que ella está, el tal nombre representan. ¡O qué comedor de hueuos asados era su marido! ¿Qué quieres más, sino, si vna piedra toca con otra, luego suena ¡puta vieja!?[2] (Rojas 2001, 256–57)

> You don't really imagine that the name I used for this one insults her ear? Don't believe it for a second: she's as proud of hearing herself called it as you are when someone says: What an accomplished gentleman is Calisto! And what's more—this is the name she's known by, and that's her right title. Say that there's a hundred women, and someone happens to call out: Puta vieja! Without the least inhibition she'll right away turn her head and answer happily. . . . If she walks near a pack of dogs, their bark rings out: Puta vieja! If she comes near birds, their song is nothing but; if she happens on a flock, the sheep will baa it out; if near donkeys, their braying says: Puta vieja! Frogs in puddles have nothing else to say. If she strolls among blacksmiths, their hammers speak it out. Carpenters, builders, farriers, tinkers, coopers, every manner of tool forms her name in the air. Carpenters sing it, wool-carders card it, weavers, farmhands in the gardens, in fields, in the vineyards, in the threshing fields, spend their work-time with her. When folks lose at board games, her praises sound. All things that make sound, wherever she happens to be, make out that name. What a cuckold was her husband! What else can I say, but this: if one stone touches upon another, what sounds out is Puta vieja![3]

This is grand fun—a rhetorical cascade, an escalation *a minore ad maiorem* toward the concluding, ringing "if one stone touches another, what sounds out is 'Puta vieja!'" That it is not *only* grand fun becomes apparent in the course of the work, as the movement *of* stones and *among* stones—as for instance when Celestina remarks, "Las piedras parece que se apartan e me fazen lugar que passe"—and the consequences of things accidentally rapping upon stones take on an increasingly sinister quality, to climax with Calixto's accidental fall from a ladder: Melibea, rather too graphically, tells her father, just before dashing herself onto the same stones in imitation of her lover, "De la triste cayda sus más escondidos sesos quedaron repartidos por las piedras e paredes" (he pitcht upon his head, and had his braines beaten out, and dasht in pieces against the stones, and pavement of the streete; 196). It is also a remarkable staging of the problem of translation, taken in a number of its limiting cases: the matter of understanding, as speech, how the mere sound made accidentally by "every manner of tool forms her name in the air," and, more strangely still, how natural phenomena, like the casual rapping or touching of one stone upon another, name and describe Celestina: "¡Puta vieja!"

The lumpy field of early modern translation is bounded by limiting cases—on one side, negative limits, cases of radical asymmetry or downright untranslatability, some of them on display in Pármeno's lines from *La Celestina*: the translation of God's word; the translation of the sovereign's command; translation from the language of the authorized and authorizing classical tongues; translations of the Aesopian language of beasts; translations from the languages of encroaching foreigners or resistant internal linguistic and ethnic minorities; translations to and from the languages of newly discovered American tribes. On the other side, the field of early modern translation is bounded by fantasies of universal languages and universal communication—again, God's word, incipient formal languages like mathematics—cases where there would be no need for translation at all. The scene of the exclaiming stones from *La Celestina* carefully marshals both, often simultaneously, to scandalous effect—negative limits becoming positive ones and vice versa, the utterly foreign sound of the croaking frog suddenly sharing with human speech and with the ringing of hammers a single, rigid referent, as though "¡Puta vieja!" were the single expression that every manner of articulation, intentional or not, linguistic or not, shared, "formed in the air."

Two things about this scenario are scandalous, and they are quite different. The first is signaled by Rojas's daring translation of Christ's exclamation to the Pharisees when, in the Gospel of Luke, they ask him to rebuke his disciples for crying "Osanna fili David, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini!" (Luke 19:40): "And he answered and said unto [the Pharisees], I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out" ("Magister, increpa discipulos tuos. Quibus ipse ait: Dico vobis, quia si hi tacuerint, lapides clamabunt," as the Vulgate has it). It is futile to silence my disciples, says Jesus: "the rocks and stones themselves would start to sing Hosanna," as the rock musical *Jesus Christ Superstar* famously put it—though in Rojas's startlingly heterodox translation, rocks, stones, animals, hammers, and disciples all sing "¡Puta vieja!" The second occasion for scandal here comes from the strange analogy between modes of expression that this blasphemous syncretism produces: all sounds "formed in air" call out in Castilian Celestina's name, or rather her eponym, her description and her social function—"¡Puta vieja!" The result is not to grant "all things that make sound, wherever [Celestina] happens to be," the elevated status of articulated human language, but to point out that human language shares with mere sounds certain irreducibly material aspects, on the one hand a wroughtness that the *sounds* of artisans' tools borrow metonymously from the scene of those tools' instrumental use, on the other hand the quality of accidentality, of contingent occurring on which Rojas's catalogue concludes: "What else can I say, but this: if one stone touches upon another, what sounds out is Puta vieja!," or in the Castilian, "¿Qué quieres más, sino, si vna piedra toca con otra, luego suena ¡puta vieja!?"

Let us ask four questions straight away. They have much less interest in themselves than in their relation to each other; none of them *alone* will allow us to approach Rojas's text, or understand the challenge it poses to our theories and practices of translation, but perhaps their combination will. In the first place, are there early modern theories of translation that could account for Rojas's translational materialism, or for the scandalous pairing of linguistic materialism with parodic theology in this passage—and if so, what definition of "theory" and of "translation" are we employing to assert that this is so? Second, what is it that these theories, if there are any, or practices or systematic accounts of translation in the period of early modernity, can contribute to contemporary theory of translation? In the third place, what if anything do contemporary theories of translation—theories of translation developed in the wake of Herder, the Schlegel brothers, and the great projects of rational enlightenment; theories of translation that take account of the dynamics of decolonization, of technological innovations, of economic and mediatic globalization—allow us to see about the lexical culture of early modernity that was perhaps not clear in that period? Finally, in what way can theories of translation, or systematic accounts of translation, or descriptions of practices of translation, whether early modern or contemporary, help us to understand the chronological sorts of translation that my first questions envision?

These questions operate on different levels. They are genealogical as well as historiographical and methodological questions; their domains shift; they encroach upon each other, implying, presupposing, and inhabiting each other. They express different disciplinary fantasies, agreements, and desires. Addressing them requires us to put in place different protocols for argument, evidence, and verification. My questions presume not just different definitions of translation, but different ways of *defining* terms in general. We are never only talking *about* early modern translation, its practices or systematic articulations—we are also talking *in* translation, that is, performing an act of historico-imaginative reconceptualization of chronologically different cultural practices, amounting to a sort of translation. We are operating *from* conceptions of translation built about the great factors of modernization—technological shifts, denationalization, globalization, the loss of linguistic diversity, and so on. How we conceptualize what we are doing when we talk about early modern translation is itself a theory of translation; call it a historiographical one, not to be confused with any of the other sorts in this determining, over- and underdetermining circuit.

Nevertheless, with the exception of the last of my questions, the stickinesses I raise here would apply to any modestly self-aware form of historiography, which would want to be as clear-sighted as possible about the ways in which its object of inquiry might be the product of institutional and other desires at work at the moment of study, and would want to take account of any deforming debts it might owe, conceptually and methodologically, to that object. But when we ask in what way theories of translation, or systematic accounts of translation, or descriptions of practices of translation, whether early modern or contemporary, can help us to understand historiography, we are making a specific sort of methodological assertion. We are claiming that "translation" does not work *only* as the object of analysis, a cultural element among others, subject to description and interpretation in the way for instance that the fluctuating price of commodities in the early seventeenth century might be, or in the way that a particular work, whether a building or a poem, might be, or in the way that a practice might be, for instance a devotional practice in flux in the post-Tridentine period. When we ask in what way theories of translation can help us to understand historiography, or to understand a historiographical claim like "Fernando de Rojas's *La Celestina* is a modern or modernizing work," we agree implicitly that historiography works as a *sort of* translation, and hence that "translation" has a metadiscursive as well as a discursive function when we study early modernity. Pármeno's marvelous lines seem to provide an incontrovertible example of this folding in of translation's discursive and metadiscursive functions, since the "translations" of barking, hammering, croaking, speaking, and stones' knocking into the Castilian "¡Puta vieja!" also serve the heterodox function of commenting upon the translation of theological tropes into secular speech, of theological time into human time—and of transferring onto the latter the characteristics of the former—with far-reaching consequences for the theology of translation, and for our conceptions of providence, determination, and freedom. But is this folding of translation upon itself, as a discursive object as well as a metadiscursive syntactical element concerned with its material status, true of early modernity alone, or especially?

Allow me to answer this question with an example.

It is conventional to locate the emergence of modern Spanish grammar in the work that the great Spanish lexicographer and grammarian Antonio de Nebrija dedicated to Queen Isabel of Spain, in the signal year of 1492, some seven years before Rojas published *La Celestina*, the *Gramática de la lengua castellana*. This convention, however, is fairly recent, as the work itself had singularly little practical value, being published in one limited run in 1492, and then not again till the eighteenth century. (This is wildly overstated, in fact, since the work's influence was profound in humanist circles in Spain and out—its influence is simply not measurable in terms of print runs.) The critical consensus treats the *Gramática*, rather uneasily, as the anticipatory *symptom* of modernity precisely—a linguistic and national modernity accidentally underscored by the work's date of publication, which falls in the year of the expulsion of Spain's Jews, of the fall of Granada, of Isabel's patronage of Columbus, and so on, a litany of world-historical events. Nebrija dedicates his *Gramática* to "la mui alta y assí esclarecida princesa doña Isabel," (the very high and equally enlightened princess Isabel).[4] The dedicatory prologue is of course best known for the famous, famously overused proposition with which Nebrija opens, "que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio: y de tal manera lo siguió: que juntamente començaron, crecieron y florecieron, y después junta fue la caida de entrambos"—the proposition that "language was ever the companion of empire, and so follows it that they began together, grew and flourished together, and then declined together" (3).

"Siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio" tends to be trotted out to underscore the imbrication of empires, for instance Spain's soon-to-emerge empire in the New World, with early national ethnic and linguistic consolidation. And this is of course in part the case, and it is certainly the part most congenial to disciplinary practices that seek in early modernity the devices that consolidate a colonial-imperial regime whose endings, whether in 1898 or in 1975, they diagnose and celebrate. Sure enough, the ethnic-linguistic history that Nebrija tells leads, by historical *translationes imperii*, *from* "el antigüedad de todas las cosas: que para nuestra recordación e memoria quedaron escriptas" (5; the greatest antiquity of all things, which remain written for our remembrance and memory), and *from* the empires of Assyrians, Indians, Sicinians, and Egyptians, he says, *to* Isabel's own kingdom. The empire of Spain and Castilian Spanish that Nebrija seeks to describe and help found in 1492 looks within and without, and the project of national-linguistic consolidation is the place where the imperial and the national projects coincide. For at the same moment that Spain initiates the expulsion of its Jews and looks to the West for a trade route to the Indies, seeking the translation of empire across the Atlantic, Spain also, as Nebrija's text makes clear, begins to look within, to constitute itself *as* Spain (rather than semi-independent kingdoms allied by a common threat and purpose, the reconquest of Spain) by creating a nation of Castilian speakers composed of Biscayans and Navarrese as well as Aragonese, residual speakers of Arabic, Hebrew, and merely regional languages. "What will this book be for?" the queen had asked him, and, responding to her in Nebrija's place, or so Nebrija says, the bishop of Avila has answered:

> Que después que vuestra Alteza metiesse debaxo de su iugo muchos pueblos bárbaros y naciones de peregrinas lenguas: y con el vencimiento aquellos ternían necessidad de recebir las leies: quel vencedor pone al vencido y con ellas nuestra lengua: entonces por esta mi Arte podrían venir en el conocimiento della como agora nos otros deprendemos el Arte de la Gramática latina para deprender el latín. I cierto assí es que no sola mente los enemigos de nuestra fe que tienen ia necessidad de saber el lenguaje castellano: mas los vizcaínos, navarros, franceses, italianos, y todos los otros que tienen algún trato y conversación en España y necessidad de nuestra lengua. (8)
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> That after your Highness had brought under her yoke many barbarian peoples and nations of foreign tongues [*peregrinas lenguas*], and after these peoples had been conquered they would have to receive the laws that the victor imposes upon the vanquished, and with these laws, our tongue. And then, by means of this my book they will come to understand it, as we now learn Latin from books of Latin grammar. It is true furthermore that it is not only the enemies of our faith who need to know the Castilian language, but also Biscayans, Navarrese, the French, Italians, and all others who have any dealing and conversation with Spain, and need our language.

But the historico-teleological story that Nebrija's phrase tells when taken in full, and which forms the core of the balance of the prologue, is much less familiar than its bald beginning. And taken in full, phrase and story do not quite lend themselves to the congenial fantasy they are most commonly made to serve, the story of a self-constituting linguistic-imperial and nationalist project taking on the translated mantle of antique or recent empires after the reconquest of Spain from its Muslim occupiers, then exporting this new hegemonic form westward, and imposing it internally on recalcitrant communities.

Or rather, if Nebrija's prologue *does* serve as the early record of this constituting device, the conjoining of national and imperial projects by linguistic means, it is on the back of a genuinely complicating factor. In order to assume the translated mantle of empire handed it by Romans, Greeks, Hebrews, Arabs, and so on, Spain and the Spanish tongue, Castilian, must not only stand to these empires in the same relation as each stood to the other—their successor, by virtue of conquest. Spain and Castilian must resemble them in form and custom. Because they shared a common linking of language and empire, Spain and the Spanish tongue can assume, by virtue of their similar linking of language and empire, the roles as imperial languages and state handed them in translation by their predecessors. Isabel's new kingdom must stand both inside and outside of this translated history and history of the translation of empires: like its predecessors, Spain's empire emerges primitively in hand with an equally primitive language ("tuvo su niñez en el tiempo de los juezes y reies de Castilla y de León," writes Nebrija: Castilian "had its childhood in the time of the judges and kings of Castile and Leon") (5). Spain shows its nascent strength alongside the first great cultural products of and in the language ("començó a mostrar sus fuerças en tiempo del mui esclarecido y digno de toda la eternidad el rei don Alonso el sabio," writes Nebrija; Castilian "began to show its strength in the time of the very enlightened and worthy of all eternity king, don Alfonso the Wise") and reaches its maturity in the reign of Isabel, when the combination of the monarch's labor and divine providence unites "los miembros y pedaços de España que estauan por muchas partes derramados" (6; the members and parts of Spain that were spilt in many places).

At this moment, then, if the translation is to stay consistent, Spain will begin its geopolitical decline along with its language. (These are companion and correlative terms, so one could as easily say that the language will begin to decline along with the empire.) And it is at this point that Nebrija, understandably uncomfortable to be seen prognosticating to its monarch the decline of her empire just at the moment of its seeming linguistic consolidation, does three things—none of them consistent with his project so far, and taken together not only subversive in the extreme, but exceptionally *modern* or even *modernizing* in their consequences. Most strongly put, one could say that European modernity hinges on these three gestures in translation, these three decisive moves in the theory of imperial-linguistic translation, that we find in Antonio de Nebrija's 1492 prologue. For, anxious perhaps that the ontogenetics of his historiography guarantees his patron's decline as well as emergence, Nebrija switches the historiographical register, translating his story into the idiom of providential historiography, or seeking rather to marry or conjugate the two by asserting that Spain enjoys "la monarchía y paz . . . primeramente por la bondad y prouidencia diuina, después por la industria, trabajo y diligencia de vuestra real Majestad" (6; sovereignty and peace first because of divine goodness and providence, and then on account of the care, work and diligence of your majesty). Isabel's empire will not suffer the decline of previous empires because hers is a specifically *Christian* one, and she is able to labor in consort with providence to elaborate a state "la forma y travazón del cual assí está ordenada que muchos siglos, iniuria y tiempos no la podrán romper ni desatar. Assí que después de repurgada la cristiana religión: por la cual somos amigos de Dios o reconciliados con él . . . no queda ia otra cosa sino que florezcan las artes del paz" (6; whose form and the workings of which are ordered in such a way that neither the passing of many centuries, nor insults, nor the change of customs will be able to break or untie it. So, after the Christian religion has been cleansed, the religion through which we are friends of God or reconciled with him . . . the only thing left is for the arts of peace to flourish).

Thus far, then, an anxious move of supplementation, theology descending to secure the exceptional, almost eschatological frame into which human history is translated by "el cumplimiento del tiempo: en que embió Dios a su unigénito hijo" (the accomplishing of that time, in which God sent his only son). There is nothing terribly remarkable in this, except inasmuch as Nebrija's story has to this point been, if not exactly a secular one, at any rate a story whose great laws, of emergence, consolidation, and decline, are the laws associated with natural bodies rather than divine ones.[5] But in order to make this providential argument, a second one is marshaled alongside it: the argument, as it were, from the book, from Nebrija's book, and concerning his book's role in securing that the old compact between state and language will not be broken. This is the curious passage in which Nebrija asserts, with a force in which we begin to see why he is so often identified as an early Spanish *humanist*, the value of his project:

> I por que mi pensamiento y gana siempre fue engrandecer las cosas de nuestra nación: y dar a los ombres de mi lengua obras en que mejor puedan emplear su ocio, que agora lo gastan leiendo novelas o istorias enbueltas en mil mentiras y errores, acordé ante todas las otras cosas reduzir en artificio este nuestro lenguaje castellano. . . . Por que si otro tanto en nuestra lengua no se haze como en aquellas [griego y latín], en vano vuestros cronistas y estoriadores escriven y encomiendan a inmortalidad la memoria de vuestros loables hechos, y nos otros tentamos de passar en castellano las cosas peregrinas y estrañas, pues que aqueste no puede ser sino negocio de pocos años. I será necessaria una de dos cosas: o que la memoria de vuestras hazañas perezca con la lengua; o que ande peregrinando por las naciones estranjeras: pues que no tiene propria casa en que pueda morar. En la çanja de la cual io quise echar la primera piedra, y hazer en nuestra lengua lo que Zenódoto en la griega y Crates en la latina. (6–7)

> And because my thoughts and desires have always been set on exalting everything about our nation, and to give the men of my tongue works in which to employ their idle hours with profit, which they now spend reading novels or stories wrapped in a thousand lies and errors, for this reason I resolved, before all else, to bring into useful shape [*reduzir en artficio*] this our Castilian language . . . for if we do not do this same thing with our tongue, as has been done in Greek and Latin, it will be in vain that your chroniclers and historians will write and consign to immortality the memory of your praiseworthy deeds, as it will be in vain for others of us to try to transport into Spanish things wonderful and strange [*las cosas peregrinas y estranas*]. For this can only be the task of a few years. And one of two things will necessarily follow: either the memory of your deeds will perish with our tongue; or it will wander lost in foreign lands [*que ande peregrinando por las naciones estranjeras*]; for it will have no proper home in which to dwell. And into the foundations of this home I wished to set the first stone, and to do for our tongue what Zenodotus did for Greek, and Crates for Latin.

The second argument, which seeks to understand Nebrija's *Gramática* as the vehicle for the empire's preservation, and Nebrija himself as the providential savior of Spanish history as a result, sits uncomfortably next to the first. The third gesture has to do not with the intervention of providentialism, not with agency and putting Nebrija's own interventions on a par with the intervention of providence—as though the human writer's intervention secured the memory of the queen's deeds from the inevitable drift into oblivion that providentialism *also* serves to ward against—but with this strange house that Nebrija seeks to build, out of language, for the memory of the queen's deeds, which will otherwise wander, *peregrinar*, in strange lands. As the parallelism between the phrases "cosas peregrinas y estranas" and "peregrinando por las naciones estranjeras" suggests, here the memorializing side of Nebrija's project becomes a means at once of securing the target language into which things wonderful and strange can be transported from other languages, and of ensuring that the queen's deeds do not exist merely in translation, wandering in foreign languages, but have a proper linguistic home as well. Nebrija is playing on the exquisite double sense of the word "peregrino," which means, as Sebastián de Covarrubias tells us in his 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua*, both "el que sale de su tierra en romeria a visitar alguna casa santa, o lugar santo," a pilgrim who leaves his land in order to journey to some holy house—hence one who wanders far from home; and "cosa peregrina, cosa rara," a strange or unusual thing.[6] The etymology Covarrubias gives for this strange word is "Dixose en Latin *peregrinus à peregre, hoc est longe*, por andar largo camino" (*peregrinus*, from the Latin *peregre*, that is, "far," because it entails covering a long road).

We return to Nebrija's *Gramática*. The task of the grammarian, of the prescriptive as well as descriptive grammarian, is, then, to make it possible to translate odd or wandering things, odd or wandering terms, *cosas peregrinas*, into Spanish from other tongues, into a Spanish tongue that welcomes them into itself; but also to make it possible for Spanish to be translated into other tongues and into a national memory *from* a place where it is not "strange" itself or strange *to itself*, not itself *peregrina*, but at home. Things, *cosas*, or terms can only be strange and wandering, *peregrinas*, if they have a home, a grammatical home, in the first instance. But Spanish becomes foreign and goes into translation when it has none.

This picture of geopolitical wandering, of peregrine and homeless languages secured by the providential will of the humanist grammarian, is on the whole rather confusing, but it is a *systematic* confusion. In Nebrija, translation, the matter of moving "things" or "terms" between natural languages, operates both as a term to describe the things moved and the moving of the things, both the terms and the translation. Translation is both a noun, or a substantive, and a verb, a verbalized noun; it occupies different discursive levels. One would of course be inclined to overlook this conceptual and syntactical slippage or folding of discursive and metadiscursive elements if the author were not so fine a grammarian, so clamorously committed to the regularization of usages, to the normativization of linguistic practice, and hence, one would suppose, deeply averse to these sorts of amphibian terms. In the *Gramática*, though, the grammatical transference between nouns and verbs for translation, the verbalization of the noun "peregrino" into the form "peregrinar," is the marker of a drift internal to language, to a theory of language that moves from nouns to verbs, from a lexical to a grammatical conceptualization, from names to relations between names. This drift seems on first sight to match, to translate well from the grammatical to the geopolitical domain, the drift of empires that Nebrija is also treating in these lines—the drift of peoples from the enclosure of their borders outward, into commercial and other relations with others, a Babelian dispersal, the movement from localism to the grand grammar of international relations. The difficulties in all *this*, however, both in the grammatical case and in the case of the geopolitical imaginary that it seems to translate, finally come down to determining, in the first place, which comes first, conceptually as well as historically—the verb or the noun, the local or the global, state or empire; and in the second place, what force or agency compels this drift, grammatical as well as geopolitical, to occur at all.

In Nebrija's prologue, as we have seen, at the moment at which the question of the decline of the empire-language couplet arises, three writing or translating procedures or effects emerge—the strategy of providential historiography; the heroic strategy of the writer who seeks to secure the future of the queen's memory; and the discursive folding of grammar onto itself at the point of translation. At this crucial spot, translation is at the same time what guards the borders, what keeps "peregrine" things from entering unannounced or untranslated; and the threat to the home, the threat that what is to be preserved within Spain's national-linguistic borders will find itself, even when it is notionally at home within its own national boundaries, in a peregrine exile, homeless. The humanist function of the heroic grammarian-translator, the providential savior of an empire otherwise doomed to decline, emerges also as the engine of that very decline, of the dispersal or unrooting

of language. By the same sort of metonymy that informs the displacement of levels between the "peregrine" and the "peregrination," noun and verb, state and empire, the translator and the translation exchange properties, neither prior to the other, each following the other. This moment of exchange, we might say, marks the simultaneous entrance of secular agency into the world of history, and its exit. Secular agency enters the world by an act of providence, which provides the figure of the heroic grammarian whose epic task is to secure the reign of Isabel. Simultaneously, however, providence acts to remove *from* history the verb, the act by means of which the figure, the subject and the substantive, of the heroic grammarian enters history. The heroic grammarian is providentially called into history, as a figure and an example of secular agency; but his being-called-into-history is itself envisioned, not as, or not only as, an act of providence, but also as mere happenstance, the mere touch of contingent occurring. Act and substance, translator and translation, now touch upon the contingency of mere occurring, upon what *La Celestina*, Rojas's remarkable and contemporaneous work, signals by the mere "touching" of stone knocking on stone.

Nebrija's modernity lies in his willingness to entertain this double, contradictory thought about the history he is describing, and about his own relation to that history. We can now see that the etymology that Sebastián de Covarrubias provides for the term governing and incorporating this strange logic, the word "peregrino," serves in fact to foreclose a range of senses found in Nebrija's use of the term, and to foreclose more broadly the dangerous, modern logic that Nebrija's *Gramática* invents and discloses. For in the *Gramática*, Nebrija is enacting and expressing, with unsparing clarity and rigor, in the mirror-structure linking the grammatical drift of peregrine translation to the geopolitics of imperial translation, the sense that the term "peregrinus" had *in the empire*: the foreigner at Rome, the noncitizen among citizens. "Peregrinus" is different, the Calepinus tells us, from the *hospes*, from the foreigner who comes to a foreign city, *qui aliena civitate est*, inasmuch as the *peregrinus, qui in sua civitate non est*, is he who is not in his city, he who is shorn of the positive predicate of being in another, even an alien city, he who is shorn of the positive predicate of inhabiting the alien city: the *peregrinus* lies within the borders of what he does not inhabit.[7] No, like the radically republican citizen that he also figures, Nebrijas's *peregrinus*, the figure of the translator, of the translating, and of the translated term, is determined only negatively. This negative determination of the theory and practices of translation, in its grammatical as well as its political and civic senses, almost two hundred years before Spinoza, is the hallmark of the modernity that Rojas and Nebrija inaugurate, and which even so unusual a lexicographer as Sebastián de Covarrubias would find too threatening to face entirely.

It would require a different sort of writing to recapture this peregrine account of translation, opened briefly at the close of the fifteenth century and displaced and repressed, if not forgotten, over the course of the following century. It would require a writer like Cervantes, and a discursive form like the novel, able to capitalize upon the systematic strangeness of translation, emerging from that systematic, material strangeness, to sound again, in a different vein, stone on stone, letter on letter, the peregrine tones we find in Rojas and in Nebrija. I will close by referring very briefly to a passage from *Don Quixote*, Nebrija's and Rojas's great heir. We know this scene of my story well, too well. It is a story told for us by the great cheerleaders of Spanish *convivencia*. In this scene, unmistakably, the matter of translation bears the full weight of the ideologies, of the fantasies, of *andalusi* cohabitation that the confessional Hapsburg state would be busily trying to replace and erase.

The story goes like this.

A man accustomed to reading all manner of odds and ends, distraught that a book he had been reading dropped off midway, the manuscript apparently lost somewhere in the archives of La Mancha—this man, wandering the old Moorish-Jewish marketplace in Toledo, finds a manuscript destined for recycling in the shop of a silk manufacturer, notes that it is written in Arabic characters, and finds someone who can read and translate the text. It turns out to be the manuscript of the second part, or second sortie, of *Don Quixote*. This is how the 1620 edition of Thomas Shelton's translation has it. I draw your attention to the date, and I shall come back to it shortly:

> Being one day walking in the exchange of Toledo, a certain boy by chance would have sold divers old quires and scrolls of books to a squire that walked up and down in that place, and I, being addicted to read such scrolls, though I found them torn in the streets, borne away by this my natural inclination, took one of the quires in my hand, and perceived it to be written in Arabical characters, and seeing that, although I knew the letters, yet could I not read the substance, I looked about to view whether I could perceive any Moor turned Spaniard thereabouts, that could read them; nor was it very difficult to find there such an interpreter; for, if I had searched one of another better and more ancient language, that place would easily afford him. In fine, my good fortune presented one to me; to whom telling my desire, and setting the book in his hand, he opened it, and, having read a little therein, began to laugh. I demanded of him why he laughed; and he answered, at that marginal note which the book had. I bade him to expound it to me, and with that took him a little aside; and he, continuing still his laughter, said: "There is written there, on this margin, these words: 'This Dulcinea of Toboso, so many times spoken of in this history, had the best hand for powdering of porks of any woman in all the Mancha.'"[8]

This is Cervantes's Castilian:

> Estando yo un día en el Alcaná de Toledo, llegó un muchacho a vender unos cartapacios y papeles viejos a un sedero; y, como yo soy aficionado a leer, aunque sean los papeles rotos de las calles, llevado desta mi natural inclinación, tomé un cartapacio de los que el muchacho vendía, y vile con caracteres que conocí ser arábigos. Y, puesto que, aunque los conocía, no los sabía leer, anduve mirando si parecía por allí algún morisco aljamiado que los leyese; y no fue muy dificultoso hallar intérprete semejante, pues, aunque le buscara de otra mejor y más antigua lengua, le hallara. En fin, la suerte me deparó uno, que, diciéndole mi deseo y poniéndole el libro en las manos, le abrió por medio, y, leyendo un poco en él, se comenzó a reír. Preguntéle yo que de qué se reía, y respondióme que de una cosa que tenía aquel libro escrita en el margen por anotación. Díjele que me la dijese; y él, sin dejar la risa, dijo: "Está, como he dicho, aquí en el margen escrito esto: 'Esta Dulcinea del Toboso, tantas veces en esta historia referida, dicen que tuvo la mejor mano para salar puercos que otra mujer de toda la Mancha.'"[9]

I am hardly the first person to draw attention to this moment, which provides critics like Antonio Medina Molera with evidence that a "mudejarismo cervantino" animates the novel—liberal and capacious in its disordered spirit, modern, an insurgent attack upon "el ideal ascético cristiano viejo"[10]—and others like María Rosa Menocal with a symptomatic shorthand for describing the residual traces of Spanish *convivencia*, the outlines of its shape—a Christian, Muslim, and Jewish cohabitation, uneasily managed to be sure, but successful, in her view, over centuries—now, in 1605, under the most severe

Inquisitorial pressure, resulting in the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain some five years after the publication of this scene.[11] That the giveaway line here—the line that identifies the manuscript for our narrator—should be the paratextual comment that "Dulcinea had the best hand at salting pork of any maid in La Mancha"—tells us a number of things in this context. It is of course not accidental that it is pork that is being symptomatically produced here, as it is the marker, the dietary shibboleth, separating the three communities in a ritual of dietary exclusion that would make sharing food anything but a communal experience, and would stamp any *shared* lexicon with division, dissent, and dissimulation—"pork" in one tongue would count, among its principal predicates, "edible," and in other languages, "not edible." That a scene coding the transmission of cultural materials among the peoples of the book should turn on the recognition of the external marker of their differences, or one of them—the pig—need not mean that Cervantes is seeking to undercut the sort of transactional copresence of the three religions in this section. This might be easily understood as a dose of regional humor, indicating, as Eric Graf suggests, that the

> parodic and comedic tone of such episodes betrays a desire for social engineering; they are Cervantes's abstract ways of unveiling Spanish history as an absurd series of ethnic and/or cultural dialectics: Basque/Castilian, Moor/Spaniard, Leonese/Carolingian. In the end, Cervantes indicates that to be able to contextualize and to laugh at the tortuous complexity of Spanish history, so as not to become its pathetic protagonist, requires that one actively outmaneuver and defeat the fraudulent ideology of the ethnocentric Spanish national identity and replace it with the hybridized truth of said history—that is, with more historically accurate, less ideal, identities. The identity displacements offered by Cervantes's vision open the way for the reader to recognize the incredulous and resistant perspective of the native Morisco, who is presently experiencing the ill effects of Spanish nationalism.[12]

Finally, that what Dulcinea is so good at is the preserving of this pork suggests, with Cervantes's marvelous and typical humor, something about the preservation of cultural tropes or of historical residue: in the world of Cervantes's history, historiography, too, is a sort of salting away, for later consumption, of markers of difference rather than community alone.

Every detail of this famous scene, and of the ones directly preceding it (in which, as Graf suggests, the narrator's comment that Don Quixote and the Biscayan seem poised to slice each other up as you would cut a pomegranate, "una granada," is also the gastronomic correlative of the violent exclusion of the Arabs from Spain, of their expulsion, in 1492, from Granada)—every detail of this famous scene is determined and overdetermined by cultural materials of which it is a symptom and a translation. The very accidental nature of the scene, then, is revealed to be ironic, or perhaps compensatory, or even, on a more Straussian note, defensive: nothing is accidental about the scene, or put differently, what appear to be accidental elements of the scene reveal themselves to be necessary and determined, determined for instance by a "nationalist" cultural material in which "pork" is never only pork, but also always a marker of ethnic and religious distinction; a pomegranate always also the symbol of the kingdom of Granada; a silk merchant no doubt ancestrally linking the commodity "silk" to the exotic circuits of Mediterranean trade. Even the location of the market, in Toledo's Alcaná district, reveals at the level of the name its peregrine genealogy and function. "Alcaná," Covarrubias tells his readers, some six years after Cervantes publishes part one of *Don Quixote*,

> es vna calle en Toledo muy conocida, toda ella de tiendas de merceria: nombre derechamente Hebreo del verbo . . . Chana, que entre otras sinificaciones es vna *emere*, comprar, y cō el articulo Arabigo al-Kana, y Cananeo es lo mesmo que mercader, que compra y vende. . . . El padre Guadix dize, que *Alcaná* es Arabigo de *alquina*, que vale ganancia. Bien puede ser, pero de la raiz Hebrea ya dicha. Esta calle antiguamente tenian poblada los Iudios tratantes: y en tiempo del Rey don Pedro, sus hermanos d[on] Fadrique, y don Enrique, queriendo encastillarse en la ciudad de Toledo, les resistieron la entrada por la puente de Sanmartin muchos caualleros: pero haziendo la desecha dieron la buelta y vinieron a entrar por la puente de Alcantara, y hizieron gran matança en los Iudios, que passaron de mil personas, y les robaron las tiendas que tenian de merceria en el Alcaná.
>
> [Alcaná] is a well-known street in Toledo, lined with shops. The name comes directly from the Hebrew verb *chana*, one of whose meanings is *emere*, to buy. With the prefixed Arabic article it becomes al-Kana; Cananite is the same as "merchant, one who buys and sells." . . .

> Father Guadix says that *Alcaná* is an Arabic word, from *al-quina*, which means "profit." It could well be, but it derives in any case from the aforesaid Hebrew root. This street was peopled in past times by Jewish merchants. In the time of King Don Pedro, his brothers Don Fadrique and Don Enrique, wishing to take the city of Toledo, were resisted by many knights at the bridge of San Martin. Taking a different route, however, Don Fadrique and Don Enrique went round and entered through the bridge of Alcantara, and slaughtered a great number of the Jews, more than one thousand of them, and stole their shops on the Alcaná.

The Christian narrator who bumps into the manuscript, touches upon it as it were contingently, should appear to us contemporary readers but also to Cervantes's contemporaries to be a comic allegorization of the circumstances of everyday Spanish history in 1605, when it would be impossible *not* to encounter, among the detritus of Spanish society, as in the lexicon of Castilian, the relics of the Muslim and Jewish past and of the Hebrew and Arabic languages it was trying so hard to repress at other, institutional levels. Under this description, then, Cervantes's theory of translation appears to us as particularly modern precisely because it is also an exercise, as it were, in the psychoanalysis of culture—an exercise in the exposure or translation of the determinations that underlie a circumstance or an accident of the text, or of a social symptom.[13] (What appears accidental, bumping into the presence of Islam or Judaism, Arabic and Hebrew, in a marketplace in Toledo, turns out to be determined: everywhere and necessarily, Islam, Judaism, and Christianity clamorously touch upon each other in 1605, even or especially where this peregrine touch is made to seem the least plausible, the least necessary, the most accidental of circumstances.) But this would of course mean that Cervantes, like Covarrubias, has sacrificed to this culturally deterministic model of translation, however much it may appear to augur a psychoanalytic modernism at odds with other forms of determinism, the very peregrine form of translational modernity that Rojas and Nebrija seem to me to have discovered and disclosed a hundred years earlier.

Or perhaps not. For another way of approaching this matter would be to remind ourselves that Shelton's lines from the 1620 translation are not the first effort made to translate Cervantes's text into English, though they are the ones that have come down to English speakers, picked up and communicated in editions and adaptations for centuries on. The first edition of Shelton's translation, famously published in 1612 and working from the Brussels edition of *Don Quixote*, of 1607, had a number of small (and a few gross) errors, and the 1620 second edition of Shelton's translation introduced quite a few emendations in the original translation. Edwin Knowles, who first studied the two editions comparatively, noted, "The superficial and careless quality of the job as a whole is definitely proved by the many mistakes common to both editions, both in the English per se and in the English as a translation."[14] For this reason, Knowles concludes that "the correcting [in the 1620 edition] was almost certainly not done by Shelton, for none of his mannerisms occur in the variant forms, and in general the new words are more modern English" (262).[15] The changes between the 1612 and the 1620 editions are in some cases primarily cosmetic, and some are outright wrong; but others, particularly the changes to the first chapters of Shelton's 1612 edition, are more substantial, and at times they correct egregious errors.

At this juncture, then, in the Alcaná of Toledo, just at the point in Cervantes's own text where translation—the translation from Arabic script into Spanish—is made to bear the symptomatic and overdetermined weight that I have just been describing, just here where a translator is sought and produced, Cervantes's translator Shelton originally made quite a different translation from the one that the 1620 edition records. Cervantes's text, describing the moment when his narrator turns to look for someone who will translate the Arabic characters before him, reads in Castilian "anduve mirando si parecía por allí algún morisco aljamiado que los leyese; y no fue muy dificultoso hallar intérprete semejante, pues, aunque le buscara de otra mejor y más antigua lengua, le hallara."[16] The 1620 version of this passage is "I looked about to view whether I could perceive thereabouts, any Moore turned Spaniard, that could read them; nor was it very difficult to find there such an interpreter; for, if I had searched one of another better and more ancient language, that place would easily afford him" (63). But in Shelton's first translation, in 1612, "any Moore turned Spaniard" read as "any more translated Spaniard, thereabouts that could read them" (65), with the typesetter conveniently, driven by a typological logic that makes every sort of sense, having left the word "more," "Moor," shorn of one of the two *o*'s it sports in 1620, and headed off by a lowercase *m* rather than the uppercase one it garners in the corrected edition. A "more translated Spaniard," in short, a Spaniard "more translated" than the narrator, a Spaniard who has entered more deeply into the field of translation, who has traveled to more languages, across more borders, a more peregrine term, a "more translated Spaniard."

One sees why the correction in the 1620 edition is called for: this is a *lectio facilior* error, almost impossible to spot, pertaining to the phonic register of the word as well as to the visual one. And more: a "more translated Spaniard" *makes more sense* or *at least as much sense*, and in certain senses it makes *better sense* than the more accurate 1620 emendation, and perhaps even than Cervantes's original Castilian. A "more translated Spaniard" makes more sense not just because the comparative particle "more" makes sense as a way of characterizing any other Spaniard who knew more Arabic than the narrator, hence a "more translated" Spaniard, someone possessed of greater capacity to translate or someone who has himself been translated to more countries and tongues than Cervantes's narrator—and not only because it introduces the proper name, as it were, of the episode's action: it is *translation* that is the tenor of the "Moor turned Spaniard," of the tropic "turning" or conversion staged in the 1620 translation. The erroneous whiff of Shelton's "more" is better than Cervantes's Castilian, or at least as good, precisely because we do not know whether it *is* a mistake, "more" and "Moor" being, in one respect, phonically at any rate and in the loose typography of the time also visually, in at least this, the seemingly *material* sense, being at once the same and functionally and semantically entirely different. Shelton's "more" is at least as good as Cervantes's original, precisely because its undecidable, seemingly *material* obscurity, reiterated and repeated across the history of its translations, preserved as it were in linguistic salt by the hand of subsequent translators operating like Dulcinea upon the contested consumable that is Cervantes's language, reintroduces spectacularly the element of contingency, of aleatory touch, we found in Nebrija and in Rojas.

For this translation of the "Moor" into a mere "more" is an extraordinary error to make, but it is not clear *whose* error it is, Shelton's or the typesetter's, and it is not the last time that a translator, even an excellent one, will make a mistake at this point precisely. Tobias Smollett, for example, translates Cervantes's "morisco aljamiado," Shelton's "more translated Spaniard" or "Moor turned Spaniard," like this: "I was led by this my natural curiosity, to turn over some of the leaves; I found them written in Arabick, which not being able to read, though I knew the characters, I looked about for some Portugeze Moor, who should understand it" (Cervantes 1755, 45).[17] Not a "more translated Spaniard," not a "Moor turned Spaniard," but a "Portuguese Moor"—an astonishing way to render Cervantes's "morisco aljamiado." And yet Shelton, and his typesetter, and Smollett after them had at their disposal at least one source that would have given them the sense of the word "aljamiado"—Perceval and Minsheu's *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*, which gives for "Aljama or Alçama" the definition "an assembly of Jewes, or their synagogue" (Perceval), for "Aljamia," "the Moores call the Spanish toong Aljamia" (Minsheu), and "Aljamiado, made into the Spanish tongue" (Minsheu) (all in Perceval and Minsheu).[18] Cervantes's "aljamiado" is indeed an unusual word, a word in which, on the evidence of Minsheu and Perceval's dictionary, the three cultures of the book crossed paths, as they do on the Alcaná of Toledo. It is a word that names at the same time "the Spanish tongue," the "assembly of Jewes, or their synagogue," and the *aljama* as Cervantes and Covarrubias would have thought it: as, in the words of Covarrubias's *Tesoro*, "ayuntamiento y concejo" (a town council or congregation), the administrative unit into which the *morisco* populations were organized in the course of the sixteenth century in Spain.

Covarrubias's definition of the term recalls that the philologist Diego de Vrrea traced the word's etymology to "Geamiun, del verbo *gemea*, que vale ajuntar, y puede ser Hebreo de *alliam*, . . . *iam*, vale mar, y congregacion de aguas: y metaforicamente congregacion de gentes, de donde se pudo dezir aljamia" (Geamiun, from the Arabic verb *gemea* or *jemayaa*, which means "to gather together," and which may in turn derive from the Hebrew *alliam, iam*, which means "sea," and gathering of waters, and metaphorically the gathering of peoples). And Covarrubias concludes revealing, by means of a different etymology, what we, and Cervantes, and in their symptomatic errors many years later Cervantes's translators as well, realize, record, repeat: that *aljamia* and *aljamiado* are not just discursive terms in translation, but also and inseparably names for the resistant materiality *of* translating terms, that is, discursive as well as metadiscursive operators. Covarrubias concludes his definition of *aljama* recollecting that for Juan López de Velasco, "aljama" comes from "*al*, y *jamaha* lenguaje escuro en Hebreo," from "*al* and *Jamaha*, Hebrew for 'obscure language.' " Cervantes's novel captures narratively and turns to extraordinary advantage Nebrija's peregrine linguistic "obscurity." *Don Quixote*—and, in complexly irreconcilable ways, the novel's translations as well—wander, peregrine, spreading narrative functions and their associated evidentiary paradigms and protocols for veridification across narrative voices and languages in translation among each other. Think of the novel's Castilian narrators; of Cide Hamete Benengeli, the *morisco aljamiado* who translates the lost and recovered manuscript; of the Hebrew language whose greater "antiquity and perfection" still haunt the Alcaná in Toledo and despite or because of its absence can be read on every page of *Don Quixote*—this systematic confusion of languages and levels of expression capitalizes upon and generates the peregrine wandering with which this first novel of modernity recaptures and rethinks the drama of contingent translation radically set forth in Rojas's *La Celestina* at the dawn of the print age. In its translators' overdetermined, excessively motivated errors, in the symptomatic errors we detect at the moment when Cervantes's true subject matter emerges, when the peregrine obscurity of translation is itself *named*, we read, accurately to the symptomatic sense of Cervantes's work if also entirely falsely, entirely inaccurately, the *political* shape into which translational modernity can gather its late subjects.

CHAPTER 8

The Social and Cultural Translation of the Hebrew Bible in Early Modern England: Reflections, Working Principles, and Examples

NAOMI TADMOR

Around the year 1667, an Englishwoman sat down to design a work of embroidery. Leafing through pictures and sample books, she selected several images, traced the outlines on a stretched piece of fabric, and chose the colors and materials to be employed. This woman's identity remains unknown; however, her work can tell us something about Bible translation and the relationship between sacred contexts and texts (see Figure 13).

The central figure—resembling King Charles I or Charles II—was in fact an image of King Solomon.[1] He is depicted, typically, as the font of justice: in this case he is standing in judgment over the two mothers in the proverbial trial.[2] The figure to the left is the true mother, kneeling before a cavalier, holding the swaddled baby. Above her is probably the false mother, with suggestively painted cheeks and a rich yet immodest dress: she is lifting her dress to expose her petticoat and feet (while her legs are showing through), which accentuates her audacity and conveys the ultimate exposure of her falsehood.[3] The kneeling figure at the front is Pharaoh's daughter, rescuing a swaddled baby Moses from the river Nile; another Moses is seen upstream. The Puritanical-looking woman to the left of the composition is a typical Hagar, holding her son Ishmael by the hand, about to go into exile. Her banishment is

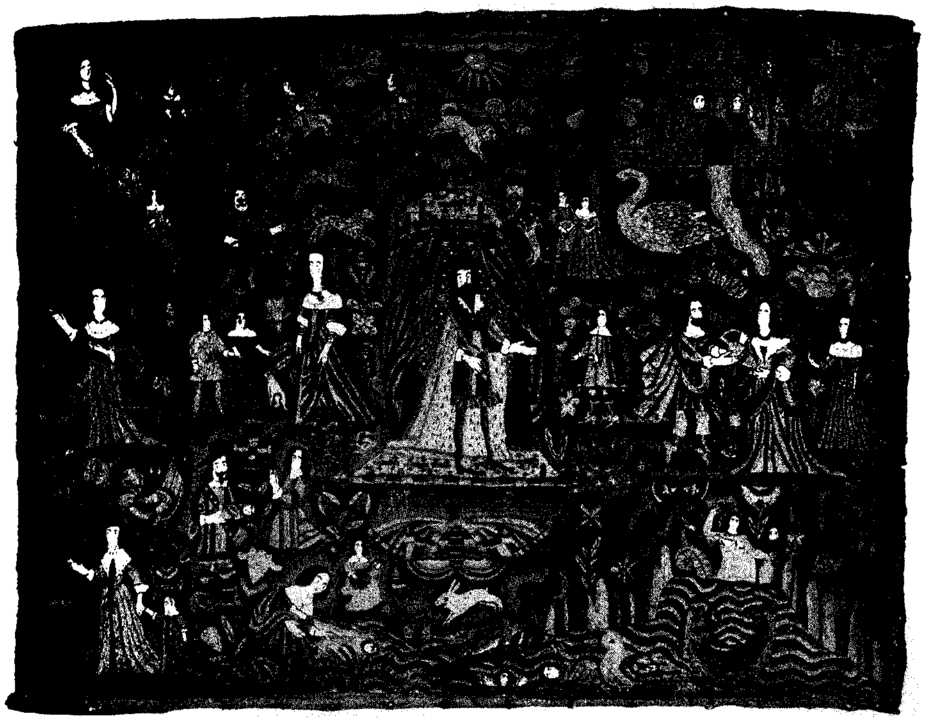


Figure 13. Panel with biblical vignettes. Copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Art Resource, NY.

reflected in her departure from the composition, which also symbolizes the triumph of the New Testament over the Old.[4] Further to the right is an image of Rebecca, giving Abraham's steward water to drink from a jug on which the date 1667 is embroidered.

These images represent a form of cultural translation. All the figures are clad in contemporary seventeenth-century clothes. They appear alongside other conventional images such as the hunting scene, formulaic representations of fauna and flora, and the country house, where the faces of the maker of the embroidery and her husband are seen peering through the window. These were, moreover, familiar images. They can be found in embroidery manuals, and generally follow the illustrations in contemporary Bibles. Evidently it was usual for people in the seventeenth century—in England, as indeed elsewhere in Europe—to imagine biblical figures as contemporaries and to transpose them from the biblical past to contemporary settings.[5]

The question to pursue here is whether the same could be done with words. Was it the case that the translated biblical text, too, had undergone a process of transposition to contemporary settings? The answer I wish to explore is—by and large—yes.[6] Similar processes of translation can be identified in the textual renditions of the English Bible, and indeed in a lineage of English versions leading to the King James Version. However, because of the sacred nature of the text these processes were both complex and constrained. The next section of this chapter outlines nine working principles, which, collectively, can help us understand aspects of the translation processes of early modern English Bibles: from William Tyndale's seminal translation (New Testament 1525, Old Testament 1530) to the companies of translators working on the King James Version (published 1611: the lineage of cardinal versions is listed below). A great deal has been written on the theory and practice of biblical translation over the centuries.[7] English Bibles, and in particular the King James Version, have been studied in detail.[8] The early modern scholarly world from which these translations have sprung cannot possibly be covered in this context. It would be useful, however, to step back from the programmatic and scholarly debates and attempt to distill a number of key practices and working principles that guided early modern translators as they went about their work, and thereby also to point out some of their complexities and contradictions. The brief third section then proceeds to offer examples of translations. In the fourth and final section, the demonstration takes the form of a case study, focusing in particular on notions of office and rule as manifested in biblical translations.[9]

The Lineage of Cardinal English Biblical Versions

1. Wycliffite Versions (Early Version c.1384, Late Version c.1395, based on the Vulgate)
2. Tyndale (New Testament 1526, Five Books of Moses 1530, from the original tongues)
3. Coverdale (1535, based on Tyndale and on other sources)
4. Thomas Matthew (1537, including Tyndale's printed translations and his unpublished drafts)
5. Great Bible (1539, based on Tyndale and other sources)
6. Geneva Bible (1560, from the original tongues and drawing mainly on Tyndale / Thomas Matthew)
7. Bishops' Bible (1568, subsequently revised, and drawing mainly on the Great Bible and the Geneva Bible)

8. Rheims-Douai (New Testament published 1582, Old Testament completed 1609–10, based on the Vulgate)
9. King James Version (1611, from the original tongues, based on the Bishops' Bible, with comparisons to 2–6, and even 8)

* * *

Studying English biblical versions, particularly from Tyndale's version onward, nine working principles can be distilled. Their manifestations and relative balance vary. Taken together, however, they can explain translation strategies and even lexical choices, as well as challenges facing the translators, for some of the principles could be incompatible.

First and foremost, English translators from the late medieval through the early modern period (who were almost invariably clerics) believed as a matter of course that the Bible is the word of God, and that it is therefore crucial that it should be rendered accurately. Ideally, as the single most important English translator, William Tyndale, explained, it should be conveyed "worde for worde." Not only the literal message was important; the very order of the words contained divine "grace a[n]d swetnesse, sence and pure vnderstandinge" that should be conveyed as best as possible.[10] As Dr. Miles Smith said in the introduction to the King James Version: "we desire that the Scripture may speake like it selfe, as in the language of *Canaan*."[11]

Second, as the Bible was the living word of God, however, it was also taken as given that its holiness would transcend any mortal rendition and any vernacular habitus—a working principle that immediately opened the door to adaptation. Miles Smith explained this, too, in the translators' introduction to the King James Version: "The very meanest translation of the Bible in English, set foorth by men . . . containeth the word of God, nay, is the word of God." Just as "the Kings Speech, which hee vttered in Parliament, being translated into French, Dutch, Italian, and Latine, is still the King's Speech."[12]

Third, it was also believed—again, following Tyndale—that the English tongue had a unique affinity with the Hebrew. Both languages lack prominent grammatical cases, which meant that their syntax (which, unlike Latin, say, is not strongly based on inflection) was perceived as highly congenial for translation, as Tyndale firmly asserted: the "manner of speakynge" in Hebrew and English, he explained, is "both one." "A thousande partes better maye it [the Bible] be translated in to the english then in to the latyne."[13] Whereas in English a word-for-word translation may be possible, as if following a straight line, in Latin one would need to "seke a compasse" to make sense of the grammatical maze. The presumed special relationship between Hebrew and English was perceived as a divine sign that the translation is important and desired by God, for all languages were created by God.[14]

Fourth, while early modern Protestant translators made it their mission to study Hebrew and to return to the original text, they were nonetheless profoundly schooled in the Latin, which they read and wrote since childhood as well as—if not better than—their mother tongue, and indeed continued to use for scholarly if not liturgical purposes.[15] This meant that however much they engaged with the original text of the Hebrew Bible, they often remained rooted in the Vulgate, which they held in great reverence.[16] The Latin Vulgate therefore continued to play a key role as a mediating text in all early modern English Bible translations, Catholic as well as Protestant, as also seen in what follows.

Fifth, as devout Christians of their era, translators habitually read the Scriptures backward, from the New Testament to the Old, to highlight the connections between the two, rather than starting from the ancient text and working forward, as the present-day philological logic might suggest. This, too, could affect lexical choices. This theological rather than philological logic made perfect sense in the culture of the time and was indeed required. The translators of the King James Version were instructed explicitly: "When a word hath diverse significations, that to be kept which has been most commonly used by the most of the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the property of the place, and the Analogy of Faith."[17] In some cases the New Testament was also translated first, which either confirmed or challenged notions of agreement.[18] In any event, renditions of the Hebrew text in the New Testament stood before key translators as they went through the chronologically earlier Hebrew text.

Sixth, all early modern biblical translations—and translators—were working with an awareness of their predecessors, starting from Wycliffe and Tyndale and leading to the King James Version. Tyndale knew the Wycliffite version but did not follow it, whereas all Protestant versions—to a greater or lesser extent—followed Tyndale (as noted earlier). The King James translators, in particular, were instructed to use certain earlier versions as the basis for translation and comparison (including versions 2–7 listed earlier).[19] Most translations of the English Bible were therefore by definition revisions, as the introduction of the King James Version piously confirmed: their aim was "not to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better, out of the many good ones."[20]

Seventh, the aim of most translators was not only to render the Bible into the vernacular but to contribute to its broad dissemination. Pioneering translators—from Erasmus and Tyndale to Coverdale—wished that one day a plowboy would be able to cite the word of God in his native tongue, and a spinning woman would hum it as she worked.[21] They would no doubt have been pleased with the devout familiarity with the text demonstrated by the embroiderer of the biblical vignettes in Figure 13.

Eighth, when the literary or devotional contexts required, translators therefore habitually split semantic fields and conveyed one Hebrew word with the use of several English words, or, conversely, conveyed several words in the original with the use of single English words, as the case arose. This practice was explained programmatically in the introduction to the King James Version, yet its broader application, and implications, deserve closer attention.

Finally, the ninth principle concerns the very definition of translation. One synonym of the verb "to translate" in early modern England was indeed the (by now rarely used) verb "to English"—which also helps us to understand the translation mission. As the Bible was rendered into the vernacular, subtle and overt Englishing had taken place—unintended, sometimes inevitable, yet intended, too.[22] Celebrations of the four hundredth anniversary of the King James Version, which took place in 2011, highlighted the genius, the beauty, and the remarkable accuracy of "the Word of God in English."[23] Textual fidelity, however, as discussed here, was at least to an extent a matter of choice, if not a matter of policy and ideology.

This leads to the next section, which focuses on examples of Englishing. Starting from general examples, I will proceed to a detailed case study, highlighting the ways in which concepts of government and rule were rendered in English Bibles, with particular reference to the key word "prince."

* * *

Diverse transpositions in the meanings of biblical words are well known and widely recorded. Adam and Eve famously appear in the Geneva Bible wearing "breeches" (Gen. 3:7).[24] In one version "high priest" is described as "hed bischop"; "wise men" are called "wizards"; and "gentiles," redesignated as "hey[the]ns," are glossed in a side note: "strangers," such as those called by the Greeks "barbarous" and by "our old Saxons . . . welschmen."[25] Already in the Wycliffite Bible, the word "cider" ("sidir") appeared to designate strong drink, perhaps better to explain the text to the people of Hereford, where the "Cider Bible" is still kept.[26] When Tyndale notably insisted on using "love" rather than "charity," "elder" instead of "priest," or "congregation" instead of "church," he was willing to risk his life.[27]

Biblical dictionaries reveal, moreover, how numerous ancient words were prone to shifts, including important terms and mundane words devoid of any heavy theological baggage. Several types of spaces, for example, are described in English Bibles as "chamber," and canopy as "closet," thus invoking familiar architectural settings.[28] *Kesef* was at times rendered not as "silver" but as "money," better to depict economic transaction.[29] The hunted meat provided by Esau is specifically identified as "venision."[30] The English rebel Absalom is caught not among the tangled twigs of the Mediterranean terebinth but in the majestic branches of an oak, itself a symbol of English monarchy.[31] In other contexts birds and insects are given English names: no fewer than five different biblical birds, for example, are identified as "owl."[32] My book *The Social Universe of the English Bible* shows how common terms of social description were familiarized in an English context. The word *'ishah*, for example, was translated either as "woman" or "wife," although the Hebrew original spelled out no distinction between the two, as early modern scholars were aware. References to the "taking" of women were expressed in terms of marriage, invoking contemporary notions of monogamy (whereas the word "marriage" as such does not appear even once in the original text of the Hebrew Bible). In a similar way, the Hebrew "love thy friend" or "thy fellow man" is rendered "love thy neighbour," a crucial concept in the early modern "politics of the parish."[33]

This takes us to our particular case study concerning terms of office and rule and the translation history of the biblical term "prince."

* * *

In January 1649, King Charles I prepared himself to die. Defeated in war and condemned by a section of his own Parliament, he put his faith in the power of the word to advocate his cause. His book of last meditations, *Eikon basilike*, was disseminated on the very same day of his execution.[34] The word "prince" featured in this text as a key term: the king employed it to refer to himself, his heir, and monarchs in general. The prince's rule was presented as paramount and anchored in biblical directives. Rebellion against the prince was likewise mentioned with reference to the Bible and compared to the rebellion of Korah, who tumbled into the bottomless pit together with his clan, and was buried alive as a divine punishment for raising his head against his "prince," Moses.[35]

Indeed, English Bibles (and most importantly the King James Version, commissioned by Charles's father) left no room for doubt that the Old Testament polities were headed by "princes" and that princely rule was therefore of an unquestionably ancient and holy provenance. The patriarch Abraham was designated as a "prince."[36] His grandson Jacob was blessed as a "prince."[37] The lands Egypt, Tyrus, and Meshech (to mention but a few) were all said to be ruled by "princes."[38] These, in turn, had underneath them an array of dignitaries: dukes, lords, captains, lieutenants, even sheriffs. The word "prince" thus made its appearance 364 times in the King James's Old Testament, with additional 59 mentions in the notes.[39]

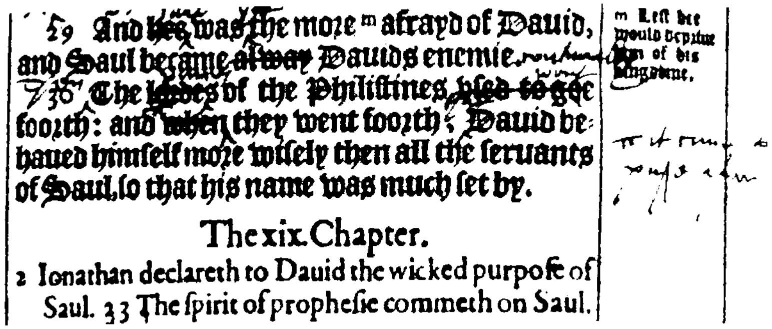
But if one turns to the Hebrew Bible itself, one cannot but wonder to what extent such representations of the biblical polities and their princely rule were accurately rooted in the original text. The gaps between the ancient formulations and their English renditions are telling, as the examples just mentioned already suggest; but when it comes to princely rule, these gaps are startling, for the term "prince" has in fact no root as such in the Hebrew Bible itself. Let us look closely at this translation case.

It was usual in biblical translations—as just suggested—to render complex Hebrew words with the use of more than one equivalent; conversely, it was not unusual to group together several Hebrew words under a single English term. But in the case of the word "prince," the gaps are wide. "Prince" consists of an amalgamation of at least fourteen different Hebrew words,[40] including (1) *nasi’* (literally the exalted one); (2) *sar* (he who has rule or might);[41] (3) *nagid* (leader, the one at the front);[42] (4) *nadiv* (generous, noble); (5) *nasikh* (anointed);[43] (6) *aḥashdarpanim* (Persian governors); (7) *ḥashmanim* (possibly ambassadors?);[44] (8) *kohanim* (priests);[45] (9) *seganim* (local governors);[46] (10) *partamim* (Persian nobles); (11) *qatzin* (chief, perhaps judge);[47] (12) *rav* (chief, commander, in compound titles); (13) *razon, rozen* (king, ruler, or judge);[48] (14) *shalish* (literally the third in place or command).[49]

In traversing this varied linguistic terrain, English translators were leaning on ancient traditions. Most of the Hebrew words rendered in English Bibles as "prince" were already grouped together in the Greek Septuagint under the word *archôn* and in the Vulgate under *princeps.* Such, for example, was the case of *nasi’* in Gen. 25:16; *sar* in Num. 21:18; and *nasikh* in Ezek. 32:30. In some contexts, usages of "prince" had also acquired a devotional significance that made them hard to change, such as *sar-shalom*, rendered as "Prince of Peace," and understood as referring to Christ.[50] Similarly, the understanding of *kohen* as "minister," "priest," and "prince" was important for tying together Ps. 110, for example, and the New Testament Epistle to the Hebrews (and thus also for linking ideas of clerical and princely rule).[51] The translators of the King James Version were explicitly instructed not to change "ecclesiastical words" such as these.[52] But in diverse other contexts, they evidently allowed themselves to shift away from the Greek and Latin traditions and introduce both differentiation and uniformity. The broad semantic field of the classical terms was divided up: the higher ranking *archōn* or *princeps* was often named "prince"; others were differentiated as "captains"; still others were defined by other terms.[53] Yet alongside these, a variety of high-ranking officers, designated in the Greek or Latin texts by several terms, were also reclassified as princes.[54] And so *ḥashmanim* in Ps. 68 was translated as "princes," although the Septuagint rendered them as equivalent to "ambassadors," and the Vulgate as *legati.*[55] In Isa. 40, *rozen* was translated as *archōn* in the Septuagint, as *secretorum scrutatores* in the Vulgate, yet as "prince" in English. In the King James Version's book of Genesis, Abraham's designation as "prince" follows the Latin *princeps*, yet departs from the Greek, where he was designated *basileus*, namely, "king."[56]

Designations of "prince" thus appeared in consecutive English versions with diverse variations until they finally were consolidated in the King James Version. On the whole, between Tyndale's seminal translation of 1530 and the King James, the number of "princes" in English Bibles had also increased. Tyndale's first rendition of the Hebrew Pentateuch contained only few usages of "prince." Faithful to his mission to translate the Bible into everyday terms, Tyndale steered away from the Latinate vocabulary and preferred simple Saxon words. He also consciously avoided terms that could be associated with the power structures of the Church. And so his translation of the Pentateuch contained fewer than two score usages of "prince." One term that he used instead was the tribal formulation "chief lord."[57]

In the course of time, however, the Latinate idiom made its way back into the English Bible, and the number of "princes" increased. The Great Bible of 1540 contained 251 usages of "prince"; the Thomas Matthew Bible, 279.[58] The Catholic Rheims-Douai version, published later with a strong emphasis on the Vulgate, had 917 mentions of "prince" in the text and notes. This already exceeded the number "princes" in the late medieval Wycliffite Bible, which, like the Catholic version, was based on the Vulgate, and in which the mentions of "prince" amounted to 766. In the King James Version, as just noted, usages



29 And ~~hee~~ was the more [m] afrayd of Dauid, and Saul became ~~alway~~ Dauids enemie.
30 The ~~lordes~~ of the Philiſtines ~~vſed to goe~~ foorth: and ~~when~~ they went foorth, Dauid behaued himſelfe more wiſely then all the ſeruants of Saul, ſo that his name was much ſet by.

The xix. Chapter.

2 Ionathan declareth to Dauid the wicked purpoſe of Saul. 33 The ſpirit of propheſie commeth on Saul.

m Leſt hee would depriue him of his kingdome.

Figure 14. The word "lords" is crossed out and "princes" inserted above the line, in preparation for the King James Version. Bishops' Bible, Bib. Eng. 1602 b. 1, at 1 Sam. 18:30. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

of "prince" stabilized at a total of 423: fewer than half their number in the Douai version, yet about 50 percent more than in Thomas Matthew's Old Testament, based on Tyndale.[59] In some biblical books the differences were particularly striking: Tyndale's version of the book of Numbers had a total of eleven mentions of "princes"; the King James had fifty.[60]

Figure 14 shows one case where the word "lords" is crossed out and "prince" is inserted instead. Figure 15 shows the full page, while Figure 16 displays another page for comparison. These images are taken from the only remaining working copy of the King James Version, assembled probably in advance of a general meeting, and kept at the Bodleian Library. The original text for revision is the Bishops' Bible, itself based on earlier traditions. These pages demonstrate also the extent to which the King James Version was a revision rather than an original translation.

From the textual point of view, the effect of this large and overall increasing use of "prince" was to flatten the undulating terrain of the original text and instill instead a false sense of uniformity. Diverse forms of government were equated and presented alike as if they pertained to "princely" rule. Differences between large- and small-scale government, for example, were thus brushed over, as were differences between local and central government, formal and informal government, and even highly structured imperial rule. And so the heads of the Israelite clans (*nasi', rosh*),[61] the primordial chiefs of the Ishmaelite dynasty (*nesi'im*),[62] the rulers of the Philistine cities (*sarei Pelishtim*),[63] the ministerial elite of the Judean kingdom (*sarim*),[64] the high commanders of the Babylonian Empire (*ravei melekh Bavel*),[65] the chief ministers

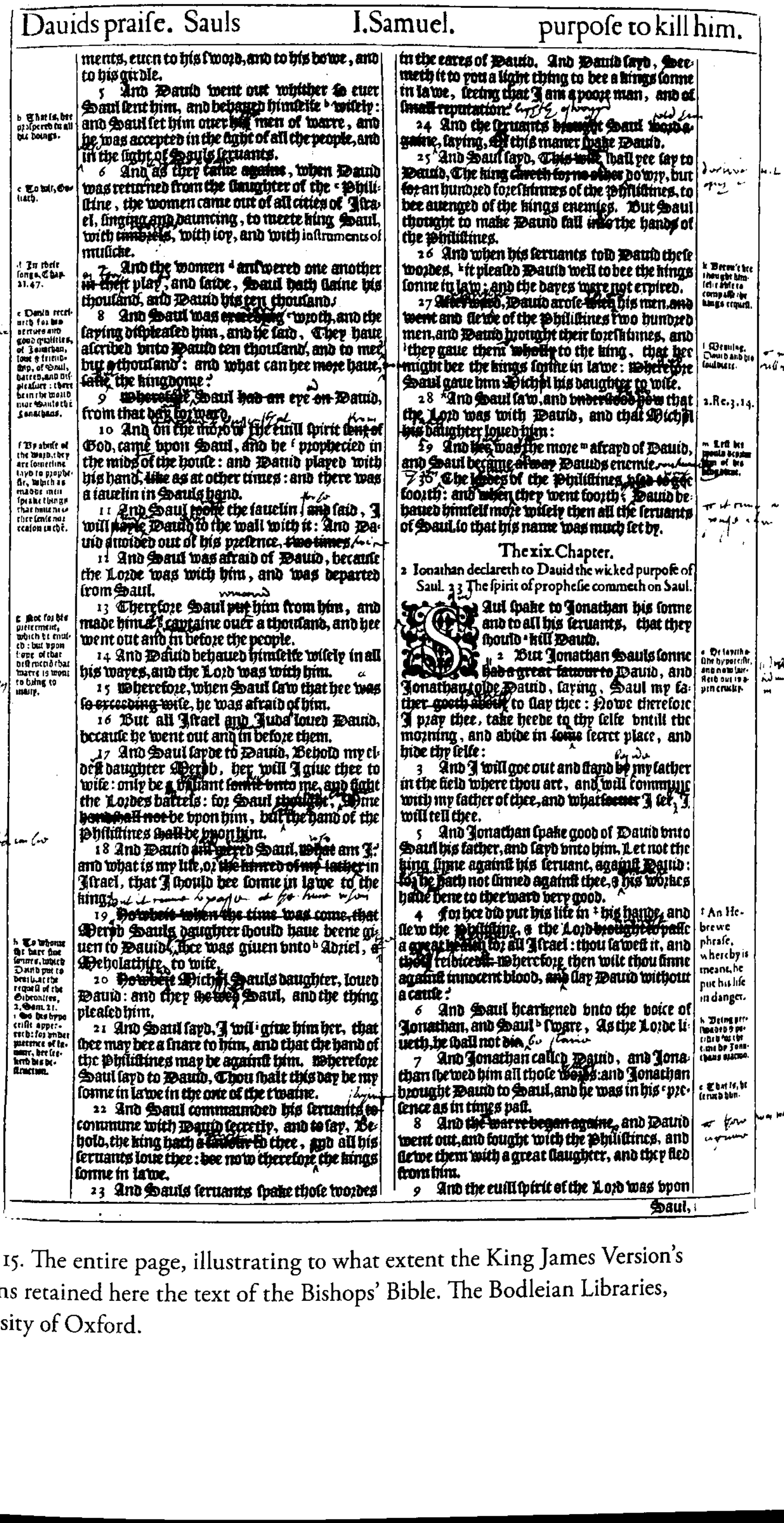
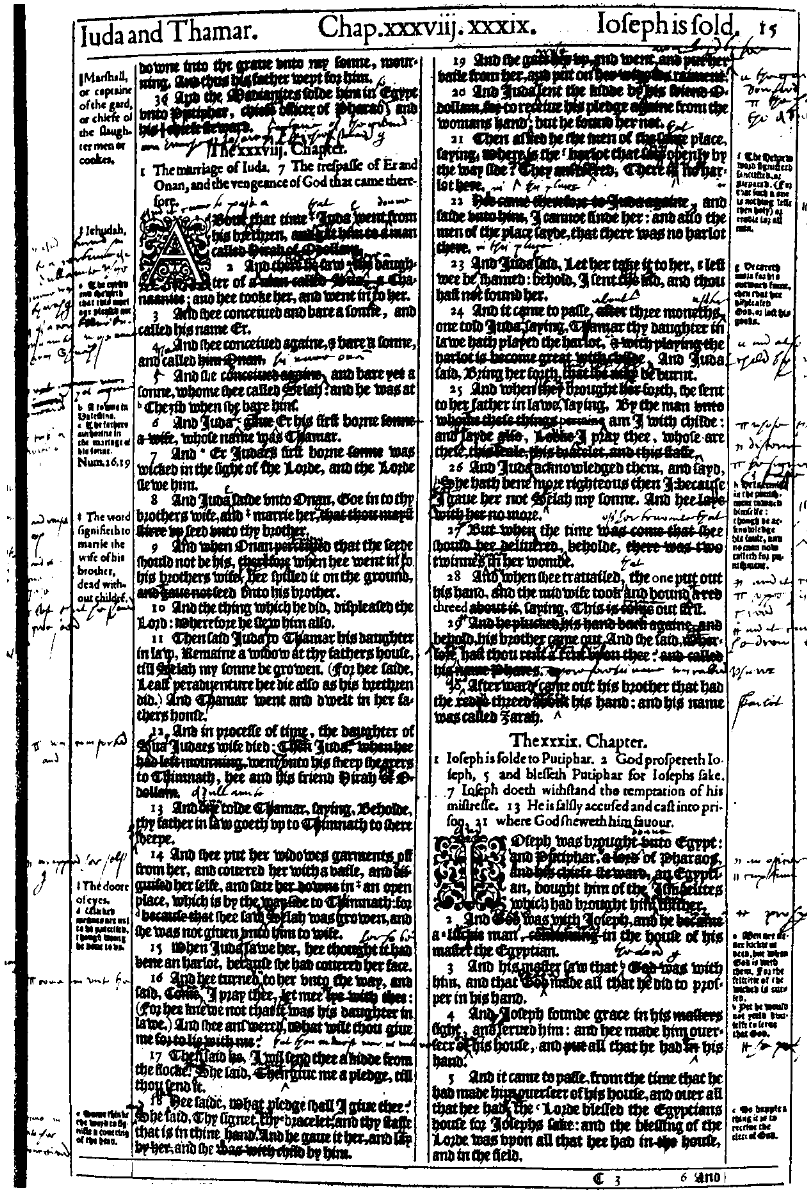


Figure 15. The entire page, illustrating to what extent the King James Version's revisions retained here the text of the Bishops' Bible. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.



Iuda and Thamar. Chap.xxxviij. xxxix. Ioſeph is ſold. 15

The xxxviij. Chapter.

1 The mariage of Iuda. 7 The treſpaſſe of Er and Onan, and the vengeance of God that came therefore.

The xxxix. Chapter.

1 Ioſeph is ſolde to Putiphar. 2 God proſpereth Ioſeph, 5 and bleſſeth Putiphar for Ioſephs ſake. 7 Ioſeph doeth withſtand the temptation of his miſtreſſe. 13 He is falſly accuſed and caſt into priſon. 21 where God ſheweth him fauour.

Figure 16. An example of a more heavily revised page. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

and satraps of the Persian Empire (*sarei ha-melekh ha-partamim*)[66]—all these were equally named as "princes." The result of this amalgamated use was that it also instilled in English Bibles a sense of chronological consistency, for it postulated no difference at all between archaic terms, say, and postexile usages. Complex geological layers of the ancient Scriptures that spanned centuries of history and included many foreign influences were thus washed out. At the same time, this simplified English idiom helped to establish in the translated Bible a strong familiar resonance, not unlike the idiom employed at that time in other popular genres, which told stories about princes, such as *The . . . most famous and renowned historie of the illustrious & excellently accomplished Prince Oceander* (published anonymously in 1600), or *The . . . history of . . . Euordanus Prince of Denmark With . . . Iago Prince of Saxonie: and . . . theyr seuerall fortunes in loue.*[67]

Significantly, this broad and overall increasing use of "prince" also served to present an array of biblical offices as if they were—or could be—a matter of sovereign and hereditary rule. The primary English sense of "prince" was sovereign ruler, especially monarch.[68] Already under the Roman Empire, *princeps* had come to denote the presumptive heir to the throne.[69] In the processes of biblical translation, the semantic range of the word "prince" was thus broadened to include not only monarchs and sovereign rulers but other offices. Yet the meanings of words reflected on one another, which meant that an array of biblical "princes" could be—and indeed were—seen as if they were endowed with a quality of monarchical rule. This was further intensified in many interpretations and notes. In the Great Bible, for instance, the heads of the Israelite tribes were presented as "prynces" ruling over their territories.[70] The Geneva Bible struggled with the princely rule of Jacob's son Judah as he was not firstborn, but conventionally explained that he ruled as "prince" because he was to be the forefather of Christ.[71] The contemporary Catholic Bible explains that "the first borne were both Priestes and Princes"; and so "Monarchical succeſsion" descended through each and every one of the biblical patriarchal families.[72] Moreover, English Bibles created the impression that the term "prince" was not only authentically scriptural but widely prevalent. The overall effect was to create an English biblical idiom which, unlike the original, could be interpreted as having enhanced monarchical connotations. A biblical hierarchy of office could be understood in terms of a contemporary monarchical hierarchy; at the same time, a contemporary state order could be seen—or presented—as if it were rooted in the Bible itself.

Thus, for example, contemporary treatises highlighted the rule of the "prince"; sermons and homilies preached obedience to the prince, anchored in the Bible.[73] The official Elizabethan homily on obedience asserted that "readyng of the holye scripture" we "finde in almoste infinite places" that "kynges and princes" do "raigne by Gods ordinaunce, and that subiectes are bounden to obey them."[74] The message was reiterated: from royal proclamations to popular ballads. The story of Korah was read out as a warning every Sunday after Easter, as a part of the church order, established since 1570, and with pious exhortations promoting loyalty to the "prince."[75] After the Restoration, many returned to cite it with renewed vigor.[76] Representations of the Stuart monarch as Solomon, as seen in the embroidery with which we started, followed a similar reason.

And so, when Charles I issued his last words on the importance of "princes" and the sin of rebellion against princely rule, saturated with biblical examples, and likened his rebellious subjects to "Korah and his complices," who turned against Moses and God, he was leaning on an ancient, strong, and extremely broadly circulated interpretative tradition, which outlived him. The biblical language of office and rule, constructed in the processes of translation, had evolved by that time to become a sacred idiom in its own right. It was enshrined in official notices and scholarly treatises, didactic homilies, conduct manuals, and popular ballads, as well as of course the English Bible itself. It shaped the vernacular Bible, embedded it with many meanings, and made its polities appear more familiar and near. Employed in the name of the monarch, as it was in 1649, it delivered a strong message, the provenance and resonance of which have been explored here. But this was not the only line of interpretation. The king's critics knew their Bible equally well, if not better. The great profusion of biblical "princes" led men such as Oliver Cromwell—and subsequently Hobbes and Locke—not to regard each and every "prince" as if he had monarchical power, but rather to doubt whether monarchy itself was no more than one of a number of divinely ordained, yet ultimately changeable, forms of government. As the pioneering translators had predicted, the sacred word, widely disseminated in its "Englished" form, could not be controlled by any earthly prince.

CHAPTER 9

Conversion, Communication, and Translation in the Seventeenth-Century Protestant Atlantic

SARAH RIVETT

On June 13, 1791, Thomas Jefferson sat with two old women of the Unquachog tribe in Brook Haven, Long Island, to transcribe a brief vocabulary list of their language. According to Jefferson, the women were among only three living members of the tribe who could still speak their native tongue. Moved by the imminent loss of this thread of human history, he recorded his list on the back of an envelope. Jefferson's linguistic gesture follows from his own sentiment expressed in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1788) of the "lamentable" fact that more Indian languages had not been recorded before what he perceived as the inevitable time when native tribes would "extinguish." In the decade to follow, Jefferson issued a standard broadside containing a vocabulary list for philosophers and statesmen to carry throughout their travels in order to collect similar lists from Algonquian and Iroquoian language groups, including the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Mahican, and Nanticoke.[1]

Language, Jefferson argued in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, would be the best way to study "the derivation of this part of the human race." By establishing the innate capacity for greatness and the unrealized potential of North America's indigenous populations through language, Jefferson hoped to launch an empirical counterpoint to the Comte de Buffon's natural history of the inferiority of American species.[2] Jefferson's efforts culminated in one of the central organizing missions of the American Philosophical Society (APS) in its founding decades: to collect and record the languages spoken by the natives as part of an antiquarian investigation into the rich, ancient history of North America's past. Peter Du Ponceau, who joined the APS in 1791 and then became its president in 1827, greatly expanded the scope of this Jeffersonian project. He used a manuscript archive of vocabularies collected by Jefferson and John Heckewelder as a basis for his own philological discoveries.[3] Du Ponceau envisioned the indigenous languages of North America as contributing greatly to the burgeoning field of comparative linguistics. The manuscript vocabularies thus constituted an archive that could go far in establishing the American sciences on an international scale.[4]

This APS effort fulfilled a specific purpose in the early years of the new republic. Indian vocabularies created an archive of natural history from which Anglo-Americans felt they could distinguish their land and cultural heritage from European precedent. Additionally, Indian words were believed by some to contain the resonance of a sacred essence that would scientifically confirm a link between biblical and natural history, between the Mosaic account of the history of the human race and the anthropology of American aborigines. This connection provided powerful justification for Anglo-Americans as the rightful inheritors of the divine promise scripted onto the continent of North America.[5]

This Jeffersonian project of collecting Indian vocabularies was, in many ways, specific to the demands of the early republic and early national periods when forging a new concept of nation depended on establishing U.S. linguistic practices as well as origins. If Noah Webster's *Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1783) and *American Dictionary* (1828) sought to establish the resonance and currency of the present-day English spoken on the North American continent, Jefferson's and Du Ponceau's study of indigenous languages established a national archive of the past. Records of indigenous words came to be used strategically, either in the service of justifying government policies of removal (through suppositions of the languages' inherent savage qualities) or for the scientific purpose of proving the greatness of past civilizations on the North American continent.[6] At the time that he recorded the Unquachog vocabulary in 1791, Jefferson began a new national history of linguistic relations with American Indian tribes, but he also stood at the culmination of a long colonial history of linguistic encounters in which missionaries sought to redeem indigenous languages with a fervor commensurate with their aim of saving savage souls.

Across a broad geographical expanse from Mexico City to New France, Moravian, Protestant, and Jesuit missionaries as well as travelers and fur traders had been recording the languages of Native Americans for over two hundred years.[7] Much of the motivation for these translation efforts was functional. European settlement in the New World depended on an ability to communicate with native tribes for purposes of diplomacy and trade. Sermons preached in Algonquian or catechisms translated into Iroquois dramatically increased the scope and effectiveness of evangelical efforts. New World language encounters were a transnational phenomenon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, extending from the print production of the *Doctrina Cristiana* in Nahuatl in 1560s Mexico City to the carefully composed Abnaki and Iroquois dictionaries by French missionaries in the Great Lakes region and Acadia around the turn of the eighteenth century.[8]

With the framework of this transnational scope in mind, this chapter focuses on Anglo-Protestant missionary linguistics. While relatively minor in their breadth in comparison to the French and Spanish, seventeenth-century Anglo-Protestant missionary linguistics were both bound up in the currents of Atlantic intellectual history and ultimately generative of practices of translation particular to the colonial context of North America. In contrast to the French Jesuits, who became well versed in recognizing and addressing linguistic difference, Protestants believed that the process of translation, from oral to written and then of Christian text into Massachusett, would make words increasingly transparent, gradually revealing more evidence of God. In the 1660s and 1670s, primarily led by the efforts of John Eliot, Anglo-Protestants attempted to implement a plan for conversion through the costly print production of an Indian Library of Christian-Massachusett texts.[9] This plan led not only to financial ruin; its limited evangelizing efficacy soon became apparent, as the work that went into translating the Bible into Massachusett far outweighed the number of natives who were in fact converted through their reading of the text.[10]

One of the most famous texts in the Indian Library, *Mamusse wunneetupanatamwe up biblum God*, is a complete translation of Scripture into Massachusett, the ancient Wampanoag tongue. It survives today as a momentous and paradoxical artifact: it is both the first Bible printed in America and the thickest description of a language that died as a consequence of European contact.[11] The Eliot Bible reflects the complex process of erasure through preservation that characterized Anglo-Protestant practices of missionary linguistics and translation.[12] In their attempt to achieve the *sola scriptura* ideal among a community of "Praying" Massachusett natives, the missionaries confronted the translational limits of *sola scriptura* head on: words were not transparent vessels of the spirit, but rather human constructs. The desire for transparency led to the proliferation of material representations of the word and the construction of an archive as tantalizing historical evidence of an encounter that conveys the convergence of two worldviews that nonetheless preserves very little of the integrity of the original native voice.

* * *

Beginning with the fabled "lost colony" of Roanoke, Virginia, the success of English settlement in the New World was integrally linked to learning the language of America's native inhabitants. Thomas Harriot, the mathematician who wrote *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), developed a phonetic alphabet of the Algonquian spoken in Virginia and North Carolina that he hoped could be universally extended to Algonquian language groups spoken throughout the eastern seaboard of North America. Little is known about this manuscript, which was destroyed in a fire. Only the title remains as an elusive catalogue record: *An Universal Alphabet containing six and thirty letters, whereby may be expressed the lively image of mans voice in what language soever; first devised upon occasion to seek for fit letters to express Virginian speech.* In composing this alphabet, Harriot did not use Roman characters to express the sounds that he heard. Instead, he recorded sounds phonetically through a new system developed by the English spelling reformer John Hart as a means of figuring out how to record and print vernacular dialects.[13] The title reveals something of Harriot's understanding of the relationship between oral and written language. His alphabet was designed to contain universal symbols that could organize and adequately represent the diverse aural quality of Virginian speech. Visual character representation would encapsulate more than one sound so that the alphabet as a whole could be universal in scope.

Given the failure of this first English colony, it seems unlikely that Harriot's manuscript enjoyed wide circulation as the practical tool for which it was intended. For those who did see the manuscript, the unfamiliar representations of Algonquian letters likely registered more as curiosities than as vehicles for trade and diplomacy. However, recorded commentary on Harriot's universal alphabet came later in the seventeenth century, not from travelers, missionaries, or colonists to the New World, but rather from mathematicians, philosophers, and linguists. The linguist and mathematician John Pell reportedly told John Aubrey that the alphabet Harriot had contrived for the "American language" looked like devils. By contrast, Francis Lodwick developed his own "Universal Alphabet" in 1686 and advocated the usefulness of his system for missionaries to North America, inspired by Harriot's early attempt to universalize letters.[14] This response to Harriot's alphabet indicates the divided perspective that Europeans brought to native tongues. These letters were either signs of the devil or vehicles for accessing divine truth. Either the languages of North America were irreparably fallen, or they could be redeemed and placed back into a system of symbolic importance that carried the hope of bringing both the infidels and those responsible for their souls closer to God. This was as much a philosophical problem of the revelatory capacity of language as it was a missionary struggle.

Studies of indigenous languages subsequent to Harriot's followed the establishment of permanent English colonies on the eastern seaboard of North America. In his 1634 publication, *New Englands Prospect*, William Wood described the natives he encounters in New England as a "cruel and bloody people," displaying the most horrific and savage behavior toward their neighbors, such as "slaying men," "ravishing women," and cannibalism. Wood built a theory of an impoverished intellect and a savage demeanor out of his observations of a depleted language that "is only peculiar to themselves." It does "not incline to any of the refined tongues," and the Indians are "strangers to Arts and Sciences . . . unacquainted with the inventions that are common to a civilized people." Whereas the title of Harriot's manuscript implied some sense of the expandable capacity of Virginian speech into a universal alphabetical system, Wood refuted this idea of human universalism completely. He rejected the argument that some of his contemporaries had made that the Indians "might be of the dispersed Jews, because some of their words be near unto Hebrew."[15] For Wood, Indian language was irreparably fallen, hard to learn, and enclosed upon itself, yielding no capacity for redemption. Indian grammar measures the Indian mind in *New Englands Prospect*. In his account neither is worth knowing, much less recording beyond a rudimentary list of vocabulary words.

Soon after the publication of William Wood's *Prospect*, a counternarrative emerges in opposition to Wood's conception of savage indigenous words. Roger Williams, John Eliot, John Cotton, Jr., and Experience Mayhew studied, recorded, and carefully preserved Indian languages not only for contemporary evangelical purposes but also to create an archive of Americana designed to confirm their own sense of New World providential design. In his inaugural study, *A Key into the Language of America* (1643), Williams tells the reader that he has found "great affinity" between the Narragansett language spoken on Rhode Island and Greek. Through this link to linguistic antiquity, Williams presented the "Narragansett Dialect" as having an expansive and portable quality that could be of "great use in all parts of the country." Williams cautioned that his *Key* could be misread as a dictionary or grammar, when really he intended it to be an "implicit Dialogue" between English and Narragansett, between the piety of his English brethren and the Christianity that was naturally discoverable among the Indians "in wilde America."[16]

The *Key* begins with the following declaration: "This *Key*, respects the *Native Language* of it, and happily may unlock some *Rarities* concerning the *Natives* themselves, not yet discovered."[17] Through the metaphor of a key unlocking the undiscovered, Williams draws upon the lexical system for intuiting God in nature developed by the Czech philosopher Jan Comenius in the 1640s.[18] Comenius taught that language could be used as a vehicle for accessing divine essence. For Comenius, revelation occurred by way of a linguistic system, or a "universal language," that followed a one-to-one correspondence between language and nature. Through the proper use of this isomorphic structure, language would bring all humans in contact with the mysteries of the divine. Ultimately, Comenius promoted a pansophic vision for religious harmony through a universal character that could "renew contact with divine harmony in the universe."[19] The generic design of the *Key* as an "implicit dialogue" called upon the presumably English reader to renew his or her own faith, to see the possibility for this divine harmony through the encounter with the native other as a mirror image of Christian faith embodied within the Narragansett word. This universal harmony unfolds as Williams presents a favorable link between Narragansett humanity—specifically the emotion displayed through their capacity for grief—and the quality of their words. Grammar organized the implicit dialogue between the English reader of the *Key* and the naturally discovered faith of the Narragansetts. Williams derived this structure from the Cambridge Platonist philosophers Samuel Hartlib and Hezekiah Woodward, who popularized Comenian theory in England.

In *A Light to Grammar* (1641), Woodward explains that the proper usage of grammar has the capacity to "spiritualize the senses" and bring them in touch with "higher things" and religious truths.[20] Williams, who believed ardently in the supernatural truths discoverable in the natural habitat of the New Canaan, adapted this grammatical theory to the particular case of America, making a claim for the sacred and secret contents of Indian languages.[21] As such, Williams's *Key* sets the stage for a sweeping history of language encounters by claiming that both the land and its inhabitants contain the potential for recapturing something rare, wonderful, and original in Native American words.

Following the publication of Williams's *Key*, missionary linguists continued to combine theological purpose with philosophical inquiry. Anglo-American missionaries developed their own linguistic practice based on a Protestant millennial frame and the fragmented philosophical context of mid-seventeenth-century England. Two competing threads of seventeenth-century language philosophy can be loosely categorized through the mystical approach that Jacob Boehme, Francis Mercury van Helmont, and Jan Comenius inherited from Plato's *Cratylus* and the understanding of language as composed of arbitrary signs, which, through a philosophical arc from Francis Bacon to Robert Boyle to John Locke, sought to limit and define the role of language more precisely. The latter group questioned ideas about language as a hermeneutic key to nature and nature's correspondent referent in the invisible world.[22] The divergent views represented by these two threads fueled intellectual debate as well as competing impulses on how to implement divergent understandings of language in practice. This debate corresponded to the dramatic rise in linguistic activity in North America in the mid- to late seventeenth century. Missionaries sought to preserve Indian languages in part as a contribution to an empirical account of the mystical quality of words in philosophical circles. In ascribing empirical value to Indian words as visible signs, missionaries also sought to foretell a millennial history unfolding in North America.

Efforts of Protestant missionaries were closely aligned with mystical ideas about language circulating in England and on the European continent. The Protestant mind-set of *sola scriptura* blended seamlessly with the Comenian vision for a single, ideal language where words precisely defined their *nominata*. As defined in the *Panglottia* (1660), Comenius's goal was to repair the ruins of Babel by restoring language from its fallen status to a purer connection between the word, the thing signified in nature, and its correspondent referent in the invisible world. For Comenius and other mystical linguists of the seventeenth century, such as Samuel Hartlib and John Dury, the ultimate goal of language reform was that as words became more closely aligned with their natural and divine referents, language would become increasingly transparent. Seventeenth-century theologians believed that all languages had fallen away from the Edenic ideal represented by Adam's power to name, where sign and referent shared a seamless semiotic link and a common essence.[23] Following the destruction of Babel, words became imperfectly joined to their referents. Matching the visual or auditory signifying entity to the mental or material signified image depended, from Babel forward, on arbitrary systems of representation. Ancient as well as early modern theologians and philosophers struggled to understand and at times overcome three major world historical consequences that resulted from this myth of linguistic fragmentation: irreparably fallen human speech fell short of adequately representing the visible world of nature; words resembled but could no longer act as metaphysical keys to the invisible world of God; and nations would not understand the "meaning" of each other's "voice" (1 Corinthians 14.11).

By the 1640s and 1650s the Puritan mission finally gained momentum—nearly two decades after the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Missionaries caught the millennial fervor of the Hartlib circle's mystical theories of language as well as Manasseh Ben Israel's attempt to locate the lost tribes in his *Hope for Israel*, first printed in 1650. *The Hope for Israel* was published the same year as the first edition of Thomas Thorowgood's *Jews in America*, a text based largely on Eliot's epistolary reports. In *Jews in America*, Eliot makes two substantial claims for the messianic potential of Puritan evangelization: that the Massachusett language approximated Hebrew, and that the North American natives were descendants of the ten lost tribes. Building their own pansophic vision for Christian universalism, Puritan missionaries believed that the Christian translation of indigenous words could assuage the curse of Babylonian Confusion. Each instance of Christian conversion narrated by an Indian proselyte in a redeemed Algonquian tongue would bear witness to the descent of the Holy Spirit.

Eliot's New World program of missionary linguistics thus set a philosophical debate in an evangelical context, aspiring to restore the lost language of Babel through the re-Christianized Algonquian utterances of Massachusett proselytes. He sought to disentangle native tongues from what was perceived as a syntactically convoluted and fallen state of linguistic primitivism by imposing an orthography and discerning a grammar that would reconstitute the indigenous words spoken in North America, newly rendering them as signs infused with divine light and thus as adequate marks or evidence for verifying the Christian conversion of native proselytes.

Spending two winters in the wigwams of Massachusett Indians in Natick, Eliot learned Algonquian in 1643, the year Williams published the *Key*. By 1646, Eliot began preaching in Massachusett with the aid of a native interpreter who was a captive from the Pequot War of 1637.[24] He spent the 1660s and 1670s building upon the epistemological potential that Williams saw in Indian grammar by translating and printing a number of Christian texts into Massachusett. These texts included the *New England Primer*, Richard Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, and Thomas Shepard's *Sincere Convert*. Eliot imported the London printer Marmaduke Johnson for help with this and appointed a native translator known as James the Printer. The business of translation was a complex and time-consuming endeavor. First, Algonquian had to be translated from an oral to a written language through a simple list of words and expressions recorded in missionary notebooks. From this rudimentary sketch, Eliot began to compile his Indian grammar. Eliot dedicated *Indian Grammar* to Robert Boyle in order to present it for "public use" whereby it could contribute to research for a new, universal language to call forth the secrets of the divine.[25]

In 1662, the Puritan mission became incorporated as the New England Company for the Propagation of the Gospel, with Boyle as its appointed governor. Boyle took particular interest in John Eliot's translation project. In 1664, Boyle asked Eliot to develop an Indian grammar by "reducing language into rule."[26] The idea behind this request was that Algonquian had no grammatical rules of its own but that it could be made to comply with a preexisting syntax of linguistic organization. In doing so, Eliot thought that he had discovered something of tremendous value to both missionaries and natural philosophers: not only were the American Indians one of the ten lost tribes; they spoke a biblical language that had been lost in the fall of Babel and that more closely approximated Hebrew than even Greek or Latin.[27] In a letter to Eliot complimenting the missionary on his work, Boyle specified his desire, on behalf of the commissioners of the New England Company in London, that the Indians retain their own native tongue.

Eliot developed his *Indian Grammar*, first published in 1666, shortly after his translation of the Bible into Massachusett for a first edition published in 1663. *Indian Grammar* conveys Eliot's theory of translation. He writes, "Grammar is the *Art* or *Rule of speaking*. There are two parts of *Grammar:* 1. The *Art* of *making words*. 2. The *Art* of *ordering words* for speech." For Eliot, "art" and "rule" are interchangeable because the rule is the substance of speech. His succinct introductory statement is indebted to the Puritan plain style insistence that speech should be pure rather than artful, as well as to the Protestant belief that the integrity of the scriptural Word was not lost through translation.[28] This translation theory guided his work on the *Indian Primer*, first printed in Cambridge in 1669. The *Primer* enacted a transformation at the level of language acquisition itself with the aim of reconfiguring the mind of the native proselyte as a tabula rasa, ready to receive the salvific light of Christ in the moment of conversion. Unselfconsciously redacting Massachusett into specific arrangements of alphabetical writing, the *Primer* sought to make the word on the page transparent such that it seamlessly conveyed universal Christian truths. Eliot published *Mamusse wunneetupanatamwe up biblum God* and the *Indian Primer* with the hope that both texts would sanctify Algonquian, that is, regenerate the fallen language of a lost people with new sacred power.

Eliot's Indian Bible was part of the biblical translation effort developed by the Royal Society in an effort to connect the universal language movement with indigenous tongues where the spread of the gospel was taking hold. While Eliot prepared the Indian Bible in Massachusetts, Robert Everingham secured funds for three thousand copies of a Gaelic translation of the New Testament, first printed in 1681 and distributed in Ireland and Scotland. Comenius also instigated a program to translate the Bible into Turkish.[29] These projects involved the combined study of known languages from the ancient world with what natural philosophers believed to be the languages lost in the fall of Babel. Royal Society papers contain several examples of "specimens" of Scripture in Hebrew, Latin, and Arabic designed to decode and illuminate the hidden meaning within the text.[30] Members of the Royal Society studied the ancient languages to aid in this project of biblical translation. The goal of the universal language movement was to collect all of the languages of the world, compare the ancient to the newly discovered, and develop a linguistic idiom that would be intelligible to all.

New England missionaries captured this pansophic vision in their evangelical practices through descriptions of the power of spoken Algonquian among Richard Bourne's Masphee proselytes in Plymouth, the Wampanoags preaching on Martha's Vineyard, and the Massachusetts in John Eliot's Praying Towns. According to one account, Eliot "begins his prayers in the Indian's language." Then the son of Waban, one of the more active native proselytes, read the Proverbs from Eliot's Indian Bible, "which [according to one account] had been printed & was in the hands of the Indians."[31] A native named Job prayed for half an hour in "the Indian Language" and then preached from Hebrews 15:1. Several natives stood up and read from the *Primer* or from Eliot's Bible. In these missionary scenes, the aural quality of a divinely redeemed Algonquian tongue lifted the sacred essence from the Algonquian words printed in Eliot's library as a universalizing Protestant spirit descended.

Eliot's theory of the Algonquian Indians as one of the ten lost tribes was always contested and all but abandoned in 1670, but not before catching the attention not only of Boyle but of other members of the Hartlib circle as well. John Dury, a Calvinist preacher in Scotland and a close friend of Samuel Hartlib's, became fascinated with the Massachusett word "waban," which the English translated as wind and which was also the name of a famous native preacher in Natick who converted several Indians. Dury wrote a letter to the New England ministers in which he explains an important connection between waban and the prophetic wind in Ezekiel 37.

This, Dury writes, is "ground for a very weighty thought; that that portion of Scripture should be first of all opened to them, which clearly foretold the conversion of *Israel*, i.e., the 10 Tribes universally understood, and peculiarly meant by the name or notion of *Israel*."[32] Dury interprets both the Massachusett word and the individual who bears its name as a type of millennial promise. Elaborating on this connection in his correspondence with Samuel Hartlib, Dury envisioned New England evangelism as an index of the pansophic Christianity promoted through Comenius's writings. Letters written between Dury, Hartlib, and the Puritan minister John Davenport in New Haven also espoused Eliot's theory of the ten lost tribes, believing that both the conversion of American Indians and the study of their language would bring about the second coming.[33]

Read through the reverse angle of the native perspective, the word "Waban" was anything but the closed hermeneutic system that Dury and his contemporaries desired it to be. As the Indian proselytes listened to Eliot preach on Ezekiel 37—as he often did—they began to view their own native leader, Waban, as someone endowed with a special capacity to heal. This placed him on a level equal if not superior to Eliot himself. Ezekiel's valley of dry bones was a resonant passage for native audiences because it carried the literal meaning of healing from physical sickness as well as the spiritual prophecy of healing the sick soul. Waban attained his authority within a Christian cosmos while also maintaining the power of the Spirit Healer within more traditional indigenous systems of belief.

This discrepancy between Anglo and indigenous perspectives on the translational implications of the native word was certainly one reason for the gradual disintegration of the Protestant mission in the 1670s. By 1669, only seven short years after the New England Company's formation, the unpublished letters between Boyle and Eliot reveal the investments to be unfruitful if not disastrous. Boyle laments that very few ministers in succeeding generations were qualified to carry on Eliot's linguistic work. Letters from New England struggle to paint the "discouraging . . . state of religion" in the best possible light.[34]

The *Indian Primer* displays the pedagogical approach used to teach native children Christianized Algonquian. Indigenous words are unselfconsciously redacted into specific arrangements of alphabetical writing. A description of lowercase and capital letters introduces the reader to the typeface intended to be the medium through which Massachusett natives would read Christian texts. These lessons culminate with the Lord's Prayer, which is translated directly so that each English word has an explicit corresponding word in Algonquian. Through the *Primer,* Eliot sought to ameliorate the previous decade's failures by attaching a secure evangelical homiletic to each linguistic sign. He sought to enact a transformation at the level of language acquisition.

Eliot's final missionary tract, *Indian Dialogues* (1671), suggests that this evangelical homiletic was not as effective in conveying a secure meaning as Eliot intended it to be. A native teacher within the Indian congregation explains that "the Book of God is no invention of English-men, it is the holy Law of God himself, which was given unto man by God, before English-men had any knowledge of God." The native teacher describes the Bible as a repository of ancient Christian wisdom, bespeaking a truth that transcends national as well as linguistic affiliation. Within the Christian-Massachusett community, the Bible represented the greater truth of a universal spirit.[35]

* * *

At the turn of the eighteenth century, empiricism and natural philosophy presented additional challenges to translational notions of language as revealed knowledge on multiple fronts. John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1691) made a watershed case for words as mere human constructs, thus altering the tenability of the universal language movement and previous conceptions of words as keys to the invisible realm. While Francis Bacon and Thomas Hobbes had made contributions toward this separation before him, Locke definitively decoupled the "nominal essence" of the word from real essence, highlighting the discrepancy between human ideas of things and the things themselves. In place of ideas of language as having scriptural origins, the *Essay* united the study of language with the study of human thought and understanding rather than with divine revelation. This transference in the object of knowledge challenged the prevailing prior belief that language could be redeemed to achieve a real connection to the divine through a restored semiotic order.[36]

To what extent did Locke hear the same savage sounds as the missionaries, prompting his own formulation of the gap between words and ideas? Elsewhere in his *Essay*, Locke refers to American Indians as "Naturals" who, having no "universal principles" or "general propositions . . . impressed" upon their minds, can be used effectively as a sort of ideal tabula rasa. Where universal principles are more suited to "artificial argument," Locke finds the thought processes that take place in the "Huts of the Indians" conducive to the discovery of Truth."[37] Even as Lockean linguistics foreclosed the possibility of a seamless connection between words and things, Locke himself imagined some redemptive possibility that might be acquired in the huts of Native Americans as a population where the purity of the word as an avenue to truth might be reclaimed.

Following the tremendous pressure that new natural discoveries were placing on biblical history, natural historians around the turn of the eighteenth century began to position primitive civilizations from antiquity as central to British national identity and the natural history of the world. In *The Primitive Origin of Mankind* (1675), Mathew Hale struggled to place the discovery of the American Indians and their disparate languages within his Mosaic history while trying to steer clear of the theory that there were men before Adam, or pre-Adamites. The Welsh philosopher and keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, Edward Lhwyd, sought to establish affinities between the "language of the Americans and those of the ancient British." He believed that such affinities would prove a "scriptural account" of history by demonstrating common human origins. Yet America, meaning the continent of North America as it was figuratively conceived in the minds of early eighteenth-century philosophers, had a precarious position in the early Enlightenment rescripting of the links among language, human origins, and the Bible. Evidence from America was not always so seamlessly assimilated into early Enlightenment natural history. In a 1712 letter to Royal Society member John Woodward, for example, Cotton Mather offers high praise for Woodward's *Natural History of the Earth*, but laments that America's "subterraneous curiosities" were not included.[38] North America presented a wealth of natural and linguistic curiosities, but indigenous languages did not ultimately accord with British natural philosophers' goal of making the local Anglo-Saxon history the prime beneficiary of the new Mosaic history.

Early Enlightenment language philosophes built upon an early seventeenth-century precedent: Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, which went into multiple publications over the seventeenth century. Verstegan identified the Anglo-Saxon race as descendants of the Celts, and Celtic as the original language spoken before the fall of Babel. The Breton language philosopher Paul Yves Pezron reformulated this mode of inquiry in his five-volume work, *The Antiquities of Nations*, first published in English in 1706. Pezron begins by relating the beginning of nations to the tenth chapter of Genesis and describing the dispersal of people and tongues prior to linguistic confusion. The remaining volumes substantiate this narrative through the "historical, chronological, and etymological discoveries" of ancient Britain. Pezron positions himself as exposing a hidden history. The "secret recesses of antiquity" have come to him in a form of philosophical revelation. The "Great Nations," he tells us, "are never thoroughly known, unless you ascend to their very Spring and Original." Pezron seeks to repair the Genesis story by going to its source in the Gaulish (or Gallic) and Celtic languages. These languages, according to Pezron, are the original spring of Greek, Latin, and German. As the mother language of Brittany and Wales, Celtic links these two places while anchoring Britain as one of the more ancient nations in the world.[39]

As an early attempt to marry natural history with biblical time, Pezron's work succeeded through its afterlife in multiple editions but largely failed as a serious philosophical work.[40] Lhwyd sought to improve upon the empirical soundness of the new sacred history through a more in-depth study of primitive languages. In a letter to one of his correspondents, Lhwyd confesses his belief that "languages are in a great measure the keys of knowledge."[41] As the most palpable living evidence of the history of human origins, Lhwyd proposed the study of language as essential to understanding Scripture as well as divine and natural law. Lhwyd gathered information for a tome titled *Archeologia Britannica*, the first volume of which was published in 1707. The volume compared vocabularies of Irish, Breton, and Cornish and then used these vocabularies to discuss etymology as a way of understanding population dispersal. His aim was to add to the literature of British antiquities an account of the "Original Language" spoken by the land's original inhabitants.[42]

In their correspondence, David Malcolme and Lhwyd identified St. Kilda, a cluster of six islands in the Outer Hebrides, as an ideal place to study language in its ancient shape. They claimed that language retained its primitive purity in St. Kilda in "much in the same Way and Manner as it has happened in America." Lhwyd identified the empirical promise of the "interior parts" of each "country," which were "inhabited" by "the old Natives." Inland spaces retained their ancient purity due to their distance from seacoasts where "European Strangers" had brought the language of a distinctly postlapsarian modern world. The native inhabitants of St. Kilda, like the native inhabitants of America, retained an alphabet that through its very shape and sound came closer the center of creation.[43] Yet general analogies are where Lhwyd's interest in America ends. His goal was to achieve a greater understanding of Britain's "own ancient Language." The chronology of the world, the dispersal of people, and the framework of biblical time are central to Lhwyd's work but secondary to his design for the *Archeologica Britannica*. The *Archeologica Britannica* focused on local and national history. It charts the names of "Towns, Castles, Villages, and Seats of the Nobility" as well as "Notable Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Barrows, Forts and Camps" through the names passed down from antiquity. Lhwyd's research depended on extensive collaboration.[44] Lhwyd circulated a standard broadside titled *Parochial Queries* (1696) that functioned as the basis of his *Archeologia Britannica*.[45] By circulating the *Queries*, Lhwyd sought to "spare himself the Labor of Traveling the Country" (although he did embark on his own journey through Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany from 1699 to 1700). Copies of the *Queries* were sent to every parish in Wales and were completed by local gentry.

The languages of North America were largely excluded from this network of Anglo-language philosophers. Unhappy with this form of philosophical exclusion, Cotton Mather did easily cede the temporal depths of geographical primitivism to the British Isles. Placing himself in line with Herodotus, Mather wrote the *Magnalia Christi Americana* to establish the relevance of the Puritan errand to the eighteenth century. Devoting the first of six volumes to colonial "Antiquities," he positions the wilderness of America as the location of providential fulfillment. In Mather's own memorable phrase: "I write the Wonders of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, flying from the Depravations of Europe to, the American St[r]and."[46] A decade after he wrote the *Magnalia*, and only one year before he became an elected member of the Royal Society in 1713, Mather joined the transatlantic conversation about Christian antiquity with his own evidence of Mosaic history discoverable in America. In a letter to Woodward, Mather informs the author of the *Essay Towards the Natural History of the Earth* of the centrality of America to this history. Consider the "giants" referenced in Genesis 6:4, he tells Woodward, who roamed the earth before the flood. Now, if "undoubted ruins and remains of those Giants be found under the earth, among other subterraneous curiosities," this would confirm Mosaic history. America—and specifically New England—was precisely the place to find such curiosities. Mather explains that reports already exist from Pliny and others.[47] His aim is not to showcase the novelties of the New World but rather to supplement them with reports from antiquity. In so doing Mather affirms the truth of Mosaic history in much the same way that Lhwyd did for the British Isles.

Toward the end of his life, Mather felt disappointment that his efforts had not been satisfactorily received by his transatlantic correspondents. In 1724, he wrote a letter to John Woodward and James Jurin criticizing ideas of Anglo-Saxon purity: "Now what is become of the Britons? And how many nations have their Blood running in the veins of A True Born Englishman. But then how remarkable have the English lost everywhere and undone themselves by Intestine Divisions. There cannot be a juster or a more lasting Brand upon us than this: They are a divided People; Their quarels and factions exceed what is ordinarily to be found in other nations."[48] Mather positions America as a refuge from this national division and strife. He describes a plantation system of settlement that is still alive and well. While the Indians are "intolerably lazy," according to Mather, they model an agrarian society that can be easily emulated and improved upon by the English who may "come hither & laboring as they do in England, presently grow rich and outstrip the natives." Mather's letter foreshadows nineteenth-century replacement theories of an Anglo-American civility capitalizing on an indigenous past of unrealized potential. He also draws upon earlier promotional literature of America as a space of spiritual renewal.

Like the Celtic, Gallic, and Cornish studied by Lhwyd's circle, American Indian languages ultimately proved a compelling resource for repositioning America's place within early Enlightenment efforts to mold evidence from that natural world into a biblical frame. It would take a hundred years before the American Philosophical Society would develop a project similar to Lhwyd's in tracing the "structure and forms of the Languages of the Aboriginal Nations of America" as evidence of a new national identity.[49] Yet early eighteenth-century missionary linguistics were precursors of this national project, first inaugurated by Jefferson in the 1780s. In each case, American Indian languages were believed to convey information not only of human history but also of the past unity of time and place in an increasingly fragmented modernity.

Experience Mayhew was one of the first Anglo-Protestant missionaries to recognize this indigenous linguistic potential. Having learned the Indian language as a child on his father's Martha's Vineyard mission, Mayhew knew Wampanoag as well as his own mother tongue.

He insisted upon a distinct system of signification and a structural analogy across most of the Indian languages spoken from Canada to Virginia. On the one hand, Mayhew is Lockean in his descriptions of the arbitrary and social construction of words. On the other hand, he uses these structural analogies to claim that these disparate populations "speak what was *Originally* one and the same Language."[50] Condensed within this word, "originally," is a claim to the lost language of Eden coupled with a sense of temporal displacement. The Indians actually living on Martha's Vineyard, like the inhabitants of St. Kilda, represented an original linguistic purity as a vestige of the biblical past.

Mayhew constructed Algonquian words as an ancient Christian archive and thus a rich source of philosophical, scientific, and aesthetic potential. Through his work and that of subsequent generations, Indian grammars remained repositories for religious knowledge on the peripheries of the Anglo-Protestant world even as the human sciences developed and increasingly relegated the Algonquian people to a primitive past beyond redemption. In Verstegan's words, Algonquian words restituted the decayed intelligence of an ancient past that contained sacred meaning only as an archaeological remnant of Mosaic history.

involved in academic disputation or to take sides in any scholarly polemic but to create a translation that hopefully could be read with pleasure by as many people as possible. I wanted English-language readers to savor its humor, its melancholy, its originality, its intellectual and aesthetic complexity; I wanted them to know why the entire world thinks this is a great masterwork by an incomparable novelist. In the end, my primary consideration was this: *Don Quixote* is not essentially a puzzle for academics, a repository of Renaissance usage, a historical monument, or a text for the classroom. It is a work of literature, and my concern as a literary translator was to create a piece of writing in English that perhaps could be called literature too.

Finally, my formal apology. I would like to cite the last paragraph of my translator's note: "I began the work in February 2001 and completed it two years later, but it is important for you to know that 'final' versions are determined more by a publisher's due date than by any sense on my part that the work is actually finished. Even so, I hope you find it deeply amusing and truly compelling. If not, you can be certain the fault is mine."[8]

To this I should add a phrase attributed to Samuel Beckett: "Next time I'll have to fail better." That is all any of us can do.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. We will use both "Renaissance" and "early modern" in this introduction. In brief, we use "Renaissance" to refer broadly to the intellectual, artistic, and cultural movements associated with that term, and "early modern" to refer to social, economic, and political structures and change from roughly 1400 to 1700. We recognize the difficulties and limitations of both terms. See, for example, Margaret L. King's discussion in *The Renaissance in Europe* (London: Lawrence King, 2003).

2. Fascinating work has been done over the past decade in translation studies in the Renaissance, especially focused on a single national language or literature. Two such excellent recent monographs are Alison Cornish, *Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy: Illiterate Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), and Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Peter Burke's volumes—both written and edited—encompass a broad linguistic and disciplinary range; thus see the coedited (with R. Po-chia Hsia) *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) as well as *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and *Lost (and Found) in Translation: A Cultural History of Translators and Translating in Early Modern Europe* (Wassenar: Netherlands: NIAS, 2005). For two recent wide-ranging essays on the theory and practice of early modern translation, see Theo Hermans, "The Task of the Translator in the European Renaissance," in *Translating Literature*, ed. Susan Bassnett (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 14–40, and László Kontler, "Translation and Comparison: Early Modern and Current Perspectives," *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 3 (2007): 71–102.

3. Friedrich Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating," trans. Susan Bernofsky, in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

4. Borrowing from Schleiermacher in the introduction to their collection of essays, *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, ed. Sandra Berman and Michael Wood (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 5.

5. Jerome, "Letter to Pammachus," trans. Kathleen Davis, in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York: Routledge, 2000), 23.

6. Jacques Derrida, "Qu'est-ce qu'une traduction 'relevante'?," *Quinzièmes Assises de la Traduction Littéraire* (Arles: Actes Sud, 1999), translated by Lawrence Venuti as "What Is a 'Relevant' Translation?," *Critical Inquiry* 27, no. 2 (2001): 174–200.

7. Samuel Weber, *Benjamin's Abilities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 29.

8. Shakespeare satirizes Evans's insular pedagogical practice divorced from experience and his naïve, instrumental understanding of the relation of signifier and signified, as recent work by Lynn Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), Jeff Dolven, *Scenes of Instruction in Renaissance Romance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), and others suggests, but these lines betray a naïve understanding of translation as well.

9. This also reflects the common European practice of "double translation," as discussed in William Miller's "Double Translation in English Humanistic Education," *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 163–74. For a recent discussion of this passage and of other such examples, see Kathryn Vomero Santos's doctoral dissertation, "Staging Translation in Early Modern English Drama," New York University, September 2013.

10. On unequal translation patterns see Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

11. *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, vol. 2, *1555—1650*, ed. Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 8.

12. See the Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Project on translation at Warwick University: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/culturalcrossroads/.

13. Alessandro Braccesi (1445–1503) was also known as Alessandro Bracci; he referred to himself in his Latin writings as Alexander Braccius. In addition to translating Pius II's *Historia de duobus amantibus*, here discussed, and Appian's histories, he wrote several volumes of Latin verse as well as a *canzoniere* in the Italian. For details of his life and work, see the biography written for the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (now at www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/allesandro-braccesi) by Alessandro Perosa, while a recent exhibit catalogue, *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andreas Bayer (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 2008), features several pages on the Pius II translation (198–203).

14. "Bene è vero che io non ho observato loffitio di fedele traductore: ma per industria ho lassate molte parti indietro, lequali mi sono parse poco accommodate al dilectare; & in luogo di quelle ho inserto contraria materia per continuare tutto il processo della historia con cose piacevoli & iocunde. Et nel fine dove lauctore pone lamorte duno delli amanti con amarissimi pianti io mutando la tristitia in guadio lasso luno & laltro coniuncto per matrimonio & pieni di somma letitia. Ne pero negherei che lauctore non habbi scripto ogni cosa con singulare prudentia & doctrina. . . . Ma considerando io che benche molte varie sieno le historie & infiniti li exempli che insegnono questo medesimo: nientedimeno tanta esser la forza di questa perturbatione: & tanto vincere in noi ogni ragione che nessuno è suto [stato] sì cauto o saggio: il quale sene sia potuto difendere, & che niun

rimedio o precepto da torre ? . . . Essendomi a dunque exercitato in questa traductione & compositione amatoria per mio sollazo; & pensando alla conditione depresenti tempi noiosi & gravi per diverse cagioni: pero ho iudicato farti cosa grata in qualche parte . . . che alcuna cosa piu non desidero che satisffare al tuo exquisissimo ingegno"; *I due amanti* (Florence: Paciani, 1500), 115v-116r, probably the sixth edition of this extremely popular work. Braccesi made some small changes to the prologue, noted later in this chapter, in the course of the revisions.

15. Thus the "presenti tempi noiosi & gravi per diverse cagioni," cited earlier, was changed from "tempi noiosi e gravi per più rispecti et specialmente per la alteratione et spavento che ne dà la peste"; cited in Perosa, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.

16. Bayer, *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, 198.

17. "Credo che non riprenderai questo mio consiglio quando legerai la latina originale sciptura / perche troverrai in molti luoghi cose tanto meste e piene di llamenti che non possino dilectare; ma nessuno è di core si lieto che ratristare non facessino"; *I due amanti*, cited earlier.

18. Quoted in Danielle Clarke, "Translation and the English Language," in Braden, Cummings, and Gillespie, *Oxford History of Literary Translation*, 2:17.

19. The pun is an allusion to Sir John Harington's *Orlando furioso in English Heroical Verse*, Canto 28, the canto of the "host's tale" about women's perennial infidelity; the citation itself is not from the translation but from Harington's later *A new discourse of a stale subject, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax* (London: Richard Field, 1596), 77. This moment in which Harington goes on to speak of the "Knavish tale" of the host has been addressed recently by Joshua Samuel Reid, "The Gender Dynamics of Ariosto's Tales of Women in Elizabethan England" (paper presented at the April 2013 Renaissance Society of America Conference in New York); Anne Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 122; and Jason Scott-Warner, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 35.

20. Comment made during the session of the Renaissance Society of America Conference at which Reid presented his paper, April 2013.

21. For Harington's own "Preface, or Rather a Briefe Apologie of Poetry," in which he defends his translation of the *Orlando furioso*, see the recent edition of the translation by Robert McNulty.

22. See S. K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington, eds., *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation and Print Culture in Britain, 1473–1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), and the electronic database of the Humanities Research Institute, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk.

23. Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982), 42.

24. Paul Ricoeur, *On Translation*, trans. Eileen Brennan (New York: Routledge, 2006), 37.

25. Belén Bistué's recent book, *Collaborative Translation and Multi-version Texts in Early Modern Europe* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013), shows how team translation and multilingual translation practices prompted calls like Bruni's for a single translator with

knowledge of both languages, "source" and "target," and fostered the theoretical dream of a single, univocal translation text.

26. *De recto interpretation*, paragraph 14, in the edition of Paolo Viti (*Sulla perfetta traduzione* [Liguori: Naples, 2004]), 84 (Tylus translation, with thanks to Andrew Romig).

27. On Bruni's Latin translations, see Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

28. See the essays in the cluster "Latin and Vernacularity in Fifteenth-Century Italy" by Andrea Rizzi and Eugenio Refini in *I Tatti Studies* 16 (2013) on the uses of Latin in Renaissance Florence.

29. In the only English translation of the text to date, James Hankins writes, "The best translator will turn his whole mind, heart, and will to his original author and in a sense transform him." We are choosing to follow instead the recent Italian translation by Paolo Viti, which adheres more closely to the sense of the passage, with its analogy of someone who copies a painting and "thinks not of what he is doing himself but of what the other had done"; *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, ed. James Hankins (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987), 220. For a recent essay on Bruni and his notion of the translator as someone who is carried away (*rapitur*) by the power of the original's speech, see Timothy Kircher, "Wrestling with Ulysses: Humanist Translations of Homeric Epic Around 1440," in *Neo-Latin and the Humanities: Essays in Honour of Charles Fantazzi*, ed. Luc Deitz, Timothy Kircher, and Jonathan Reid (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014).

30. See *Le monolinguisme de l'autre ou la prothèse de l'origine*, Jacques Derrida's meditation on linguistic and cultural identity, in which he considers the paradox "I have but one language—yet that language is not mine," or in a different formulation, "One never speaks but one language / one never speaks only one language," translated by Patrick Mensah as *Monolingualism of the Other, or, The Prosthesis of Origin* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).

31. See *Seniles* 5:2, in which Petrarch writes Boccaccio that he used to "devote all his time to vernacular pursuits since Latin had been so highly polished by ancient talents that now my resources, or anyone else's, can add very little"—suggesting that there was a sense of completion to Latin letters that would, in effect, minimize any inevitably belated writings. But he goes on: "On the other hand, this vernacular writing, just invented, still new, showed itself capable of great improvement and development after having been ravaged by many and cultivated by very few husbandmen." Hence Petrarch helped to lay "the foundations of that edifice," as he compares the fledgling vernacular to a building, but realizes quickly that "it was a waste of effort to build on soft mud and shifting sand, that I and my work would be torn to shreds by the hand of the mob." So he abruptly changed his mind, taking another path that was "straighter and higher." He ends by saying that "those brief and scattered vernacular works of my youth are no longer mine"; having been relentlessly copied and dispersed, "they have become the multitude's." From the translation of Aldo Bernardo, *Letters of Old Age*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 157–58.

32. See the penultimate letter of the *Seniles* 17:4, for both the translation itself and for Petrarch's comments on the translation (in which he invokes, among others, Horace's platitude on literal translation ("nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus / interpres"). For a reading of the letter, see Jane Tylus, "Petrarch's Griselda and the Sense of an Ending," in *Inventing a Path: Studies in Medieval Rhetoric in Honor of Mary Carruthers*, ed. Laura Iseppi (Nottingham: Brepols, 2013): 391–420.

33. Walter Ong, *Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality, and Consciousness* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981).

34. Mikhail Bakhtin wrote extensively as to how the monolingual culture of the Greeks was brought into contact with the "other" Rome: both informing late Greek poetry—like Lucian's—and giving Rome a richness and creativity as well as a firm sense of place which the Greeks lacked. On Rome's challenging Greek's "monoglossisa," see *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press Slavic Series, 1982).

35. Epistle II.3, lines 55–63; in the translation of Smith Palmer Bovie in Horace, *Satires and Epistles of Horace* (Chicago: Phoenix, 1959), 273. The origins of Horace's simile may be from Virgil's *Aeneid* 6:309–10 ("thick as the leaves of the forest that at autumn's first frost drop and fall," where Virgil is speaking of the throngs of those who have died too young clustering near the banks of the Acheron), but Horace is the one who applies the falling leaves to words. The translation is that of H. R. Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold, in the Loeb Virgil (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

36. See, among other texts, Jill Kraye, "Lorenzo Valla and Changing Perceptions of Renaissance Humanism," *Comparative Criticism* 23 (2001): 37–55.

37. Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 102.

38. Burke, *Languages and Communities*, chap. 2.

39. Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 32–33.

40. Warren Boutcher, "The Renaissance," in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, ed. Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 45. On translation and the dissemination of knowledge, see Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré, eds., *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012).

41. Clarke, "Translation and the English Language," 17.

42. See the opening chapter of *De vulgari eloquentia* where Dante distinguishes between the vernacular tongue, learned "without any rule," and the "secondary speech, which the Romans called grammar [*grammaticus*]. And this secondary speech the Greeks also have, as well as others, but not all"; in *Classical and Medieval Literary Criticism: Translations and Interpretations*, ed. Alex Preminger et al. (New York: Ungar, 1974), 412–13.

43. For a nuanced critique of the triumphalist argument concerning the "rise of the vernaculars," see Burke, *Languages and Communities*, chap. 3.

44. On the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Bibles of northern Europe, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Reformation of the Bible / The Bible of the Reformation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996).

45. See André Lefevere, "Translation: Its Genealogy in the West," in *Translation, History, and Culture*, ed. Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (London: Pinter, 1990), 14–28.

46. Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

47. Burke, *Languages and Communities.* On publishers' shrewd manipulation of Latin and various vernaculars, and their entrepreneurial commissioning of selective translation to accommodate differing Catholic and Protestant markets, see Michiel van Groesen, "Entrepreneurs of Translation: Latin and the Vernacular in the Editorial Strategy of the De Bry Publishing House," in Cook and Dupré, *Translating Knowledge*, 107–28.

48. On translation in early modern Spain, see a number of the essays in José Maria Pérez Fernández and Edward Wilson-Lee, eds., *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

49. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 279. See also D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

50. See Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote, eds., *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2007).

51. Henri Estienne, "Nundinarum Francofordiensium seu Francofordiensis emporii Encomium," trans. and ed., with an introduction by James Westfall Thompson, in *The Frankfort Book Fair* (Chicago, 1911; repr., New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 171.

52. See Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

53. John L. Flood, "'Omnium totius orbis emporiorum compendium': The Frankfurt Fair in the Early Modern Period," in Myers, Harris, and Mandelbrote, *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, 16.

54. On cultural "trade imbalances," see Venuti, *Scandals of Translation.*

55. Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990).

56. Gayatri Spivak argues against this proposition, for in her view it overlooks the cultural authority of classical texts as cultural capital, but she does not address the issue of vernacular translation in the early modern period. "The Politics of Translation," in *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 191.

57. Recent work on women's various roles in early modern translation in England includes Margaret Hannay, *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1985); Tina Krontiris, *Oppositional Voices: Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1992); and Deborah Uman, *Women as Translators in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2012).

58. From the dedication to John Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essayes* (London, 1603).

59. For a critique of the way in which commentators have too often accepted Florio's judgment, despite counterevidence, see Jonathan Goldberg, *Desiring Women Writing: English Renaissance Examples* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

60. See the work of the late Maria Rosa Menocal with respect to *Don Quixote*'s addressing the issue of "mistranslation" in book 1, chap. 9; *The Ornament of the World* (New York: Little, Brown, 2002), 250–51. The extent to which the chivalric epic emerges from a series of supposed (mis)translations goes back at least to Ariosto and Boiardo.

61. See Bistué, *Collaborative Translation and Multi-version Texts.* On the dragoman's activities, see E. Natalie Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 4 (October 2009): 771–800.

1. TRANSLATING THE LANGUAGE OF ARCHITECTURE

My thanks to Professor John McDiarmid for his comments on early drafts of this chapter.

1. In this shift, an influential text has been Michel De Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien* (Paris: Union Générale des Éditions, 1980).

2. Carl Adolf Schmidt, *Die Reception des Römischen Rechts in Deutschland* (1868; repr., Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1969); Paul Laband, *Rede über die Bedeutung der Rezeption des römischen Rechts für das deutsche Staatsrecht* (Strasbourg: University of Strasbourg, 1880); Max Herrmann, *Die Reception des Humanismus in Nürnberg* (Berlin: Wiedemann, 1898).

3. Aby Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999); some of the essays in this collection go back to the early 1900s.

4. Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); Stefan Schuler, *Vitruv im Mittelalter: Die Rezeption von "De Architectura" von der Antike bis in die frühe Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999); Sydney Anglo, *Machiavelli: The First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Terence Cave, ed., *Thomas More's "Utopia" in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

5. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995); Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); Peter Elmer, Nick Webb, and Roberta Wood, eds., *The Renaissance in Europe: A Cultural Enquiry* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000); Robin Kirkpatrick, *The European Renaissance, 1400–1600* (Harlow: Longmans, 2002).

6. Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, eds., *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe et XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les

62. Ibid., my emphasis.

63. Ibid., 429, my emphasis.

64. Cited from Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957), 141.

65. See Moisan, "Interlinear Trysting," 110, on Gremio's use of "baccare" as a "stock piece" of "faux Latinity" aimed at asserting "the dignity of his age and wealth against the importunate advances of Petruchio, who has jumped the courtship queue in his haste to claim Katherina." See also Parker, *Shakespeare from the Margins*, 25.

66. For the sexual pun in "doing," see Hodgdon's note on 2.1.74.

67. For an important discussion of the play's transformation of the wife from a productive member of a household into a luxury item like the "kates" (dessert cakes) to which Petruccio compares the female he insistently calls "Kate," see Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: Gender and Property in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 52–75.

68. On Ovid as an educational model, see Phillippy, "'Loytering in Love'"; Heather James, "Ovid in Renaissance English Literature," in *A Blackwell Companion to Ovid*, ed. Peter E. Knox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 423–41; James, "Shakespeare's Learned Heroines"; Vanda Zajko, "Petruchio Is 'Kated': The Taming of the Shrew and Ovid," in Martindale and Taylor, *Shakespeare and the Classics*, 33–47.

69. Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, 2nd ed., trans. Grant Showerman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), I.64, pp. 14–15.

70. At first glance, or if one is in a hurry to get to one's "real" task, as Lucentio/Cambio evidently is, one might read "hac" as the feminine ablative singular of "hic," the pronoun, and just decide that the generic masculine form will do (hic). In performance, the lines can be very funny, like hiccups.

71. From Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*, vol. V, 1835–1838, ed. Merton M. Sealts (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 226. See also Hugh Kenner, *The Counterfeiters. An Historical Comedy* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1968), for a witty entrée to analyzing modes of rhetorical condescension one often finds in criticism of dead writers.

72. James, "Shakespeare's Learned Heroines," 70.

73. Karen Newman, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 40.

74. This is Gregory Ulmer's apt term—see his "The Puncept in Grammatology," in *On Puns: The Foundation of Letters*, ed. Jonathan Culler (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988): 164–90.

7. ON CONTINGENCY IN TRANSLATION

I am delighted to acknowledge the insightful questions and comments I received during earlier presentations of this chapter, which helped me to focus and shift the argument. Except where indicated, the translations are my own.

1. Fernando de Rojas, *The Spanish bavvd, represented in Celestina: or, The tragicke-comedy of Calisto and Melibea*, trans. James Mabbe (London: Printed by I[ohn] B[eale], 1631), 14.

2. Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina: Comedia o tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, ed. Peter E. Russell (Madrid: Castalia, 2001), 256–57; a useful companion edition is *Tragi/Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, ed. Fernando Caltalapiedra Erostarbe (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2000). The translations are mine except where indicated.

3. This is Mabbe's translation of the passage:

> "Sir why doe you vexe your selfe? why grieue you? Doe you thinke, that in the eares of this woman, the name, by which I now call her doth any way sound reproachfully? Beleeue it not. Assure your selfe, she glories as much in this name, as oft as shee heares it, as you do, when you heare some voyce, Calisto to be a gallant Gentleman. Besides, by this is she commonly called, and by this Title is shee of all men generally knowne. If she passe along the streetes among a hundred women, and some one perhaps blurts out, See, where's the old Bawd; without any impatiency, or any the least distemper, shee presently turnes her selfe about, nods the head, and answers them with a smiling countenance, and cheerefull looke. At your solemne banquets, your great feasts, your weddings, your gossippings, your merry meetings, your funeralls, and all other assemblies whatsoeuer, where there is any resort of people, thither doth shee repaire, and there they make pastime with her. And if shee passe by where there be any dogs, they straightway barke out this name; If shee come amongst birds, they haue no other note but this; If she sight vpon a flocke of sheepe, their bleatings proclaime no lesse; If she meet with beasts, they bellow forth the same: The frogges that lie in ditches, croake no other tune; Come shee amongst your Smithes, your Carpenters, your Armourers, your Ferriers, your Brasiers, your Ioyners: why, their hammers beate all vpon this word. In a word, all sorts of tooles and instruments returne no other Eccho in the ayre; your Shoomakers sing this song; your Combe-makers joyne with them, your Gardeners, your Plough-men, your Reapers, your Vine-keepers passe away the painefulnesse of their labours, in making her the subject of their discourse; your Table-players, and all other Gamesters neuer lose, but they peale foorth her prayses: To be short, be she wheresoeuer she be, all things whatsoeuer are in this world, repeate no other name but this: O what a deuourer of rosted egges was her husband? What would you more? Not one stone that strikes against another, but presently noyseth out, Old whore" (14–15).

Stephen Gilman, *The Art of "La Celestina"* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1956), argued that in these lines Rojas is borrowing from Petrarch's preface to *De Remediis utriusque Fortunae* II. Alan D. Deyermond acknowledges the Petrarchan influence in his *The Petrarchan Sources of "La Celestina"* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), 64–66, but points out that these sorts of lists are conventional in late antiquity and early modernity, and argues against a direct borrowing here.

4. Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, ed. I. González-Llubera (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 3.

5. For a view of the ideology of historiography under the Hapsburgs, see Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

6. Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611).

7. Ambrosius Calepinus, *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarii Octolingvis Altera Pars* (Lugduni: Prost, 1647). At http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/kb-40-2f-2&pointer=259.

8. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Second Part of the History of the Valorous and Witty Knight-errant Don Quixote of the Mancha*, trans. Thomas Shelton[?] (London: Ed. Blount, 1620).

9. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Crítica–Biblioteca Clásica, 1998).

10. Antonio Medina Molera, *Cervantes y el Islam: El Quijote a cielo abierto* (Barcelona: Ediciones Carena, 2005), 84.

11. Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002). A more nuanced review of the place of *aljamiado* literature in Spain was already available in Luce López Baralt, "Crónica de la destrucción de un mundo: La literatura aljamiado-morisca," *Bulletin Hispanique* 82, nos. 1–2 (1980): 16–58. Treatments of Cervantes's reference to this *morisco aljamiado* include Monika Walter, "La imaginación de moro historiador y morisco traductor: Algunos aspectos de la ficticia autoría en el Don Quijote," in *"Bon compaño jura di!"? El encuentro de moros, judíos y cristianos en la obra cervantina*, ed. Caroline Schmauser and Monika Walter (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1998), 35–49. More recently, Nuria Martínez de Castilla, " 'Anduve mirando si parecía por allí algún morisco aljamiado,' " in Ma Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, Nuria Martínez de Castilla, and Rodolfo Gil, *De Cervantes y el islam* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2006), 235–46, as well as Carroll Johnson, *Transliterating a Culture: Cervantes and the Moriscos* (Newark, Del.: Juan de la Cuesta, 2010).

12. Eric C. Graf, "When an Arab Laughs in Toledo: Cervantes's Interpellation of Early Modern Spanish Orientalism," *Diacritics* 29, no. 2 (1999): 80.

13. Michel Moner's useful "Cervantes y la traducción," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 38, no. 2 (1990): 513–24, is updated and recast in Carlos Moreno's "Multiculturalismo y traducción en el Quijote," *Hispanic Review* 71, no. 2 (2003): 205–28.

14. Edwin B. Knowles, Jr., "The First and Second Editions of Shelton's *Don Quixote* Part I: A Collation and Dating," *Hispanic Review* 9, no. 2 (1941): 262.

15. The differences between the 1612 and 1620 editions are indeed so numerous, the "mannerisms" so different in the later translation, as to have given rise to speculation that much of the second edition and the translation of the second half are not Shelton's at all. See Anthony G. Lo Ré, "The Second Edition of Thomas Shelton's *Don Quixote*, Part I: A Reassessment of the Dating Problem," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 11, no. 1 (1991): 99–118, and, more recently, James H. Montgomery, "Was Thomas Shelton the Translator of the 'Second Part' (1620) of *Don Quixote*?," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 26, nos. 1–2 (2006): 209–17.

16. In *Covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Culture Practice in Early Modern Spain* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xvii, Vincent Barletta provides this rather limited definition of "aljamiado": "a system of handwritten textual production that made use of an idiosyncratic form of Arabic script to copy out Castilian and Aragonese texts." His thesis is more arresting, though his concern remains with the lexical component of aljamiado: "The use of aljamiado by Castilian and Aragonese Moriscos has an extraordinarily important cross-temporal as well as cross-cultural function. It is a mistake, in other words, to view the use of Arabic script in the production of Romance texts simply as a means of connecting the Moriscos to the larger Islamic *umma* situated around the Mediterranean during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This synchronic view of Aljamiado-Morisco textuality ignores the powerful manner in which the use of Arabic script situated Morisco scribes and readers within a thousand-year tradition of God's relationship with Muslims. It also ignores the tremendous promises for the future" (137). Mary Elizabeth Perry's *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005) provides a much more nuanced account of the "function" of *aljamía.*

17. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The History and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote*, trans. Tobias Smollett (London: A. Millar, 1755).

18. Richard Perceval and John Minsheu, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (London: Bollifant, 1599).

8. THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

1. The sun, the butterfly, and the figure of Harmony suggest that this might be a post-Restoration representation of Charles II, although there is clearly also a strong resemblance to Charles I.

2. See Melinda Watt and Andrew Morrall, *English Embroidery in the Metropolitan Museum, 1575-1700: 'Twixt Art and Nature* (Published in Association with the Bard Graduate Centre for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design and Culture) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), esp. chap. 4 and the image on 158–59; see also the image on 71, where James II is depicted as Solomon. English monarchs were often depicted as biblical figures. See, for example, representations of Henry VIII as King David and of both Edward VI and Elizabeth I as Josiah and Hezekiah, and note, e.g., images of Solomon and references to the scroll of Esther: Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (Berkeley, Calif. and London: University of California Press,

2002). See, more broadly, e.g., MacCulloch, "England," in *The Early Reformation in Europe*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), esp. 171, 184–85; Lucy E. Wooding, "The Marian Restoration and the Mass," in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David M. Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 227–57, and 234 for representations of Mary as the new Judith; Achsah Guibory, *Christian Identity: Jews and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Naomi Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible: Scripture, Society, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

3. In the biblical narrative the two are described as "prostitutes"; 1 Kings 3:15–27.

4. Images of Hagar are studied closely by Amanda Pullan, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Lancaster University, in progress.

5. This was indeed a general convention. Readers familiar with images by Cranach and Rembrandt, for example, can no doubt recall many similar representations. For further discussion, see, for example, Alexander Nagel and Christoper E. Wood, *The Anachronic Renaissance* (Cambridge: Zone, 2010).

6. For broader arguments, see my *Social Universe of the English Bible.*

7. It would be impossible to summarize here the vast scholarly literature on Bible translation. For general notes, see Eugene A. Nida, "Theories of Translation," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 6 vols, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York, 1992), 6:512–15, hereafter cited as *ABD.*

8. See, e.g., Alfred W. Pollard, ed., *Records of the English Bible* (London: Henry Frowde, 1911); S. L. Greenslade, "English Versions of the Bible, 1525–1611," in S. L. Greenslade, *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1978), 144–74; Jack P. Lewis, "Versions, English," *ABD*, 6:819–20; David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003); David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Tadmor, *Social Universe of the English Bible*, esp. 1–16, and notes there.

9. Examples in this section draw on Tadmor, *Social Universe of the English Bible*, esp. introduction, 18–20, and chap. 4, esp. 131–36. I am grateful to Cambridge University Press for allowing me to reprodce material.

10. William Tyndale, *The obedien[n]ce of a Christen man and how Christe[n] rulers ought to governe* (Antwerp, 1528), fol. 15v.

11. Printed in Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, 376; though, to retain accuracy, the translators of the King James Version rejected word-for-word equivalence, see further discussion below.

12. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, 362.

13. Tyndale, *The obedien[n]ce of a Christen man*, fol. 15v.

14. See also ibid., fol. 19v.

15. In the concepts of the time, those who were not schooled in Latin were not considered among the literati. The "Report on the Making of the King James Version," prepared for the Synod of Dort, for example, was naturally presented in Latin. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, 336–37. The Vulgate also remained approved for private devotional use, alongside the vernacular Bible.

16. See, for example, the preface to the King James Version, in Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, 353. The translators of the King James Version also employed recent Latin versions of the Old Testament alongside the Hebrew original and cardinal ancient translations.

17. See also Scott Mandelbrote, "Making God Speak English," *History Workshop Journal* 75, no. 1 (2013): 265–73; Norton, *Textual History of the King James Bible*, 8; Guibory, *Christian Identity*, 9, 14, 18.

18. Tyndale's New Testament appeared about five years before his first rendition of the Pentateuch. Tyndale's seminal translation of the New Testament saw light possibly before he had even gained full proficiency in Hebrew; see Tadmor, *Social Universe of the English Bible*, 1, n.1. The Rheims New Testament was published in 1582. The Douai Old Testament was completed in 1609–10.

19. See the instructions reproduced in Norton, *Textual History of the King James Bible*, 8.

20. Reproduced in Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, 369.

21. Tyndale hoped that one day the boy that "driveth the plough" would know more of the Scriptures than a priest. Writing earlier (and probably echoing Jerome), Erasmus had expressed a similar desire that "ye plowma[n] wold singe a texte of the scripture at his plowbeme," that "all women shuld reade the gospell," that the weaver should recite Scripture at his loom to drive away the tediousness of time and the wayfarer to expel the weariness of his journey. A similar wish was subsequently repeated by Coverdale: see "The historie and discourse of the lyfe of William Tyndall out of the booke of actes and monumentes briefly extracted," in William Tyndale, *The vvhole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doct. Barnes, three worthy martyrs, and principall teachers of this Churche of England collected and compiled in one tome together* (London, 1573), sig. B.i r; Desiderius Erasmus, *An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture, made by Erasmus Roterodamus. And tra[n]slated in to inglissh* (Antwerp, 1529); Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Houndmills, Basingstoke UK: Macmillan, 1988), 96, and references there. See also, e.g., Marshall's summary that the deep saturation of late Tudor and early Stuart English society with the language of Scripture marks a "cultural sea change"; Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480–1642* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), 165; Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), arguing that the naturalization of the biblical language over time not only enhanced the Bible's cultural significance but has led to new scholarly pursuits.

22. Tadmor, *Social Universe of the King James Bible*, 17ff.

23. Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 427–28, 430; Tadmor, *Social Universe of the English Bible*, 15.

24. Already used in the Wycliffite Bible ("brechis," Wycliffite Early Version and Late Version, Gen. 3:7) and in Caxton's *Golden Legend*: Jacobus de Voragine, *[Legenda aurea*

sanctorum, sive, Lombardica historia] [*Wylyam Caxton*] (London, 1483), fol. 37v; and see also Jack P. Lewis,"Geneva Bible," and Lewis "Versions, English," *ABD*, 2:962, 6:822. Biblical versions from Tyndale to the Rheims-Douai and the King James use "aprons" (a note in KJV adds, "Or, things to gird about"). See also the fascinating early comparison in Richard Marsden, "Cain's Face, and Other Problems: The Legacy of the Earliest English Bible Translations," *Reformation* 1 (1996): 29–51. In a similar way, in the King James Version at Dan. 3:21, the three men cast into the furnace are described as being bound in their "coats, their hosen, and their hats." The words "head attire" of the Bishops' Bible have been erased and replaced with the more conventional yet possibly less accurate English description (as can also be seen in the only remaining working copy of the King James Bible, kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Bib. Eng. 1602 b. 1 at Dan. 3:21). Historical biblical versions quoted here can be found in the machine-readable transcripts in the database The Bible in English, Chadwyck-Healey Literature Collections (ProQuest Information and Learning Company, 2009), http://collections.chadwyck.co.uk. More broadly, see, for example, Sheehan's remark that the translation was meant to bridge as well as obscure the gap between the word of God and human art; Sheehan, *Enlightenment Bible*, 3. See also Norton's discussion of the wording and sense of translations: D. Norton, *A History of the English Bible as Literature* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), chap. 2, esp. 53–55.

25. Tyndale's version, KJV, Matt. 2:16, 26:58, 10:18, and the same verses in J. Goodwin, ed., *The Gospel according to St. Matthew and part of the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark translated into English from the Greek with original notes, by Sir John Cheke* (London, 1843), and gloss pp. 47–48; Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 220; Greenslade, "English Versions of the Bible," 155. The particular object of Sir John Cheke, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge and personal tutor of Edward VI, was to Anglicize all words of Latin and Greek origin that might not be intelligible to those who knew no language other than English; see Goodwin, *The Gospel*, 16. Geographical and cultural naturalization can also be found in a note in the Bishops' Bible, for example, where the land of Ophir is identified as "thought to be the Ilande in the west coast, of late founde by Christopher Columbo: fro whence at this day is brought most fine golde," at Ps. 45:9; and see Lewis, "Bible, Bishops," *ABD*, 2:719. See also V. Westbrook, "Richard Taverner Revising Tyndale," *Reformation* 2 (1997): 191–205.

26. Wycliffite Early Version, Late Version Prov. 31:6, text and note. See also Wycliffite Early Version, Late Version Deut. 14:26, 29:6; Judg. 13:4, 7, 14; Luke 1:15, spelling variations "sidir," "sithir," "sidur," "sidre." Originally probably of Latin and Greek etymology, the word had already been used at that time to designate the European "fermented drink made from apples"; see OED, s.v. "cider." One copy of the Wycliffite Bible (ca. 1420), kept in the Library of Hereford Cathedral, the heart of an apple-producing region, is particularly known as the "Cider Bible" for this use at Luke 1:15, where it is said that John shall not "drinke wyn ne sidir." The word "sidir" is underlined in red, in a manner used elsewhere in that text for highlights and notes. See also ibid., Judg. 13:4, 7, 14, Prov. 31:6: Catalogue of Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library, O.VII.1 Wycliffite Version of the Bible.

27. Tyndale's translation policies attracted controversy and were disputed in detail by Sir Thomas More; see More, *Dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte: One of the counsayll of oure souerayne lorde the kyng* [*and*] *chauncellour of hys duchy of Lancaster. Wherin be treated dyuers maters, as of the veneration* [*and*] *worshyp of ymages* [*and*] *relyques, prayng to sayntys,* [*and*] *goyng o*[*n*] *pylgrymage. Wyth many othere thyngys touching the pestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale* (London, 1529), third book; W. Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge made by Vvillyam Tindale* (Antwerp, 1531); More, *The co*[*n*]*futacyon of Tyndales answere made by syr Thomas More knyght* (London, 1532); and see also, e.g., David Daniell, *William Tyndale: a Biography*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) esp. 178–201, 250–80; Greenslade, "English Versions of the Bible," 145–47; David Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire 1500–1800* (London: Routledge, 1992), "Tyndale and All His Sect," and esp. 90–92, 96. As Rollison explains, the term "elder" reflects not only Tyndale's theology but the social structure of local communities in early modern England. Following Tyndale, Coverdale also employed "congregation" for "church," "elder" for "priest," and "love" for "charity," etc. (but used "penance," explaining that what he meant by it was true repentance). The ecclesiastical words largely remain in the Bishops' Bible, but "charity" is substituted where Tyndale had used "love" (Greenslade, "English Versions of the Bible," 160–61; Lewis, "Bible, Bishops," *ABD*, 2:719). "Arguments about the language" erupted once more surrounding the publication of the Catholic Rheims-Douai version and were important in bringing about the commissioning of the King James Version. For translation policies and debates, see especially Norton, *History of the English Bible as Literature*, chaps. 1–2 and p. 35; Mary Dove, *The First English Bible*: *The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 37–46 and references there.

28. E.g., *ʿaliyah*, KJV 2 Kgs. 4:11; *lishkah*, Jer. 36:10, 20; Ezekiel. 40:45; Neh. 13:5; *ḥeder*, e.g., Genesis. 43:30; 2 Sam. 13:10 (cf., e.g., Deut. 32:25; Gen. 6:14, "within and without"); *ḥuppah*, KJV Joel 2:16. See also, e.g., Moshe Zippor, *The Septuagint Translation of Genesis* (*Targum ha-shiveʿim le-sefer bereshit*) (Jerusalem: Bar Ilan University Press, 2005), 161, on the free translation of *ʾohel* (tent) as *oikos*. My transliteration here and elsewhere follows modern Hebrew pronunciation.

29. See, e.g., KJV Gen. 17:13; Rheims-Douai, KJV Gen. 23:9, 13; KJV Exod. 21:35, cf. Rheims-Douai "price," KJV Exod. 21:30; see also *kofer* as "money" in Exod. 21:30. KJV usages were changed in the Revised Version (1885) at Gen. 23:9, 13; Exod. 21:30, 35.

30. Tyndale's version, KJV Gen. 25:28–29, and especially 27; compare, however, the more accurate wording in Rheims-Douai, "hunting."

31. Thomas Matthew, Rheims Douai, KJV 2 Sam. 18:9; for *ʾelah* (terebinth), see Samuel E. Loewenstamm, s.v. *ʾElah,ʾalon*, *Encyclopaedia Biblica, Thesaurus Rerum Biblicarum*, 9 vols. (Jerusalem, 1950–88) [in Hebrew], 1:294–96: also *pistacia atlantica* or *pistacia palaestina*; hereafter cited as *EB*.

32. Including *yanshuf, lilit, qippoz, kos*, and *bat-yaʿanah* in KJV alone (some qualified as "great owl," "little owl," and "screechy owl"), and see further identifications of "owls" relating to *taḥmas, tinshemet, qaʿat*, and perhaps *shaḥaf* in Edwin Firmage, "Zoology, Animal Names in the Bible," *ABD*, 6:1155, and related notes. *Tinshemet* (Lev. 11:18), rendered

in KJV as "swan," is changed in the Revised Version to "horned owl." See also, for example, references to "caterpillars" in Steve Hindle, "Dearth and the English Revolution: The Harvest Crisis of 1647–50," *Economic History Review* 61 (2008): 64–98, and esp. n. 35. At least eight different insects, including *ʾarbeh, ḥargol, ḥagav, gazam, yeleq, tzlatzal, govay,* and *ḥasil,* are identified as "locust"; see Firmage, "Zoology," 1155–56; T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, eds., *Encyclopaedia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archaeology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible* (London: A. & C. Black, 1914), s.v. "locust," 2807–9.

33. See Tadmor, *Social Universe of the English Bible,* discussions of neighborliness in chap. 1 and of women and marriage in chap. 2.

34. The text, probably written by the cleric John Gauden, was probably also based on materials written by the king and at least in part revised by him. The first advance copy was circulated the very day of the king's execution. According to the records of the Stationers' Company, *Eikon basilike* went, within the first year, through at least thirty-five English editions, with fifty thousand copies published. It is therefore described as a "publishing sensation" and ranked as one of the most famous of all seventeenth-century publications in English: see Sean Kelsey, "The King's Book: *Eikon basilike* and the English Revolution of 1649," in *The English Revolution c. 1590–1720: Politics, Religion and Communities,* ed. N. Tyacke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 150–68, and especially 150, 152; Kathleen Lynch, "Religious Identity, Stationers' Company Politics, and the Printers of *Eikon basilike,*" *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 101 (2007): 285–312; Jason McElligott, "Roger Morrice and the Reputation of *Eikon Basilike* in the 1680s," *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society,* 7th ser., 6 (2005): 119–32, esp. p. 123 for further references there.

35. Charles I, "Meditations upon Death," *Eikon basilike,* 6, 132, 262; and see also references there to "King Ieroboam" and Korah.

36. Rendered "Mightie prince," in Hebrew, *nesiʾ-ʾelohim,* referred to by the Hittite dwellers of Hebron: Gen. 23:6.

37. Gen. 32:28: "Thy name shall be called no more Iacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God, and with men, and hast preuailed." Note the Hebrew verbal form, *sarita.*

38. Ezek. 28:2, 30:13, 38:2–3; Ps. 68:31.

39. Based on an electronic count of the word "prince" in singular and plural forms (spelling variations prince, prynce) in the database The Bible in English.

40. J. A. Selbie, "prince," *Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. James Hastings et al., 5 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898–1904), 4:100–102, on p.100, hereafter cited as *DOB.* Taking account of two additional forms of already counted roots, Selbie reaches the figure sixteen. See also Cheyne and Black, *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* s.v. "prince," 3847–48; J. B. Job, in *The New Bible Dictionary,* ed. J. D. Douglas (London: The Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1962), s.v. "Prince" 1034–35, counting fifteen.

41. Often in compound titles, and "used in all degrees of chiefdom or wordenship"; see Cheyne and Black, *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* s.v. "prince," 3847; Selbie, s.v. "prince," *DOB,* 4:100; Hayim Rabin, s.v. "*sar,*" *EB,* 8:387.

42. See, e.g., Selbie, s.v. "prince," *DOB,* 4:100–101, and *nagid* there; *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament,* ed. Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartener, and Johan Jakob Stamm, translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1944–49), s.v. "*nagid,*" 2:667–68, hereafter cited as *HALOT*; *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament,* ed. Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs (1939; repr., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), s.v. "*nagid,*" 617–18, hereafter cited as BDB.

43. See Selbie, s.v. "prince," *DOB,* 4:101; BDB, s.v. "nasakh," 650–51; also Aramaean chief, leader, chief of a tribe, see *HALOT,* s.v. "*nasikh,*" 2:702–3.

44. Selbie, s.v. "prince," *DOB,* 4:101; BDB, s.v. "*ḥashman,*" 365; cf. *HALOT,* s.v. "*ḥashman,*" 1:362.

45. For this identification, see Selbie, s.v. "prince," *DOB,* 4:101; cf. Cheyne and Black, *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* s.v. "prince," 3847.

46. BDB, s.v. "*seganim,*" 688; Selbie, s.v. "prince," *DOB,* 4:101; see also Cheyne and Black, *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* s.v. "deputy," "prince," 1075, 3848. The etymological origin of this Assyrian loan word, however, could not have been known to the learned classical and early modern translators.

47. BDB, s.v. "*qatzin,*" 892; Selbie, s.v. "prince," *DOB,* 4:101; Cheyne and Black, *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* s.v. "captain," 701, literally "he who decides."

48. See Selbie, s.v. "prince," *DOB,* 4:102; BDB, s.v. "*razan, razon,*" 931.

49. Also the third in a chariot team; see, e.g., Selbie, s.v. "prince," *DOB,* 4:102; *HALOT,* s.v. "*shalish* III," 4:1525–27.

50. See, e.g., "prince of the kings of the earth," KJV Rev. 1:5, and "prince of life," KJV Acts 3:15; and KJV Isa. 7:14, referred to in KJV Matt. 1:23.

51. See, e.g., "Christ our Cohen both Prince and Priest," in H. Ainsworth, *Annotations upon the books of Moses,* "The Preface," no page number; George Lawson, *An exposition to the Epistle of the Hebrews* (London, 1678), 59–60, 97, on "kohen" or "cohen" meaning also officer and magistrate, with reference to Melchizedek, "king and prince"; John Owen, *A continuation of exposition, Epistle to the Hebrews* (London, 1680), 100, arguing that "cohen" in Psalm 110 signifies priestly office rather than "Prince or a Ruler," although "used absolutely" it can mean both; note also the reference in this context to Melchizedek, the New Testament, and the refutation of Jewish interpretation and *Targum.* See also, for example, Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin & Exodum: that is, a sixfold commentary upon the two first bookes of Moses* (London, 1633), e.g. 345, "cohen" as "priest" and "prince," Gen. 41:45; Matthew Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (London, 1683), note to 2 Samuel 20 on "cohen" as "chief minister."

52. See "The Rules to Be Observed in the Translation of the Bible," in Norton, *Textual History of the King James Bible,* 8. See also Pollard, *Records of the English Bible,* 53; and see also "Report on the Making of the Version of 1611," 337, 339. See earlier discussions.

53. As also seen below. The Greek *archōn* was more inclusive than the English "prince" and included twenty different Hebrew terms; see Job, "prince," in Douglas, *New Bible Dictionary,* 1034–35.

54. Though indeed sometimes the logic is hard to discern.

55. Septuagint, Vulgate, KJV Ps. 68:32 or 31. Rabbinical interpretation reads “nobles”; see BDB, s.v. “*ḥashman*,” 365; Selbie, s.v. “prince,” *DOB*, 4:101. The etymology offered by *HALOT*, s.v. “*ḥashman*,” is Egyptian (caustic soda as a dye) and Ugaritic (red cloth), leading to a definition of *ḥashmanim* as “bronze articles or red cloths as presents for God”; however, this of course could not have been known to the learned classical and early modern translators.

56. KJV Gen. 23:6 (following earlier English versions here and in Ps. 68:32 or 31 and Isa. 40:23). On the whole, there seems to be relative uniformity in the use of “king” or “kyng” in Protestant English versions from the Great Bible onward, corresponding with the Hebrew *melekh* and referring both to monarchical rulers and God. The book of Genesis includes 42–46 usages of “king” or “kyng” in Tyndale’s version, the Geneva Bible, and the Authorized Version. Exodus includes 15 in all three; Numbers includes 21–23; Deuteronomy, 33 or 34; and Jonah (also published by Tyndale), 2. For other examples, see Joshua, including 115–17 usages in the Thomas Matthew Bible, the Geneva Bible, and the King James Version; 1 Samuel, including 103–4; 2 Samuel, including 285–95; Psalms, including 80–87; and Isaiah, including 95–102. For seventeenth-century debates over the role of the biblical office of king and its relation to God’s kingship, however, see especially Eric Nelson, “ ‘Talmudical Commonwealthsmen’ and the Rise of Republican Exclusivism,” *Historical Journal* 50 (2007): 809–35.

57. In Numbers 7, the heads of the Israelite clans were also named as “princes,” but then designated in more tribal terms as “chefe lordes”: “Elizur the sonne of Sedeur,” for instance, is named as “chefelorde amonge the childern of Ruben,” and “Selumiel ye sonne of Zuri Sadai” as “chefe lorde amonge the childern of Simeon.”

58. Figures based on an electronic word search of “prince or prynce or princes or prynces,” Old Testament text and notes.

59. The Thomas Matthew Bible was based on Tyndale’s published translations as well as most probably his unpublished drafts (see Figure 14). Comparing usages of “prince” or “prynce,” or “princes” or “prynces” in Rheims-Douai’s Old Testament with usages in KJV, while excluding those books listed in KJV in the Apocrypha, however, the figures would be 423 usages in KJV and 842 in the Rheims-Douai version.

60. Or twelve with the addition of “Priches” in Tyndale’s version of Num. 7, corrected in the Thomas Matthews Bible. However, see, e.g., twenty-two usages in Thomas Matthew’s Isaiah and eighteen in KJV. The comparable figure in this case for Rheims-Douai is thirty.

61. See also, for example, the observation by de Waard and Nida that “the problem with the King James Version and other translations of the same type is that no attempt has been made to fit the level of language to the diverse genres” of the original text; Jan de Waard and Eugene A. Nida, *From One Language to Another: Functional Equivalence in Bible Translating* (Nashville, Tenn.: Nelson, 1968), 50.

62. KJV Gen. 17:20.

63. KJV 1 Sam. 29:4.

64. E.g., KJV 2 Kgs. 24:14, KJV Amos 1:15 (in Bishops’ Bible, Bib. Eng. 1602 b. 1, at 2 Kgs. 24:14, “lords” is crossed over and “princes” inserted in preparation for KJV, and following also the Geneva Bible).

65. KJV Jer. 39:13.

66. KJV Est. 6:9, 1:3 (once for *partamim* and once for *sarav*).

67. Anon., *The heroicall aduentures of the knight of the sea comprised in the most famous and renowned historie of the illustrious & excellently accomplished Prince Oceander, grand–sonne to the mightie and magnanimous Claranax, Emperour of Constantinople, and the Empresse Basilia* (London, 1600); Anon., *The first and second part of the history of the famous Euordanus Prince of Denmark with the strange aduentures of Iago Prince of Saxonie: and of both theyr seuerall fortunes in loue* (London, 1605); or see Anon., *A commyssion sent to the bloudy butcher byshop of London and to al couents of frers, by the high and mighty prince, lord, Sathanas the deuill of hell* (London, 1557).

68. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “prince,” definition 1.

69. *Smith’s Smaller Latin-English Dictionary* (London, 1942), s.v. “princeps” B a.

70. Num. 17:2 and 17:6 in the English Bibles, but Num. 17:17 and 21 in the Hebrew Masoretic Text.

71. Geneva Bible, 1 Chron. 5:2, Hebrew *nagid*.

72. “A brief remonstrance of the state of the church and face of religion in the first age of the world, from the creation to Noes,” attached to the book of Genesis, p. 35. In Josh. 3:8, for example, this version noted that the fact that Joshua had not only princely rule over his people but also command over the priests should not be taken to imply that “lay princes are supreme heads, & gouerners of the Church,” as the “English Protestants inferre.”

73. See detailed examples in Tadmor, *Social Universe of the English Bible*, esp. pp. 144–48.

74. John Jewel, “An Homilee *agaynst disobedience and wylful* rebellion,” in *The second tome of homilees of such matters as were promised, and instituted in the former part of homilies, set out by the authoritie of the queens maiestie: and to be read in euery parishe church agreeably* (London, 1751), 547. Preceding references in this context are made to the Books of Genesis, Job, Ecclesiastes, Psalms, and Proverbs.

75. See the order of reading in Thomas Cooper, *A briefe exposition of such chapters of the Olde Testament as usually are redde in the church at common praier on the Sondayes set forth for the better helpe and instruction of the unlearned* (London, 1753); see 168–70 for the text and 170–72 for expositions condemning rebellion against the “prince.”

76. For sermons on the theme of Korah, see, for example, Gouge’s condemnation of the “rebellion of Korah” against “Moses, the chiefe Prince”; William Gouge, *Gods three arrovves plague, famine, svvord, in three treatises* (London, 1631); Richard Carter, *The schismatick stigmatized* (London, 1641), 114; Henry Killigrew, *A sermon preached before the Kings Most Excellent Majesty at Oxford* (Oxford, 1643), sig. B.iv. v; Thomas Hall, *The beauty of magistracy* (London, 1660), 209; David Lloyd, *Memoires of the lives, actions, sufferings & deaths of those noble, reverend and excellent personages that suffered by death, sequestration,*

decimation, or otherwise, for the Protestant religion and the great principle thereof (London, 1668), and mention of Korah on p. 531; Adam Littleton, *The churches peace asserted upon a civil account as it was (great part of it) deliver'd in a sermon before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor in Guild-Hall-Chappel* (London, 1669), 14, 22–23, 31; Richard Allestree, *Eighteen sermons whereof fifteen preached the King, the rest upon publick occasions* (London, 1669), e.g., 292; Allestree, *The art of contentment by the author of "The whole duty of man"* (London, 1675), e.g., 96, and the "prince" in, e.g., sections 4 and 9; Miles Barne, *A sermon preach'd at the assizes at Hertford, July 10th* (Cambridge, 1684), 7–8, 16; Anon., *The murmurers, a poem* (London, 1689), preface, sig. A.v.

9. CONVERSION, COMMUNICATION, AND TRANSLATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PROTESTANT ATLANTIC

1. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 101; Thomas Jefferson, "Vocabulary of the Unquachog Indians," (1791) American Indian Vocabulary Collection, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. William Vans Murray contributed several such vocabularies, for example, his "Vocabulary of the Nanticoke Indians" (1792), American Indian Vocabulary Collection, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. Ives Goddard, "The Classification of the Native Languages of North America," in *Languages*, vol. 17, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 290–323. Goddard explains that attention to Native American language classification was fragmentary at best until the publication of Albert Gallatin's table of linguistic classification in 1836. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans had varying degrees of awareness of the similarities and differences across different language groups. Only a small number of language families were recognized, and even these were incompletely known.

2. Anthony J. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999). Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* proposed that the New World environment led to degenerate species of flora, fauna, and native populations. According to Buffon, this had retarded the intellectual and cultural growth of the Europeans who settled there (76).

3. Peter Du Ponceau, "Vocabularies Communicated by Jefferson, Heckewelder, and Murray," American Indian Vocabulary Collection, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

4. A 1822 reprint of John Eliot's *Grammar of the Massachusett Indian Language* includes a "Notes and Observations" section written by Du Ponceau. In it, Du Ponceau suggests that since great advances have been made in "comparative philology," "some important modifications" should be made in order to incorporate "the unwritten dialects of barbarous nations" into contemporary theories of language. John Eliot, *A Grammar of the Massachusett Indian Language*. vol. 1 (Boston: Printed by Phelps and Farnham, 1822), xii.

5. Samuel Forry, "The Mosaic Account of the Unity of the Human Race, Confirmed by the Natural History of the American Aborigines," *American Biblical Repository, Devoted to Biblical and General Literature* 10 (July 1843): 29.

6. A debate as to whether indigenous languages were merely savage utterances or whether they conveyed complex metaphors and sonic beauty structured these dual uses of native languages during the early republic and early national period. For example, in a March 1, 1826, letter to George Ticknor, Daniel Webster writes: "Lewis Cass is a native of Exeter, New Hampshire. . . . He is probably not overlearned in Indian languages—perhaps is superficial—but I confess I was astonished to find out he knew so much. But I ought to say that I am a total unbeliever in the new doctrines about the Indian languages. I believe them to be the rudest forms of speech; and I believe there is as little in the language of the tribes as in their laws, manners, and customs, worth studying or worth knowing. All this is heresy, I know, but so I think." George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster* (N.p.: D. Appleton, 1872), 260.

7. The Spanish initiated this practice. In 1547, Pedro de Gante published the *Doctrina Cristiana* in Mexico City, providing Nahuatl translations of Catholic doctrine. The Huntington Library alone owns twenty examples of such printed texts, all published in Mexico City between 1547 and 1591. Missionary linguistics proliferated in New France with manuscript dictionaries and grammars circulating among the Jesuits and Recollets stationed in missionary communities, while vocabularies of Montagnais and Algonquian were also printed in Paris. Victor Egan Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France: A Study of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of American Indian Languages* (Mouton: The Hague, 1969).

8. For example, see De Gante, *Doctrina*; Sebastian Rasles, *A Dictionary of the Abnaki Language in North America*, in *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Printer to the University, 1833), 370–575; and Jean Baptiste Le Boulanger, *French and Miami-Illinois Dictionary*, John Carter Brown Library, Providence Rhode Island.

9. On the importance of finding a London printer for the specific purpose of printing an Indian library in New England, see correspondence between John Eliot and Robert Boyle and other commissioners of the New England Company for the Propagation of the Gospel. "Accounts Accompanying Preceding Letter, 10 September 1662, from Hartford record of the minutes of the New England Commissioners," "Boyle to Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England, 9 April 1663," and "Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England to Boyle, 18 September 1663," in *Correspondence of Robert Boyle, 1636–1691*, 6 vols., ed. Michael Hunter and Antonio Clericuzio (Burlington, Vt.: Pickering and Chatto, 2001), 2:49, 75, 121.

10. Correspondence between Boyle and Eliot reveals that the print production of the Indian Library far outweighed the number of converts, particularly after King Philip's War. In 1662, £500 was donated to defray the charge of printing the Bible. *Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, 2:49, 75. The exchange of money for material textual production persists for over twenty years. Eliot's letter to Boyle on April 22, 1684, begins with Eliot's thanks

to Boyle for the gift of £400. The report from Boston on March 1, 1683, assures the commissioners of the New England Company that Eliot has been "frugal" in the expenses of the Old Testament due to its extraordinary cost. *Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, 6:9, 14. By 1684, Simon Bradstreet, Thomas Danforth, and Samuel Willis expressed their concern for the mission to Boyle: "Wee must needes owne that wee now finde it very difficult to procure an addition of fit persons to labour in that worke of the Lord." Ibid., 4:182.

11. Bernard Perley has written about this paradoxical status of the Eliot Bible in "Bibles in Dead Languages," in *Native American Voices on Identity, Art, and Culture: Objects of Everlasting Esteem*, ed. Lucy Fowler Williams, William Wierzbowski, and Robert W. Preucel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005), 70–71.

12. In contradistinction to my claim here, scholars such as Stephen Greenblatt, Jill Lepore, David Murray, and Walter Mignolo have almost uniformly read colonial language projects as a history of loss. Greenblatt reads "linguistic colonialism" as the pervasive intellectual and popular belief in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that American Indian languages were either "deficient or non-existent" (30). Lepore and Murray show the detrimental effects of this ideology throughout the colonial period as literacy as translation destroyed cultural relativity and autonomy. Mignolo demonstrates the semiotic colonization of Amerindian languages through Renaissance writing in Latin America. Stephen Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," in *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 16–39; Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Random House, 1998); David Murray, *Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing, and Representation in North American Indian Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

13. Vivian Salmon, "Thomas Harriot (1560—1621) and the English Origins of Algonkian Linguistics," *Historiographia Linguistica* 19, no. 1 (1992): 25–56; Michael Booth, "Thomas Harriot's Translations," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 16, no. 2 (2003): 345–61; Jacqueline Stedall, "Symbolism, Combinations, and Visual Imagery in the Mathematics of Thomas Harriot," *Historia Mathematica* 34 (2007): 380–401.

14. Francis Lodwick, "Of Converting Infidels to Christianity," Sloane Papers, 899, ff. 40–43, British Library, London.

15. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect: A True, Lively, and Experimental Description of that part of America* (London: Printed by Tho. Cotes for John Bellamie, 1634), 57, 77, 92.

16. Roger Williams, "A Key into the Language of America," in *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams*, ed. James Hammond Trumbull, vol. 1 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), 1, 30.

17. Ibid., 19.

18. Comenius's *Janua Linguarum Reserata* translates as "the gate of languages unlocked."

19. James Knowlson, *Universal Language Schemes in England and France, 1600–1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 14–15.

20. Hezekiah Woodward, *A Light to Grammar* (London: John Bartlet, 1641).

21. In *The Examiner Defended*, Williams presents the following rhetorical question: "As to that particular case of the Land of Canaan, I ask, whether that Land spewed out, and the people of Israel, whom the Land received, were not all of them typical and figurative, and attended with extraordinary, supernatural, and miraculous Considerations?"; in *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams*, ed. Perry Miller (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), 251.

22. See Rhodri Lewis, *Language, Mind, and Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 17; Hans Aarslaff, manuscript lectures on "Language, Man, and Knowledge in the 16th and 17th Centuries," delivered at Princeton in 1977; and Allison Coudert, "Some Theories of Natural Language from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century," Magia Naturalis und die Entstehung der modernen Naturwissenschaften (=Studia Leibnitiana, Sonderheft 7) (Wiesbaden, 1978), 56–114.

23. For an account of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophical and literary attempts to grapple with the "corruption of speech" that ensued from the dissolution of Adam's power to name, see Robert Essick, *William Blake and the Language of Adam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 1–45. Also see Robert Markley, *Fallen Languages: Crises of Representation in Newtonian England, 1660–1740* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), esp. 63–95.

24. William Wallace Tooker, "John Eliot's First Indian Teacher and Interpreter Cockenoe-De-Long Island and the Story of His Career from the Early Records," in *Languages and Lore of the Long Island Indians* (Lexington, Mass.: Ginn Custom Publishing, 1980), 176–89.

25. John Eliot, *A Grammar of the Massachusetts Indian Language* (Boston: Phelps and Farnham, 1822), 66.

26. Robert Boyle, *Letters of Mr. Boyle to Several Persons and Letters of Several Persons to Mr. Boyle*, ed. Thomas Birch (Hildemsheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 510.

27. Eliot develops this argument in his preface to Thomas Thorowgood, *Jews in America* (London: Printed for Henry Brome, 1660).

28. For an analysis of Puritan plain style and sermonic rhetoric, see Teresa Toulouse, *The Art of Prophesying and the Shaping of Belief* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987); on Petrus Ramus's influence on Protestant hermeneutics, see Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

29. According to Noel Malcolm, Comenius began the project of translating the Bible into Turkish in Holland in 1658. Robert Boyle funded William Seaman's translation of the Bible into Turkish in London, where the New Testament was published in 1666; Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg, and the Translation of the Bible into Turkish," *Church History and Religious Culture* 87 (2007): 327–62. Boyle also funded the translation of the Bible into Irish Gaelic in 1681.

30. Boyle Papers 11:310–34, Royal Society, London; Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg," 327–62.

31. Thomas Shepard, Jr., letter, September 9 1673, Woodrow Collection, National Library, Edinburgh. The exact addressee of this letter is not known.

32. The letter was printed as an appendix to Edward Winslow's *Glorious Progress of the Gospel, Amongst the Indians in New England* (London: Printed for Hannah Allen in Popes-head-Alley, 1649), 135. I am indebted to Cristobal Silva for bringing this reference to my attention.

33. John Dury, "Copy of Letter in Hartlib's Hand, John Dury to Mr. Davenport," August 7, 1642, and "John Dury to Hartlib," May 30, 1645 in the Hartlib Papers, University of Sheffield.

34. *Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, 4:138.

35. Eliot, *Indian Dialogues, for Their Instruction in that Great Service of Christ, in calling home their Country-men to the Knowledge of GOD* (Cambridge, 1671), 8.

36. Hans Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History* (London: Athlone, 1982); Michael Losonksy, *Linguistic Turns in Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

37. Peter Nidditch, ed., *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 64.

38. Cotton Mather, "Cotton Mather, dated at Boston, New England, to John Woodward," November 17, 1712, Royal Society of London.

39. Paul Yves Pezron, *The Antiquities of Nations, More Particularly of the Celtæ or Gauls, Taken to Be Originally the Same People as Our Ancient Britains . . . Englished by Mr. Jones* (London, 1706), 1–2.

40. Pezron's contemporaries believed that the philosophical merit of his work was overshadowed by his commitment to the genetic account of nations to the point of becoming a "mixture of truth and fable." Quoted in David Malcolme, *An Essay on the Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh: T. and W. Ruddimans, 1738), 46. See also Edward Lhwyd, "Part of a Letter from Mr. Edward Lhwyd to Dr. Martin Lister," *Philosophical Transactions* 20, no. 243 (1698): 243–69.

41. David Malcolme and Edward Lhwyd, *A Collection of Letters, in which the Imperfection of Learning, even among Christians, and a Remedy for it, are hinted* (Edinburgh, 1739), 41.

42. Edward Lhwyd, *Archeologia Britannica*, edited by Dewi W. Evans and Brynley F. Roberts (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications-Cymru, 2009). On Lhwyd's etymology, see David Cram, "On Wild Etymology and Descriptive Profligacy: A Contrastive Case Study," in *A Companion in Linguistics: A Festschrift for Anders Ahiqvist on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Bernadette Smelik, Rijcklof Hofman, Camiel Hamans, and David Cram (Nijmegen: Stichting Uitgeverij de Keltische Draak, 2005), 219–30.

43. Malcolme and Lhwyd, *Collection of Letters*, 41–44.

44. Much of Lhwyd's relevant correspondence on this topic is at the Bodleian Library. See "Edward Lhwyd's Correspondence," MS Ashmole, 1814, 1816, 1817, 1829. On the Irish language, see "Lhwyd to Richard Jones, 1688," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (3rd ser.) 7 (1861): 130–32. For an overview, see R. T. Gunther, "Life and Letters of Edward Lhwyd," *Early Science in Oxford* 14 (1945).

45. Ibid., 41–47. The *Parochial Queries* that Lhwyd received with handwritten notes have been preserved in the Bodleian Library collections. See "A Design of a British Dictionary," MS Ashmole 1820a, ff. 66–169.

46. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, vol. 1 (London: Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, 1702), 93. The quote comes from the "Church Militant" by the Renaissance poet George Herbert.

47. Cotton Mather, "dated at Boston, New England, to James Jurin and John Woodward," 1724, Royal Society of London.

48. Ibid.

49. *Transactions of the Historical Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, (1819) xviii.

50. Quoted in Experience Mayhew, *Observations on the Indian Language*, Library of American Civilization, ed. John S. H. Fogg (Boston: D. Clapp and Son, 1884).

10. FULL. EMPTY. STOP. GO.

I am grateful for comments and suggestions made on an earlier version of this chapter, with special gratitude to Karen Newman and Jane Tylus.

1. The Chinese characters used to render the name of the college (Siyi guan) were changed with the transformation from Ming to Manchu Qing rule in the seventeenth century. The only difference is the central character, *yi*: the original character can be roughly translated as "barbarian," while the new character means "translation." Manchu rulers of China were particularly sensitive to the uses of the former character.

2. *Huayi yiyu*, in *Beijing tushuguan Guji chuban bianji zu*, vol. 6 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), 32. The term *qi da qi shi* is added on 81. Chinese and Mongolian script.

3. *Huihui guan zazi*, in *Beijing tushuguan Guji chuban bianji zu*, 6:477. Chinese and Persian script.

4. *Xifan guan yiyu*, electronic reproduction from Awa no Kuni Bunko, Cornell University, Kroch Library Collection, 22. Chinese transliteration only without Tibetan script.

5. *Gaochang guan yiyu*, in *Beijing tushuguan Guji chuban bianji zu*, 6:387. Chinese and Uighur script. Also, *Gaochang guan zazi*, in ibid., 6:437. Chinese and Uighur script.

6. *Ruzhen guan yiyu*, electronic reproduction from Awa no Kuni Bunko, Cornell University, Kroch Library Collection, 32. Chinese transliteration only. See also Donald Kane, *The Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters* (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1989), 281. Kane's work is based on the Awa no Kuni manuscript as well.

7. *Baiyi guan yiyu*, electronic reproduction from Awa no Kuni Bunko, Cornell University, Kroch Library Collection, 20. Chinese transliteration only. This script (*baiyi*) from