ASHGATE

Collaborative Translation and Multi-Version Texts in Early Modern Europe

VTOPIENSIVM ALPHABETVM.
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u x y

TETRASTICHON VERNACVLA VTO-
PIENSIVM LINGVA.

Vtopos ha Boccas peula chama.

polta chamaan

Bargol he maglomi baccan

soma gymnosophaon

Agrama gymnosophon labarem

bacha bodamilomin

Voluala barchin heman la

lauoluola dramme pagloni.

HORVM VERSVVM AD VERBVM HAEC
EST SENTENTIA.

Vtopus me dux ex non insula fecit insulam.
Vna ego terrarum omnium absq; philosophia.
Ciuitatem philosophicam expressi mortalibus.
Libenter impartio mea, non grauatim accipio meliora.

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BELÉN BISTUÉ

COLLABORATIVE TRANSLATION AND MULTI-VERSION TEXTS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Focusing on team translation and the production of multilingual editions, and on the difficulties these techniques created for Renaissance translation theory, this book offers a study of textual practices that were widespread in medieval and Renaissance Europe but have been excluded from translation and literary history.

The author shows how collaborative and multilingual translation practices challenge the theoretical reflections of translators, who persistently call for a translation text that offers a single, univocal version and maintains unity of style. In order to explore this tension, Bistué discusses multi-version texts, in both manuscript and print, from a diverse variety of genres: the Scriptures, astrological and astronomical treatises, herbals, goliardic poems, pamphlets, the Greek and Roman classics, humanist grammars, geography treatises, pedagogical dialogs, proverb collections, and romances. Her analyses pay careful attention to both European vernaculars and classical languages, including Arabic, which played a central role in the intense translation activity carried out in medieval Spain.

Comparing actual translation texts and strategies with the forceful theoretical demands for unity that characterize the reflections of early modern translators, the author challenges some of the assumptions frequently made in translation and literary analysis. The book contributes to the understanding of early modern discourses and writing practices, including the emerging theoretical discourse on translation and the writing of narrative fiction--both of which, as Bistué shows, define themselves against the models of collaborative translation and multi-version texts.

Transculturalisms, 1400–1700

This series presents studies of the early modern contacts and exchanges among the states, polities and entrepreneurial organizations of Europe; Asia, including the Levant and East India/Indies; Africa; and the Americas. Books will investigate travelers, merchants and cultural inventors, including explorers, mapmakers, artists and writers, as they operated in political, mercantile, sexual and linguistic economies. We encourage authors to reflect on their own methodologies in relation to issues and theories relevant to the study of transculturism/translation and transnationalism. We are particularly interested in work on and from the perspective of the Asians, Africans, and Americans involved in these interactions, and on such topics as:

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v

To my children,
Ana and Gregorio Roby

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Contents

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List of Figures

Acknowledgements

As is fitting to the genre, my thanks to my family go at the end, but they are not smaller for this. I thank my parents, Eliana and César Bistué, my brothers, Germán and Sebastián Bistué, and my husband, Gaspar Roby, for their constant love and support. I save a special place for my sister Carolina, who accompanied me in some of my searches through rare book collections. And, the best for last, I thank my multilingual children, Ana and Gregorio, to whom I dedicate this book.

Introduction
Collaborative Practices, Multi-Version Texts, and the Difficulty of Thinking Translation

This book offers a study of two textual practices that were widely used in medieval and Renaissance Europe but have remained outside the scope of Western translation history. One of them is the work of *translation teams*, in which two or more translators, each an expert in one of the languages involved, collaborated to produce a translation—for instance, one translator would render the Greek, Arabic, or Hebrew source-text into an intermediate vernacular version, and another translator would render this intermediate version into Latin. This collaborative technique allowed for a distribution of different tasks in the translation process among different members of the team, who belonged to different linguistic and cultural traditions, and who collaboratively produced texts in which these different traditions coexist. The second practice I consider is the making of *multilingual translations*, in which different versions, in different languages, are carefully combined and explicitly placed side by side on the same page. Translators, along with copyists and printers, assigned meaning to the relations between versions and represented them in a variety of ways—in facing pages, parallel columns, interlinear and intra-linear arrangements, and, often, in a combination of two or more of these formats.

I am interested in these practices and textual products, because they make visible the fact—often occluded in early modern theoretical reflections—that translation involves more than one writing subject and more than one interpretive position. Even when a translation is performed by a single translator (and even when this translator does not consult or produce other versions and does not use the help of an interpreter, a copyist, or a printer), translation still involves two versions. The practices I study formalize this intrinsic multiplicity, either in the fact that different persons actually occupy different writing and reading positions, or in the material juxtaposition of alternative versions on the same page. In this book, I survey and analyze extant texts that are the product of collaborative and multilingual translation, as well as references to these practices found in prefaces, notes, and theoretical reflections. My main entry point into the study of these forgotten techniques is the difficulty they created for Renaissance theoreticians of translation, who persistently claimed that a translation must be performed by a single translator and that the translation text must offer a single, univocal version—and who, along the way, repressed information on practices that did not fit this model.

As I have begun to suggest, such study involves the questioning of long-held ideas about translation and about literature. In general, this book interrogates the

notion of national literary traditions as one of the main conceptual difficulties that we still face for studying the products of collaborative and multilingual translation—and for considering these products as coherent texts in the first place. A text produced by an English scholar working in Toledo with the help of a Mozarab interpreter (as some of the texts discussed in Chapter 2 were) cannot easily find a place in the history of English letters, or Spanish letters, or even in the history of Mozarab letters in Spain. As we will see in Chapter 3, a poem that combines an Old High German version with a Latin version connected by a bilingual refrain cannot be fully accommodated in the history of German lyric, or in the history of Medieval Latin lyric, and tends to be left out of both of them. Furthermore, this book also interrogates what are perhaps two of the most basic assumptions underlying the ways in which we (students of languages and literatures formed in the Western academic tradition) think about translation. These are the idea that translation is a process performed by a single person, who is an expert in both languages involved, and the idea that the translation text consists exclusively in the new version produced by this person, who inscribes it in a new language and culture. We may have come across a bilingual edition of a literary work, or a product's manual that offers several versions of instructions and warnings, in different languages and scripts. It is becoming more and more common for primary and secondary schools in some regions of the United States to send parents and students information in bilingual format. Nevertheless, and in spite of our practical experience, when we talk about the translation text, we usually refer to only one of the versions involved, and when we think about the translation process, we tend to assume we are dealing exclusively with the cognitive activity, linguistic choices, and social constraints of an individual who produces this version.[1]

Surprisingly, when we examine the theoretical writings of early Renaissance translators, we find that they did not take these ideas for granted. On the contrary, in treatises, commentaries, dedicatory letters, and prefaces, they persistently formulated and reformulated the call for a translation that was the product of a single writing agent and that included a single version. As Chapter 1 will show, the first point Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni attempts to establish in his foundational essay *De interpretatione recta* (c. 1424–1426) is precisely that a translation, in order to be correct, must be performed by a single person who is an expert in the two languages involved and that this person must be able to

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[1]   This assumption is inscribed in a more general frame, where it is difficult to find room for the study of inter-subjective processes in general. As Colwyn Trevarthen reminds us, scientific study of the mind and the brain are based on the *a priori* assumption that we "are single heads processing information," and that we only relate to other minds "by a hopeless effort of 'theorizing' or 'simulation.'" Colwyn Trevarthen, foreword to *The Shared Mind: Perspectives on Intersubjectivity*, ed. Jordan Zlatev (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), vii.

both understand the original and produce a new version by himself. This is why, according to Bruni, translation is an intrinsically "difficult task" [*res difficilis*].[2]

What is more, Bruni and many Renaissance theoreticians after him associated this difficult requirement with the complex demand that the text of the translation must appear to be the work of a single writing subject. Bruni elaborately explains that the translator must identify himself with the author to the point of letting himself be "abducted" [*rapitur*] by the force of the author's style, and, in this way, he will transform into the author. This may sound like a simple, and perhaps familiar, stylistic requirement to students of early modern letters. Yet, Bruni is aware of the theoretical effort he is making—and, tellingly, he describes this proposed transformation as "a marvelous effect" [*mirabilis effectus*].[3] He is claiming that the text must show no indication whatsoever that there are different versions, writing stages, or styles involved in the translation process, even if one needs to resort to a *marvelous–stylistic* effect to justify this erasure.

Other metaphors on which Renaissance translators drew to describe the desired unifying effect include different types of transformation, assimilation, fecundation, and reproduction. In many of them, as in Bruni's case, we see the translator attempting to efface himself. He becomes subject to the author, or he merely helps in the delivery and care of an offspring that is the author's alone. However, there are also many instances in which the original author is the one who must disappear. In these instances, translation is imagined as the destruction of a building, the conquest of an enemy, the evaporation of a spirit, or the digestion of the source text. The requirement for unity is so strong that if a translation were to juxtapose the style and language patterns of the translator with those of the author, making both of them visible, the product would not be considered "a Book"—to qualify as one, as French translator Nicolas Perrot D'Ablancourt reminded his readers, "every part of [it] must be linked together and fused as in the same body."[4]

Indeed, this requirement becomes so pervasive that translators tend to overlook the paradox it creates. The practice of translating necessarily involves, at least, two versions (the source and the new version that the translator is producing). There is, therefore, a doubling of versions that is intrinsic to the practice. Nevertheless, early modern theoreticians strove to define translation not as a doubling but as the exact opposite: as a process that must unify two versions. As in the case of the proposed unification of author and translator, we will find alternative possibilities for this textual fusion. Some theoreticians advise that the translator must add absolutely nothing to the version, so that it still appears to be the author's text. Others call for a translator who writes so fluently that he can make the reader

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[2] Leonardo Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione* [*De interpretatione recta*], ed. Paolo Viti (Napoli: Liguori, 2004), 78.

[3] Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, 84–6.

[4] Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt, introduction to his French translation of Tacitus's *Annales* (1640), in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York: Routledge, 2004), 32.

forget there was ever another version. And, in some descriptions of the synthesis, it is not completely clear whose version remains. Nevertheless, we will find that all of them agree on one point: there should be room for only one version and only one writing position in the text of the translation.

In the following chapters, I will discuss some of the convoluted metaphors translators used, as well as some of the forced turns and contradictions in which they incurred when they struggled to formulate these paradoxical requirements. I will also explore some early modern fictional narratives that can be said to support the theoretical requirement for unity, too. Such influential works as Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), François Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532) and *Gargantua* (1534), and Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605) playfully present themselves, or part of themselves, as translations. What is more, they make explicit reference to the collaborative and multilingual practices my work is attempting to rescue. However, when these narratives invite the readers to imagine they are reading a translation, they do so mockingly. These works make fun of translation as a discourse that offers many alternative readings, instead of a coherent, unified story. And I argue that it is, in part, against this multiplicity that early modern fictional narrative discourse defines itself.

In fact, the central thread of my argument is that early modern translators and authors had to invest a large amount of effort in defining translation as the task of an individual whose product offers a single, unified version because such definition went against well-established techniques and strategies for translating. The work of translation teams, for instance, had been fundamental to the dissemination of ancient philosophical and scientific writings. During the late Middle Ages, scholars from different European regions had traveled to southern cultural centers (in Spanish, Italian, and French territories), where they could have access to Greek and Arabic manuscripts, and, more importantly, where they could team up with Greek and Arabic experts who helped them translate these manuscripts into Latin. In addition to team translation, there were other collaborative reading and writing practices that could sometimes inform the process of translation. For instance, members of the nobility who had learned some Latin but were not completely proficient in this language, could hire a more learned reader to help them with the interpretation process, or, alternatively, to prepare a word-for-word instrumental translation which would guide them as they read the original. If we allow for temporal and spatial distance between the production of each version, we can also include compilation and re-translation among the examples. In the case of compilations, translators would draw from different copies and from different versions of the source (some of them in different languages). By re-translation, I am referring to instances in which translators would take an intermediate version as the source for their new version (that is, for instance, when a translator would use the Italian version of a Latin work as the source for his Spanish version).

There were instances in which the texts actually formalized this multiplicity and made it an integral part of the translation product. This is the case of the numerous multilingual translations, both in manuscript and print, that were produced during the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. Examples include works from

a variety of discursive genres: elaborate polyglot Psalters, Gospels, and Bibles; multilingual astrology–and–astronomy catalogs, herbals, goliardic poems, and administrative documents; careful bilingual or trilingual editions of the Greek and Roman classics, grammars, geography treatises, pedagogical dialogs, and proverb collections produced by eminent scholars; anonymous translation exercises; long sentimental romances in four languages, and very short bilingual broadsheet news and pamphlets. I am interested in this textual practice in particular, and I discuss several types of multi-version texts, because I see the combination of different versions on the same page as an alternative model for thinking about translation—a model that was forcibly excluded by early modern translators when they began to define translation as the task of a single person and as a unified, single-version text.

Collaborative, multilingual practices did not fit the theoretical and ideological frames in which Renaissance translators inscribed their reflections. European processes of religious, administrative, and political centralization, as well as the incipient formation of national identities, entailed the promotion of linguistic and textual unity. In the religious arena, the establishment of a single official version of the Scriptures was an urgent problem for the Catholic Church. In this context, translators must have felt the need to conceptualize translation as an activity that reduces multiple versions to one. More specifically, they seem to have felt the need to reduce the various Hebrew, Greek, and Latin versions of the Scriptures into a single Latin version attributed to Jerome. In practice, translators and scholars, during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, in manuscript and print, and on both the Catholic and the Protestant sides, kept multiplying and juxtaposing versions of the scriptures. As I discuss in more detail in Chapter 3, the production of manuscript multilingual Psalters and Gospels was a frequent practice across medieval Europe, perhaps, following on the lost model of Origenes's *Hexapla*. A humanist example can be found in the three-column Psalter that Giannozzo Manetti, Papal Secretary for Nicholas V and Calixtus III, produced in the mid fifteenth century (he correlated his own Latin version of the Hebrew with two of the Latin versions attributed to Jerome). In 1509, Henri Estienne printed Jacques Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium*, which contained the old Latin Psalter, side by side the three versions attributed to Jerome, as well as Lefèvre's own revision of the Vulgata. Posing a perhaps less open but also far reaching challenge, Erasmus published in 1516 his well-known New Testament, which offered Greek and Latin versions on two parallel columns (and, only for the third edition, another column containing the Latin Vulgata). While the Complutensian and the Antwerp great Polyglot Bibles were financed by Catholic patrons, the London Polyglot was a Protestant enterprise from the start. However, in theory, this multiplication of versions started to be described—often by the very same translators who produced multilingual versions—as a step that would actually help produce a single authoritative version. At a very general level, the establishing of the Vulgata as the only version authorized by the Catholic Church, Luther's version of the Bible for the German people, and the King James Version in England all have a theoretical point of contact in the singular authority they claimed in their respective contexts.

As the last two examples suggest, theoretical demands for linguistic and textual unity intersect with ideologies of political unification. In fact, in her study of literary representations of English dialects, Paula Blank has argued that the emphasis sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century authors and playwrights placed on the portrayal of linguistic difference inside English played a cultural role in the formation of a national identity. They tended to organize linguistic variations into a hierarchy where there was only one preferred form, and this strategy heralded both a new notion of linguistic authority and an official policy of linguistic unification.[5] Margaret Ferguson has suggested, in her study of intersections among ideologies of gender, literacy, and empire, that already in Dante's definition of an *illustrious vernacular* we can see intersections with the plea for a *unified* monarchic Italy.[6] At a more general level, Benedict Anderson proposed that the printing press and the book market, by creating "monoglot mass reading publics," made it possible for European readers to imagine themselves as interchangeable members of unified linguistic communities. Anderson argued that the ground for the conceptualization of modern political communities was prepared, in part, by the virtual possibility that all the members of a particular linguistic community could read a copy of the same book in the same vernacular language.[7] This virtual possibility presupposes, of course, that there should be *a single* shared language. What is more, it also presupposes—as theories of translations do—that there should be *a single* reading position in the text, which could then be occupied by any of the members of the linguistic community. Indeed, as Jacques Lezra has shown, early modern texts that included multiple languages and, therefore, multiple reading positions (such as translation aids in the form of multilingual dictionaries and grammars) could generate a high degree of anxiety for authors and publishers. They tended to project the uncertainty about the linguistic identity of their texts into elaborate reflections about their own socioeconomic status and political identity. Their multi-version texts, Lezra claims, formalize an understanding of subjectivity as something fluid and de-territorialized, and such an understanding conflicted with proto-national forms of identification. It would conflict, as well, with the modern articulation of individualism.[8]

Ideological demands for unity intersect, not only with the formation of political and linguistic identities, but also with the conceptual structure of social institutions. These demands seem to be at play, for instance, in the early modern

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[5]   Paula Blank, *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings* (London: Routledge, 1996).

[6]   Margaret W. Ferguson, *Dido's Daughters: Literacy, Gender, and Empire in Early Modern England and France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 87–8.

[7]   Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 43–4.

[8]   Jacques Lezra, "Nationum Origo," *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, ed. Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 203–28.

conceptual model for marriage that Frances Dolan has described as an "economy of scarcity." Dolan traces this model both in the use of Christian figurations of marriage, as the fusion of husband and wife into "one flesh," and in the legal notion that the two spouses achieve "unity of person." This effect—certainly as *marvelous* as the one Bruni described for the translation process—contradicted some of the ways in which early modern men and women conceived of themselves as persons. Marriage, Dolan explains, implied the participation of two persons, but it had conceptual room for only one. The conflict became especially urgent for the woman, who tended to be subsumed under the authority of her husband, but it could also represent a problem for the man when he saw his status threatened by the assertion of the woman's individuality. Marriage's "economy of scarcity" set the stage for a struggle in which both spouses may attempt to establish their status as persons, but in which there is room for only one full person. In this sense, Dolan's study illuminates connections between the conceptual contradictions resulting from a forceful demand for unity and the more tangible forms of violence that tend to be associated with marriage (ranging from spiritual struggles, to *taming*, battering, and murder).[9]

Indeed, figures of marital union (and of anxiety about gendered roles) intersect with the very conceptualization of the self. We find an example of this intersection in Michel de Montaigne's essay "On Presumption":

> Those who want to split up our two principal parts, and sequester them from each other are wrong. On the contrary we must couple and join them together again. We must order the soul not to draw aside and entertain itself apart, not to scorn and abandon the body (nor can it do so except by some counterfeit monkey trick), but to rally to the body, embrace it, cherish it, assist it, control it, advise it, set it right and bring it back when it goes astray; in short to marry it and be a husband to it, so that their actions may not appear different and contrary, but harmonious and uniform.[10]

John Jeffries Martin reads this passage in the context of Renaissance conceptualizations of subjectivity. The relation between internal and external *selves*, Martin explains, was at the basis of many of them, but Montaigne's husbandry model takes a marked step towards the definition of a "unified self."[11]

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[9]   Frances E. Dolan, *Marriage and Violence: The Early Modern Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). As Dolan points out, Wendy Brown locates a similar *economy of scarcity* at the larger level of civil society. The notion of an autonomous, whole, self-interested, and self-directed individual, which is at the base of modern liberal conceptualization of subjectivity, and which emerges as a model of selfhood during the early modern period, is founded upon an exclusion: the self-interested (male) individual of civil society is premised upon a (female) self-less one. Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 161.

[10]   In John Jeffries Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), 123.

[11]   Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 7, 123–4.

My brief mention of the above studies is intended to show some of the different planes on which scholars have traced the ideological workings of unification. These studies portray a conceptual frame in which we find a marked drive towards unification. If we take this background into account, it becomes apparent that the multiplicity of versions and writing positions informing the translation process must have created a serious theoretical problem for early modern translators. They had to define translation inside a frame of thought that could not quite accommodate knowledge about collaborative, multilingual practices. The tensions between, on the one hand, a practice that involved many languages, versions, and interpretive positions and, on the other hand, ideologies of unification that could not easily accommodate this multiplicity made the task of thinking about translation a difficult one. Actually, I argue that the recurrent claim that translation is an intrinsically difficult practice is, to a large extent, a projection of this conceptual challenge.

This difficulty, which my study traces back to the emergence of a Renaissance theoretical discourse on translation (in the context of variously inflected concepts of unity and centralization), has become, in time, an integral part of the way in which we think about translation in the West. Retaining only the external form of the tensions in which it took shape, the notion of translation's difficulty continues to be central to theoretical discourses on translation. Umberto Eco describes the situation straightforwardly: "Every sensible and rigorous theory of language shows that perfect translation is an impossible dream," yet, he is quick to add that "[i]n spite of this, people translate." Translation is still defined today as a difficult and almost impossible practice, yet people continue to produce and read translations. Taking the side of practice, Eco playfully compares this situation to the paradox of Achilles and the turtle: "Theoretically speaking, Achilles should never reach the turtle. But in reality, he does. No rigorous philosophical approach to that paradox can underestimate the fact that, not just Achilles, but anyone of us, could beat a turtle at the Olympic Games."[12] Of course, Zeno's paradox is not concerned with the practical world of running. It is a theoretical tool to elicit thought on complex notions regarding movement and space. And, indeed, after reminding my readers that not only Bruni but also any of the Renaissance translators who claimed that translation was impossibly difficult could and did translate, I want to use the *paradox of translation's difficulty* as an entry into a complex problem. The aim of my book is to place this paradox in the historical context in which it takes shape, in order to interrogate the *marvelous effects* it produces and to highlight the conceptual possibilities it excludes.

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[12]   Umberto Eco, *Experiences in Translation*, tr. Alastair McEwen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), ix.

The History of Translation (Theory)

Above all, the conceptual exclusions that the paradoxical difficulty of translation supports have strongly influenced the development of translation history. In particular, as I have begun to explain, early modern theories of translation do not offer any substantial account of multilingual and collaborative translation, and early modern fiction did, but only to make fun of these practices. Modern translation histories do not take much notice of these practices, either. The main explanation for this silence is simple: historians of translation have tended to privilege, as their object of study, the theoretical writings of translators (their treatises, prologues, dedicatory epistles, commentaries and annotations), leaving aside the study of the techniques that translators actually used and of the texts they actually produced. It is almost as if we had taken the paradox at face value, and, since actual translation is impossible, we do not feel the need to go in search of past actual translations.

In fact, the need to consider both theory and practice was already signaled by such a pioneer in the field of translation history as Margherita Morreale. In her 1959 programmatic notes towards a history of medieval translation, Morreale proposed that "all attempts to characterize medieval translation in its different stages should proceed simultaneously along two paths: the comparison between translations and their originals, and the elaboration of a theory of translation."[13] Unfortunately, as Peter Russell noticed a quarter of a century later, scholars did not follow this program.[14] The line of study that has dominated the field can already be seen in the work of another pioneer, Flora Ross Amos's 1920 study on English *Early Theories of Translation.* In the opening pages of her book, Amos justifies the exclusive concentration on translation theories as a necessary cut in an "otherwise impossibly large" field of study. Yet, she is highly conscious of what such a cut implies:

> I have confined myself, of necessity, to such opinions as have been put into words, and *avoided making use of deduction from practice* other than a few obvious and general conclusions. The procedure involves, of course, the omission of some important elements in the history of the theory of translation, in that *it ignores the discrepancies between precepts and practice, and the influence that practice has exerted upon theory*.[15]

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[13] Margherita Morreale, "Apuntes para la historia de la traducción en la Edad Media," *Revista de Literatura* 29 (1959): 3.

[14] Peter Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la Península Ibérica (1400–1550)* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1985), 7.

[15] Flora Ross Amos, *Early Theories of Translation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920), ix; emphasis added. Another early example can be found in the work of W. Schwarz: "[T]his book deals with the principles governing biblical translation. Translations as such will only be used to elucidate the principles developed by the translator. The question of the correspondence between principle and practice will not be raised." W. Schwarz,

The historical study of translation theory has come a long way since then, but these limitations have not been fully addressed.[16]An impressive amount of work has been carried on in the field, and the production of historical narratives has been accompanied by the construction of a substantial corpus of written *opinions* on translation. Today, researchers can consult many comprehensive anthologies of treatises, prefaces, essays, and letters containing translators' reflections on their task.[17] And the availability of this corpus makes the subject much more manageable than it was at the beginning of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the almost exclusive focus on theoretical and programmatic writings of translators—rather than on their actual translations—has continued to characterize the study of translation history.[18] Scholars have paid careful attention to the theoretical and methodological reflections of translators, to the lines of continuation and development of particular notions and figures of thought used in these reflections, and to the wider frames in which these reflections were made (literary theory, philosophy of language, linguistics, translation studies, rhetoric, grammar, the formation of national and gender identities, processes of globalization and localization, to name some of them). However, as Anthony Pym has claimed, in the field of translation history there is still an urgent need for investigating "the complex relationships between past theories and past practices."[19]

Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation: Some Reformation Controversies and Their Background (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), xi.

[16]   Massimiliano Morini's work on Tudor translation may be seen as an exception. "It has been generally conceded," explains Morini, "that whereas the theoretical statements contained in the prefaces to sixteenth-century translations are imbued with literalism, in practice the translators behaved in a radically different manner, altering, cutting, and adding to what they found in the text they chose to 'English.'" Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 3. Unfortunately, Morini ultimately confines himself again in the realm of theory, where he re-defines the situation as the coexistence of medieval *ideas* with new Continental *theories*. Although this final confinement leads him to disregard the initial contradiction between theory and practice as only an "apparent" one, I find his work highly valuable in that he skillfully analyzes specific translation texts and not only theoretical writings.

[17]   These anthologies include the work of Hans Joachim Störig, Thomas R. Steiner, André Lefevere, Paul A. Horguelin, Dámaso López García, Julio César Santoyo, Nora Catelli and Marietta Gargatagli, Lieven D'hulst, Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet, Douglas Robinson, Lawrence Venuti, Basil Hatim and Jeremy Munday, and Daniel Weissbort and Astradur Eysteinsson.

[18]   The many and diverse approaches to translation history covered by the influential work of such scholars as Thomas R. Steiner, George Steiner, Louis G. Kelly, Glyn P. Norton, Yehudi Lindeman, Peter Russell, Lori Chamberlain, Frederick M. Rener, Gianfranco Folena, Rita Copeland, Theo Hermans, Michel Ballard, Valentín García Yebra, Lawrence Venuti, Julio César Santoyo, and Julie Candler Hays coincide in the almost exclusive attention that their works still pay to past *theories*.

[19]   Anthony Pym, *Method in Translation History* (Manchester, UK: St. Jerome, 1998), 10; emphasis added.

The case is that most historical studies and anthologies pay very little attention to past translation *practices*. Even when some of these works' titles announce that they will deal with both theory and practice, the word *practice* tends to stand for the programmatic reflections of translators, and not, for instance, for specific descriptions of translation techniques, or for a study of the actual texts of translations (in this cases, the word *theory* refers to more general reflections on conceptual models or frames). In sum, the general label "history of translation" tends to designate today the particular study of the history of translation *theory*. One of the reasons for this situation is still, I believe, the vastness of the field. A systematic comparison between past theories and past practices would involve studying a large number of translation texts (and these are much longer texts than a prologue or a dedicatory epistle). It would also make it necessary to read multiple versions of the same text. This can be felt as a limitation to the range of periods and cultures that a historian of translation can cover, especially when we compare it with the apparent comprehensiveness for which an exclusive focus on translation theories allows. A second and more seriously limiting reason has to do with an implicit assumption—inherited, I would argue, from humanist theoretical demands. This is the assumption that the text of the translation has space for only one writing subject, and that if the translation is a *faithful* one, this space is for the author alone.[20] Paradoxical as it sounds, historians do not usually consider the translation text as an adequate place to study the translator's work; they look, instead, at the translator's theoretical or programmatic remarks on translation, which are felt to be more authentically his or her work.

Of course, when I refer to the dominant tendency to exclude translation practices and texts as objects of study, I do not mean there are no critics who have taken particular translation texts and practices into account, or no case studies that propose more complex models for thinking about translation texts. To name only one representative example, in her analysis of Charles d'Orléans bilingual oeuvre, Anne Coldiron has proposed that we need to combine multiple frameworks to approach a multi-version work.[21] And, in general, case studies of the work of early-modern women translators tend to offer a ground to start considering translation strategies as a valid category of textual analysis.[22] My point is that these findings

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[20] Indeed, the word *faithful* still points to some of the early modern contexts in which this assumption took shape: faithfulness to one church, one king, one husband.

[21] Anne E. B. Coldiron, *Canon, Period, and the Poetry of Charles of Orleans: Found in Translation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

[22] Examples in this field include the collection *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay (Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1985), Tina Krontiris's *Oppositional Voices: Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1992), Danielle Clarke's "The Politics of Translation and Gender in the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie*," *Translation and Literature* 6 (1997): 149–66, and Deborah Uman and Belén Bistué's "Translation as Collaborative Authorship: Margaret Tyler's *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*," *Comparative Literature Studies* 44.3 (2007): 298–323.

do not yet have a place in the general narratives and structures of historical studies. There is not, for instance, a comprehensive historical narrative that distinguishes the translation techniques and strategies used in different periods. There is neither a study that considers the role that such practices as dictation and the correlation of words in the pages of multilingual editions have played in the work of translators at different times. This is an important omission, because these practices are as important to understand the notion of *word-for-word* translation as are philosophical positions on the relation between *res* and *verba*, or theological conceptualizations of the relation between *flesh* and *spirit*. Furthermore, while the number of *anthologies of theoretical reflections* on translation keeps growing, it is difficult to find *anthologies of translation texts* that can ground such narratives. In this context, my exploration of two specific translation practices, and of the conflicts that they created for early modern theoreticians of translation, attempts to offer a thematic line for a historical narrative that can begin to take translation practices into account. At the same time, it searches to establish a dialog with some of the relatively isolated work already done in the field.

On the Difficulty of Studying Multilingual Translations: Final Methodological Complaints

> Although both are widespread intercultural phenomena, multilingualism and translation are not usually considered in connection with each other. Whereas multilingualism evokes the co-presence of two or more languages (in a given society, text or individual), translation involves a substitution of one language for another. The translating code not so much supplements as replaces the translated code, and translations are rarely meant to be read side by side with the original texts (except, perhaps, in a classroom setting).
>
> —*Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*[23]

A forced disconnection between multilingualism and translation is certainly representative of the situation in the field of translation studies. In the above cited description, the very term "multilingual translation" becomes an oxymoron. Similarly, in the field of literary and linguistic studies, translation and multilingualism are often seen as two mutually exclusive fields. As Dirk Delabastita and Rainier Grutman explain, "translation and multilingualism" can be considered as two exclusive alternatives, as the "two possible outcomes of language contact." Yet, as reasonable as this certainly sounds, there are situations that cannot be fully accommodated in the *either-or* model. Commenting on a study of Ilan Stavans's "Spanglish version of the opening lines of Cervantes' *Quixote*," Delabastita and Grutman actually allow for the possibility that Stavans "did not intend his translation to act as a replacement for the original, but rather

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as proof of the stylistic and indeed literary possibilities *Spanglish* offered" and that "the reader most likely to derive pleasure from Stavans' initiative, actually is s/he who compares Cervantes' early 17th-century text with its early 21st-century reincarnation."[24]

Indeed, even when we do not have a convincing model to account for the production of multilingual translations, the latter is an established practice, not only in the classroom setting, but also in everyday-life settings (instruction manuals, signs at the airport, school communications, health-insurance bills). In these situations, we can find texts in which different versions, in different languages, coexist on the page. This was also the case during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, when, as I will show, the production of multilingual translations was a widespread practice. I believe the study of the techniques and strategies used to correlate different versions on the same page is central to a historical narrative that can address the tensions between translation theory and practice. Again, the main value I see in the study of multi-version works is that they formalize the plurality of versions, languages, and roles involved in the translation process. Still, as the excerpt from the *Routledge Encyclopedia* suggests, it is undeniably difficult to consider such texts and practices as valid objects of study. In what context can we study them? Which national literature tradition can include them in its history? How do we place a multilingual, multi-version text in the established history of a particular language?

Students of early modern letters may have come across a text in which two or more versions were placed side by side: a love song in the *Carmina Burana* offering alternate Latin and a German versions; Pedro Simón Abril's Greek, Latin, and Spanish interlinear versions of proverbs (as well as his Latin and Spanish editions of Aesop's fables, Cicero's letters, Terence's Comedies, and of Abril's own *Ars grammatica*); or Sir Walter Raleigh's translation, in *The Discovery of Guiana*, of two passages from López de Gómara's *Historia*, which Raleigh cites in Spanish before offering his English version. It is even more likely that students may have come across mentions of prestigious multilingual translations: Erasmus's bilingual New Testament, or one of the Great Polyglot Bibles; the 1588 trilingual edition of *The Courtier*, in which Thomas Hoby's English version shares the page with French and Italian versions in parallel columns; the Graeco-Latin Stephanus Plato, on which the system to cite passages from Plato's dialogs is still based; and even the Florentine Codex, composed in the New World under the supervision of the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún, which combines pictograms, Nahuatl transcriptions, and Spanish renderings. But, in spite of their survival, multilingual translations present serious problems for scholars who want to approach their study.

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[24]   Dirk Delabastita and Rainier Grutman, introduction to "Fictionalising Translation and Multilingualism," ed. Dirk Delabastita and Rainier Grutman, special issue, *Linguistica Antverpiensia* 4 (2005): 12–13.

First of all, as I have already mentioned, we lack a disciplinary frame in which to think of them as coherent objects of study. What is more, we find problems even at the level of the more practical aspects of literary research. It is difficult to find multilingual translations in library catalogs and inventories. As Chapter 3 will discuss in more detail, there are few standard guidelines for cataloguing translations and for cataloguing multilingual texts—even fewer for cataloguing multilingual translations. The latter are usually classified under only one of the languages involved. While newer projects are beginning to use such terms as "multilingual," "polyglot," or "multiple languages" as keywords, and while some comprehensive electronic library catalogs have recently begun to incorporate these terms, this is not frequently the case. In general, electronic catalogs allow the search for manuscript and early books by only one language at a time, and it is not possible to make a cross-search for texts that combine two or more different languages. One cannot generate a search that would retrieve, let's say, all the Greek-Latin-and-French entries in the catalog—not even the Greek-and-Latin entries, or the English-and-Spanish ones. Cataloguing matrixes have not been designed with the possibility of a text that combines multiple versions in mind. As we will also see, something similar happens with modern editions of multilingual texts, which separate the versions when they reproduce them (for example, moving some versions to the footnotes, or simply editing one of the versions alone). In the most practical way, these editions preclude the very possibility of a multilingual translation.

Consequently, my effort to learn about multilingual translation texts and practices took the form of a somewhat disorganized search through the archives and through descriptive work done in different fields: textual criticism, paleography and codicology, the history of the book, the history of printing, the history of education, and the history of astronomy and botany (two areas in which, as I found out, multilingual translations played a central role). I have browsed through catalogs of incunabula and manuscripts collections, through lists and descriptions of the works of Renaissance printers, through the inventories of booksellers, through translation bibliographies. It is in the pages of these studies and lists, which engage with the most material aspects of the text, that I have found my examples of multilingual translations. Such an eclectic search brought my work into dialog with different conventions, theoretical frames, methodologies, and lines of inquiries, and my case studies in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are examples of some of these dialogs. Above all, this search led me to understand translation at the intersection of many other practices and strategies. In the field of literature alone, the notion of translation overlaps with exegetical techniques, such as allegory and etymology, which were sometimes used for the production of glosses and commentaries. It also overlaps with such central poetic and rhetorical techniques as *imitatio*, *amplificatio*, and *variatio*. In the context of rhetorical studies, the word *translation* can be a synonym for *metaphor*, and, as such, the notion of translation is also at the center of discussions of figurative language. What is more, as Michael Wyatt reminds us, translation could function as a metaphor for several important

forms of cultural transmission and mediation, among which are geographical and political displacements, commercial exchanges, and religious conversions and reformations.[25]

It is only at these several dispersed points that we can learn about translation practices. As the many examples of multilingual translations I discuss in Chapter 3 attest, such a search was ultimately productive. This book is able to offer an idea of the many genres in which texts could take multi-version form and of the varied audiences that may have been familiar with them. In this way, it delineates a textual field on which several linguistic and cultural traditions can coexist side by side. I must note, however, that the following chapters do not map the full spread of these practices. In the end, I had to accept that the paradoxical *difficulty* of thinking translation—collaborative and multilingual translation in particular—is an intrinsic part of Western culture and that the best way to produce an initial study about these textual practices was to embark on a critical discussion of the *difficulties* involved in studying them.

With this purpose in mind, the first chapter sets the stage by discussing both the difficulty that Renaissance theoreticians faced in defining translation and the repression of knowledge about specific practices this difficulty prompted. Chapter 2 explores the limitations we still face for the study of collaborative, multilingual translation practices in the context of national literature studies and in the context of a tradition of literary analysis that places emphasis on *the* author and *the* reader as fundamental units. These limitations are further explored in Chapter 3, where I discuss specific examples of multilingual translations as well as some of the ways in which these texts were produced and read, but where I do so in the context of the difficulties that modern editing and cataloguing present for such an enterprise.

My fourth chapter expands the discussion to consider another important early modern European discourse on translation. It looks at romances and at fictional narratives that offer representations of translation's multiplicity. Such central works in the history of prose fiction as More's *Utopia*, Rabelais's *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, and Cervantes's *Don Quixote* present themselves, or part of themselves, as translations. In these works, however, translation practices become a source of humor. They are portrayed as processes that can create ambiguity, interrupt the narrative, and, in some cases, make the reader uncertain about the veracity and coherence of the story. One of the prefatory texts included in the early editions of *Utopia* presents nothing less than a fictional bilingual translation (a poem in Latin and Utopian versions). This joke, I argue, gives us an entry into the work. It helps us realize the central place translation occupies in More's work and in his games with ambiguity. Rabelais's jokes on translation are more caustic but equally central to the narrative games his work proposes. And the work of Cervantes vividly and consistently points to the interpretive problems that translation entails. Many scholars have seen in *Don Quixote* a representation of an

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[25]   Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–2.

emergent modern consciousness and society, and many consider it a precursor of the modern genre of the novel. I propose to look at this text in its relation not only to the narrative form that it inaugurates, but also to the rich tradition of translation practices on which it draws. In particular, this final chapter explores the ways in which the *Quixote* invokes the practice of collaborative translation as a model for interpretive and reading strategies that were no longer available in Cervantes's Europe. In the context of my study, the value of studying these parodies lies in that they offer one of the few places where we can still find traces of collaborative and multilingual translation practices.

At this point, and especially for readers formed in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, my final emphasis on Cervantes's work may need justification, and so may need the place I assign earlier in the book to translation instances that took place in southern Italy and the Spanish Kingdoms. In my defense, I would first like to draw attention to the numerous examples I discuss in this book that were produced in other European regions, but, above all, I want to explain that we should not take these southern-European examples as representative of a particular linguistic or proto-national tradition. On the contrary, I focus on them because they are instances of collaboration among scholars from different European regions (including northern Italy, Germany, and England). Translators travelled to the southern cultural centers, because they wanted to have access to Greek and Arabic manuscripts and to experts in these languages that could help them interpret these texts. Back to Cervantes, I want to explain that the importance I assign to his work (together with More's and Rabelais's works) does not have to do with the language in which the *Quixote* is written but with the sustained parody of collaborative translation it offers.

It is true that the practices so incisively parodied are no longer fully accessible to us. They have been excluded from the history of translation. They have been discredited by early modern theoreticians and ridiculed by authors of fictional narratives. The very conceptual models that we use when we think about texts exclude them, too. It is difficult to even search for the textual products of these practices in modern catalogs and editions. Yet, I believe that by addressing the difficulties and contradictions they generate (without trying to solve these contradictions), we can begin to acknowledge some of the conceptual limitations we have inherited from Renaissance thought on translation. Among these limitations is the apparently essential paradox that translation is an always inadequate and intrinsically difficult activity, which nevertheless pervaded the literature, the culture, and the institutions of early modern Europe.

In this book, I historicize this paradox. I trace a continued theoretical effort to define the *difficulty* of translation that goes back to humanist writings on translation, and I place this effort in the context of actual translation practices. In doing so, I generate a space for a critical reading of some of the principles we have inherited. My main goal is to contribute to the history of translation by offering a study of medieval and Renaissance practices that were excluded from the reflections of early modern translators. At the same time, this study sheds light on

alternative models to think about translation and about texts. These models allow us to postulate writings that may not need to be unified and placed under a single cultural tradition in order to be considered texts. They also invite us to consider the possibility that we cannot—and should not—account for all the versions combined in a translation, and, therefore, to consider the need of performing collaborative readings. Above all, I want to propose that thinking about the difficulty of thinking translation can help us acknowledge some of the exclusions we still make when we assume that there should be room for a single version and a single subject position in the text.

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Chapter 1
Res difficilis

Sometime between 1424 and 1426, the Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni wrote what today is considered the earliest extant treatise on translation. In this work, known as *De interpretatione recta*, Bruni characterized translation as a *res difficilis*, that is, as an esentially *difficult task*.[1] This is a claim upon which most early modern translators can be said to agree. Bruni's Spanish contemporary Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal, "el Tostado," defined the difference between *literal translation* and *glossing* precisely by noting that translating is difficult while glossing is not: "Every translation from Latin into vulgar," he tells us, "that is to be pure and perfectly done is difficult if made by way of interpretation, which is word for word, and not by way of gloss, which is unbound and free from many restrictions."[2] By the end of the next century, the Spanish scholar and educator Pedro Simón Abril could consider the difficulty self-evident. "How much work is involved in translating from one language into another can be understood by every just and prudent reader," Abril states. "How difficult it is," he adds a few lines later with an ironic twist, "the large variety of extant translations can show."[3] Towards the end of the seventeenth century, and at the northern end of Europe, John Dryden re-elaborated the definition of translation's difficulty in more systematic terms. When commenting on the rules Lord Roscommon had given in his *Essay on Translated Verse*, Dryden explicitly—and very lucidly, as I will try to show—associates the problem with the challenges of putting theory into practice. "For many a fair Precept," he explains, "is like a seeming Demonstration

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[1]   "Magna res igitur ac difficilis est interpretatio recta" [Correct translation is an ambitious and difficult task]. Leonardo Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzzione* [*De interpretatione recta*], ed. Paolo Viti (Napoli: Liguori, 2004), 78.

[2]   "Toda translation de latin en vulgar para se fazer pura et perfectamente es dificile si se faze por manera de interpretation que es palabra por palabra et non por manera de glosa la qual es absuelta et libre de muchas grauedades." This passage comes from the dedication of his own translation (c. 1445–50) of Jerome's Latin version of Eusebius of Caesarea's Χρονικοὶ κανόνες. In Julio César Santoyo (ed.), *Teoría y crítica de la traducción: Antología* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1987), 36.

[3]   "Cuánto trabajo sea verter de una lengua en otra … cualquier justo y prudente lector puede conocerlo. Porque el que vierte ha de transformar en sí el ánimo y sentencia del autor que vierte, y decirla en la lengua en que lo vierte como de suyo, sin que quede rastro de la lengua peregrina en que fué primero escrito, lo cual, cuán dificultoso sea de hacer, la tanta variedad de traslaciones que hay lo muestran claramente." From Abril's prologue to his translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* (c. 1580), which he dedicated to the Spanish monarch Philip II. In Santoyo, *Teoría y crítica de la traducción*, 70.

in the Mathematicks, very specious in the Diagram, but failing in the Mechanick Operation."[4]

These claims are representative of what became commonplace in Western translation theory. For, in spite of the fact that translation had pervaded the culture and institutions of Western Europe at least since Roman times (and would continue to do so), Renaissance theoreticians began to define this practice as a very complex, always inadequate, and, many times, impossible activity. Even today, the field of translation theory continues to offer many examples of this paradoxical view. Bo Utas's statement that "we all know that exact and complete translation is impossible" is representative of long-standing, widely shared assumptions. Yet, equally representative is Utas's immediate qualification that "still we translate and often understand much—perhaps most—of what is translated."[5] As I mentioned in the Introduction, Umberto Eco also has reminded us that "every sensible and rigorous theory of language shows that perfect translation is an impossible dream," and that, "in spite of this, people translate."[6] As we can see, translation's difficulty is a paradox. What is more, it is a paradox that seems to be intrinsic to the way in which we think about translation. Indeed, Jacques Derrida highlights its centrality when he reads the Biblical myth of the Babel Tower as a foundational figure for both translation's necessity and its impossibility—or, as he puts it, for "its necessity *as* impossibility."[7]

In the following pages, I historicize this paradox and interrogate the self-evident character of translation's proverbial difficulty (after all, there are many other textual practices that are considered difficult, but their difficulty has not become the center around which theorization on these practices revolves). With this purpose in mind, I trace a persistent—but often neglected—theoretical effort to define this difficulty, which goes back to humanist writings on translation in general and to Bruni's formulation in particular. In order to understand this effort, it is crucial to consider not only speculative writings on translation but also, as Dryden already signaled and as Eco's comment also suggests, specific translation strategies and texts. Above all, I argue that it is important to acknowledge the rift that emerges between the fields of translation theory and translation practice in Renaissance Europe. In particular, I propose to read Bruni's definition of translation against the background of *team translation*, a practice that was widely used for the translation of literary texts in medieval and Renaissance Europe but that has been excluded from Western theorizations on translation.

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4   John Dryden, preface to *Sylvae: or, The Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies* (London, 1685), A2–A2v.

5   Bo Utas, "Translating Cultures and Literatures," *Studying Transcultural Literary History* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 253.

6   Umberto Eco, *Experiences in Translation*, tr. Alastair McEwen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), ix.

7   Jacques Derrida, "Des Tours de Babel," in *Difference in Translation*, tr. and ed. Joseph F. Graham (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 171.

The Task(s) of the Translator(s)

Above all, awareness of the tensions between theory and practice is crucial for understanding the full reach of Leonardo Bruni's definition of *interpretatio recta* [correct translation]. Even though his translations have attracted less scholarly attention than his theoretical contribution, we should not forget that Bruni was a gifted and prolific practitioner of translation and that when he wrote *De interpretatione recta* (c. 1424–1426) he was already in his fifties and had two decades of experience in this practice.[8] Indeed, it is only when we pay attention to the practical background against which he is developing his ideas that we can see the full extent to which Bruni is formulating new standards for the translator.

The implicit tension between his definition and other well-established forms of translating appears early in his treatise. After briefly explaining that he is writing in order to justify both his own translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and his criticism of the "old translator" of this work (scholars have identified him as William of Moerbeke), Bruni moves directly into the difficulty that correct translation entails:

> I say, therefore, that the essence of translation [*interpretatio*] consists in this: that what is written in one language be correctly transferred [*traducatur*] into another. However, nobody can do this correctly who does not possess much and great expertise in each of the two languages. And not even this is enough. For many are fit to understand but not fit to expound. For instance, many can judge correctly on a painting who themselves are not capable of painting, and many understand the musical art who are themselves unable to sing. Correct translation is, therefore, an ambitious and difficult task.[9]

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[8]   Texts that Bruni translated before he wrote *De interpretatione recta* include the following: St. Basil's *De studiis secularibus* (1403), Xenophon's *Hiero* (before 1403) and *Apologia Socratis* (1407), Plato's *Phaedo* (c. 1400–1405) and *Gorgias* (1405–1409), Plutarch's *Lives* of *Antony*, *Cato, Aemilius Paulus, Sertorius, Tiberius*, *Caius Gracchus, Pyrrhus, Demosthenes* (published successively between 1405 and 1412) and *Cicero* (probably not completed). The list also includes Demosthenes' *Pro Diopithe* and his defense of Ctesiphon, *De corona*, and Aeschines's speech for the prosecution (the three in 1412), as well as Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1416) and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics* (1420). For a discussion of Bruni's career, including his later translations, see Paul Botley's *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5–41.

[9]   "Dico igitur omnem interpretationis vim in eo consistere, ut, quod in altera lingua scriptum sit, id in alteram recte traducatur. Recte autem id facere nemo potest, qui non multam ac magnam habeat utriusque lingue peritiam. Nec id quidem satis. Multi enim ad intelligendum idonei, ad explicandum tamen non idonei sunt. Quemadmodum de pictura multi recte iudicant, qui ipsi pingere non valent, et musicam artem multi intelligunt, qui ipsi sunt ad canendum inepti. Magna res igitur ac difficilis est interpretatio recta." Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, 78.

As scholars have remarked, Bruni is making a lexical innovation by using the verb *traducere* in the context of discussing translation. In classical Latin this verb designated a physical transfer from one place to another, or from one status to another, or even a passage through time. Bruni uses it here in the sense of linguistic translation, and he had done so before in a letter written in 1400. Gianfranco Folena signals Bruni's contribution as the mark of a "reductio ad unum" of the many different Latin terms used in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the early Renaissance to refer to translation (in addition to the dominant term *interpretare*, Folena traces many other familiar terms, including *vertere*, *convertere*, *explicare*, *exprimere*, *reddere*, *mutare*, and, later, *transferre* and *translatare*).[10] Yet, the complexity that Bruni is trying to convey through this innovation may not be readily apparent. The transport, he tells us, cannot be performed correctly if the translator is not an expert in both languages. And it is not easy to see the import of this assertion, because the idea that the translator must be an expert in both the source and the target languages is perhaps one of the most basic assumptions we (students of languages and literatures formed in the Western academic tradition) make today when we think about translation. But, for Bruni, the extreme difficulty of translation lies, first of all, in the apparently self-evident need for a translator to master two languages.

This requirement must have been particularly meaningful in the general context of humanist scholarship and pedagogy, at the base of which was a comparative approach to Latin and Greek grammar. It must have also been meaningful in the more specific context of Renaissance Florence, where Bruni was mentored by the city's chancellor Coluccio Salutati (renowned supporter of the study of classical authors and collector of manuscripts) and where, from 1397 to 1400, Bruni studied Greek with the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras. As Glyn Norton remarks, Bruni's call for bilingual mastery follows the lines of speculation inaugurated by Salutati, who in 1392 had urged Antonio Loschi to make a Latin translation of Homer that reproduced the style and rhetorical force of the Greek—an undertaking that certainly demanded a deep knowledge of both languages.[11] The context for understanding Bruni's emphasis on bilingual expertise extends beyond Florence to his long debate with the Spanish scholar and bishop of Burgos Alfonso de Cartagena over the quality of the older translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Against Cartagena's claim that the main requirement for a good Latin translation was a clear understanding of philosophy, Bruni emphasized the need for the translator to understand Aristotle's eloquent command of the Greek language.[12] Thus,

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[10]   Gianfranco Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre* (Turin: Einaudi, 1991), 5–10, 67.

[11]   Glyn P. Norton, "Humanist Foundations of Translation Theory (1400–1450): A Study in the Dynamics of Word," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée* 8.2 (1981): 179–85.

[12]   Botley, *Latin Translation*, 53–7; María Morrás's "El debate entre Leonardo Bruni y Alonso de Cartagena: las razones de una polémica," *Quaderns Revista de traducció* 7 (2002): 33–57.

without a doubt, the reconstruction of this background elucidates a connection between humanist rhetorical techniques and Bruni's emphatic requirement that the translator be an expert in both languages.

Nevertheless there is another important dimension of Bruni's definition that is perhaps less apparent to us: his requirement for bilingual expertise rules out a specific translation technique. It had been frequent for two or more translators, each an expert in *only one* of the languages involved, to collaborate in the production of a translation. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, translators from different European regions—Adelard of Bath, Plato of Tivoli, Robert of Chester (or Ketton, or Kent), Hermann of Carinthia, Rudolf of Bruges, Gerard of Cremona, and Hugh of Santalla, among many others—had traveled to cultural centers in the south of the continent. There, they had access not only to Arabic, Greek, and Hebrew manuscripts but also to experts in these languages who could help them with the translation. The work of these traveling scholars resulted in a wealth of translations from Arabic historical, moral, religious, and, above all, scientific and philosophical writings—most of which were already translations and re-elaborations of Greek and Syriac texts. Some of these translations were produced through collaborative techniques. In these cases, it is believed that a first translator would render the source text into a vernacular Romance dialect and a second translator would render this intermediate version into Latin.

The preface to a Latin version of Avicenna's *De anima*, made in twelfth-century Toledo, gives a succinct description of this collaborative method. In a dedicatory note, one of the translators, a Jewish scholar by the name of Avendauth (Ibn Dāūd) explains that, as he orally rendered the book word for word from the Arabic into a vulgar tongue (most likely a Spanish dialect; perhaps even a Mozarabic one), a second translator, identified by scholars as Dominicus Gundisalvus (Domingo González), converted it into Latin: "And [the book] was translated from the Arabic, with me as the one delivering each word in the vulgar and archdeacon Dominicus as the one converting each of them into Latin."[13] In the same century, the English traveling student Daniel of Morley also mentioned this method in the preface to his *Philosophia*. In Toledo, Daniel had seen the prolific Italian translator Gerard of Cremona collaborate with a Mozarab interpreter named Gālib in the Latin rendering of an Arabic version of the *Almagest* (the Arabic name of Ptolemy's comprehensive treatise on mathematics).[14] Some years earlier, a student of medicine in Salerno and an expert in Greek by the name of Eugene (believed to be a member of the royal administration in Palermo) had worked together at the

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[13]   "Et <me> singula verba vulgariter proferente et Dominico archidiacono singula in latinum convertente ex arabico translatum." In Lynn Thorndike, "John of Seville," *Speculum* 34.1 (1959): 22n10.

[14]   "Girardus Tholetanus, qui Galippo mixtarabe interpretante *Almagesti* latinauit." In Valentin Rose, "Ptolemäus und die Schule von Toledo," *Hermes* 8 (1874): 348. Because of his long stay in the Spanish city, Gerard of Cremona was also known as Gerard of Toledo (Girardus Tholetanus).

Sicilian court of William I to turn the *Almagest* into Latin, this time with a Greek version as the source.[15]

In the next century, we find evidence that collaborative translation was also performed in French-speaking territories. There is the case of a 1263 Latin version of an astronomy treatise originally written by the Spanish-Arabic philosopher and astronomer Azarquiel. The Latin version is said to have been made at Montpellier (perhaps from a Hebrew version of the Arabic source): "Profacius of the Hebrew people was the one vulgarizing it and John of Brescia was the one rendering it into Latin."[16] A colophon to the *Livre du commencement de sapience* [The book of the Beginning of Wisdom], a thirteenth-century French version of an astrological treatise composed originally by the Jewish scholar Abraham Ibn Ezra, makes reference to a collaborative process, too. This time the translation started from a Hebrew source and ended, not in a Latin version, but in a vernacular one. The note describes the text as a translation made at the house of Lord Henry Bate in Malines. It specifies "that Hagin the Jew translated it from Hebrew into Romance, and Obert de Montdidier put the Romance into writing."[17] Back in the Spanish territories, similar work was being performed in the workshops of Alfonso X of Castile, where, in time, the Castilian vernacular would come to replace Latin as the language of the final version. Scholars have argued that, even then, there would still be an intermediate version, probably in the less formal Romance dialect shared by the Christians, Muslims, and Jews who inhabited Alfonso's territories.

I want to note that references to team translation can be found well beyond the twelve and thirteen centuries. Marie Thérèse d'Alverny mentions instances of this method as late as the sixteenth century. In 1544 Venice, for example, Marco Fadella, an interpreter for Venetian merchants, rendered a biography of Avicenna from Arabic into Venetian dialect, which the physician Niccolò Masa then converted into Latin.[18] It is also important to note that collaborative, multilingual translation was not limited to scientific and philosophical texts. Religion and theology, too, were fruitful fields for collaborative work during both the Middle

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[15]   Charles H. Haskins and Dean Putnam Lockwood, "The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth Century and the First Latin Version of Ptolemy's Almagest," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 21 (1910): 75–102.

[16]   "Profacio gentis hebreorum vulgarizante et Iohanne Brixiensi in latinum reducente." In Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes: d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et de la langue vernacularie en latin," *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge: actes du colloque internationale du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (Paris: CNRS, 1989), 201.

[17]   "Li Livres du commencement de sapience que fist Abraham Even Azre … que translata Hagins li Juis, de ebrieu en romans, et Obers de Mondidier escrivoit le romans, et fu fait a Malines, en la meson Sire Henri Bate, et fu finés l'an de grace 1273, l'endemein de la seint Thomas l'apostre." In Lys Ann Shore, "A Case Study in Medieval Nonliterary Translation: Scientific Texts from Latin to French," *Medieval Translators and their Craft*, ed. Jeanette Beer (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), 303, 320n18.

[18]   D'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes," 203–6.

Ages and the early modern period. In the twelfth century, we find mention of the collaborative translation of the *Apology* of pseudo-al-Kindī, one of the texts that form the *Collectio toletana* (a group of Arabic religious and theological works translated into Latin under the patronage of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny). In his correspondence, the abbot explains that the Spanish Peter of Toledo translated the *Apology* from the Arabic with the help of yet another Peter, the abbot's notary Peter of Poitiers, who could write in a polished Latin.[19] Three centuries later, we still find examples of collaborative translation in the realm of religious texts, such as the c. 1456 translation of the Qur'an organized by the Franciscan John of Segovia. Retired in Savoy, John sent for a Segovian *alfaquí*.[20] The *alfaquí* copied the Arabic text in diacritical fullness and produced a word-for-word Castilian version. John then turned the Castilian into Latin and had the three versions carefully copied together (Arabic and Castilian in parallel columns and the Latin version in between the Spanish lines) to form a trilingual Qur'an.[21]

Unfortunately, this trilingual work is now lost (its description survives in a copy of John's preface). Nevertheless, the possible format of this work is suggested by the numerous polyglot Scriptures produced during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, which, in manuscript or in print, in parallel columns or interlinear format, combine two or more versions side by side on the same page. Early examples of this practice, which I discuss further in Chapter 3, include the ninth-century bilingual Psalter shown in Figure 1.1 (in Greek, with an interlinear Latin version, it is believed to have been copied by Irish monks working in the continent). Examples also include the ninth-century Gospel Harmony shown in Figure 1.2 (in Latin and Old High German parallel columns), which is a bilingual translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.[22] Figure 1.3, a page from a mid-thirteenth-century English Psalter, shows a combination of the two formats used in the previous examples: the Hebrew column has a superscript Latin version in between its lines, and there are two more parallel columns containing two of the Latin versions attributed to Jerome, the Hebraica and the Gallican. In this example, Malachi Beit-Arié sees evidence of the collaboration among Jewish and Christian scribes and scholars that took place in medieval Lincoln.[23]

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[19]   D'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen-Age," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 16 (1947–1948): 70–77.

[20]   The word *alfaquí* (from the Arabic, *al-ḥakīm*) generally designates a physician, whose knowledge would usually cover the fields of medicine, philosophy, astronomy, and astrology. In medieval Iberia the word many times indicated a translator or interpreter, since this activity was usually performed by Jewish physicians. Yom Tov Assis, "Catalan Jewry before 1391: Archival and Hebrew Sources," *Materia giudaica: Rivista dell'associazione italiana per lo studio del giudaismo* 6.2 (2001): 134n7.

[21]   D'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes," 202–3.

[22]   Tatian's work, a harmony of the four Gospels, was probably composed in Syriac (c. 170), and it is believed to be the source of most medieval Latin Gospel Harmonies.

[23]   Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West: Towards a Comparative Codicology*, The Panizzi Lectures 1992 (London: The British Library, 1993), 18.

Moving forward in time, we can find forms of collaborative work in the preparation of Psalters and Gospels, and later, in the production of the great polyglot Bibles of the sixteenth century. The earliest printed polyglot Psalter of which there is notice is the 1516 Genoa Psalter, prepared by Agostino Giustiniani, bishop of Nebbio, with the assistance of Greek and Arabic experts. In parallel columns, and across facing pages, it offers a Hebrew version, a Latin version of the Hebrew, the Latin Vulgata, the Greek Septuagint, an Arabic version, an Aramaic version in Hebrew Characters, and a Latin version of the Aramaic. The columns are framed by Giustiniani's scholia (see Figure 1.4).[24] The first printed polyglot Bible is the Complutensian Polyglot, which came out of Arnao Guillén de Brocar's press, between 1514 and 1517, in Alcalá de Henares, or Complutus, as the Romans had called the city. It was sponsored by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and produced by a team of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin experts, among whom worked for a brief time the well-known scholar Antonio de Nebrija.[25] Figure 1.5 shows a page from its Old Testament. From right to left, it combines Hebrew (with Hebrew roots indicated on the margin), the Latin Vulgata, and the Greek Septuagint with an interlinear Latin version, accompanied by two more columns in the lower section of the page, which contain the Aramaic Targum and its Latin version.

In general, the products of this form of translation seem to have been well regarded by their contemporaries. A complete copy of the collaborative Latin version of the *Almagest* made in twelfth-century Sicily survives in a fourteenth-century codex that belonged to Salutati (Bruni's mentor).[26] Lys Anne Shore suggests that Henry Bate not only provided living and working quarters for the translation team at Malines but also that he (himself a reputed astronomer) later made a Latin translation of the *Livre du commencement de sapience* and of other treatises by Ibn Ezra.[27] There is even more concrete evidence of the appreciation that King Alfonso X of Castile showed for this type of intellectual work. In 1253 he made a grant of lands in the vicinity of Seville to two canons by the names of

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[24]   This Psalter is also known also as the "Columbus Psalter," because one of Giustiniani's marginal notes offers a biographical notice about Christopher Columbus.

[25]   The Hebraists working in the project were Alfonso de Zamora, Pablo Coronel, and Alfonso de Alcalá, and the Greek experts were Demetrius Ducas, Hernán Núñez de Guzmán, and Diego López de Zúñiga. See Rosa Helena Chinchilla's "The *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* (1520) and the Political Ramifications of Biblical Translation," *La traducción en España ss. XIV-XVI*, ed. Roxana Recio (León: Universidad, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1995), 170–71. Basil Hall also mentions the name of Bartolomé de Castro as the other Latin scholar who worked in the project in addition to Nebrija. *The Great Polyglot Bibles: Including a Leaf from the Complutensian of Acalá, 1514–17* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1966).

[26]   Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, reprint (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1960), 157. First published in 1924 by Harvard University Press.

[27]   Shore, "A Case Study," 303.

Garci Pérez and Guillén Arremón, who had participated in some of the monarch's team-translation projects.[28]

Nevertheless, as Bruni's definition of correct translation suggests, with the inauguration of a humanist theoretical discourse on translation, the figure of the individual translator became the dominant theoretical model, and collaborative translation has remained outside histories and theories of translation ever since. Along with team translation, other practices that can be associated with collaborative forms of textual production or interpretation have also been excluded from our conceptual models. Among them is the practice of dictation, which, as Peter Russell has noted, played an important role in the reflections of the Infante Dom Pedro, regent of the Portuguese kingdom from 1438 to 1448. Dom Pedro distinguished between two different translation methods according to whether he was dictating short passages, which was more laborious, or dictating long sections, which allowed him to organize his thoughts more easily.[29]

The work of Roger Chartier on the history of reading has also drawn attention to the importance of dictation, as well as to the centrality of oral—and sometimes collective—forms of reading (as opposed to silent, visual reading) in the Middle Ages and as late as the seventeenth century.[30] We can find that both dictation and oral reading have important points of contact with the work of translation teams, if we take into account that, many times, the first translator in the team delivered his vernacular version orally, word for word, to the second one. Other practices that intersect with collaborative translation—and that have also been excluded from histories and theories of translation—include the frequent cases when a reader with only a basic knowledge of the text's original language would hire an expert to help him understand the text, as well as the group activities of editing, correcting, annotating, explaining, and indexing that took place in medieval scriptoria and, later, in numerous Renaissance printing offices around Europe. For instance, in reference to the Aldine *officina* in particular, James Bruce Ross has lamented the lack of studies on "the working relationships among the members of the so-called 'Academy,'" where noble Venetians, exiled Cretans, and scholars from other European cities worked side by side.[31]

Consideration of these forgotten practices can help us delineate a larger context in which to place collaborative translation. Above all, in the field of translation

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[28] Evelyn S. Procter, "The Scientific Works of the Court of Alfonso X of Castile: The King and His Collaborators," *Modern Language Review* 40.1 (1945): 22.

[29] Peter Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la Península Ibérica (1400–1550)* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1985), 38n42.

[30] Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 15–16, 19–20; see also Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds), *A History of Reading in the West* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

[31] James Bruce Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and a Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29.4 (1976): 539n70.

history, taking into account concrete collaborative forms of textual production and interpretation (and not only theoretical and programmatic reflections) allows us to see the figure of the individual translator as only one among other competing models. In particular, taking this context into account allows us to see Bruni's ambitious and difficult ideal from a new angle: it is not only that correct translation must be performed by a translator who knows the two languages; first and foremost, it must be performed by a single translator.

It is also against this practical background that we can see another crucial point in Bruni's requirement: the need to concentrate in one person not only the knowledge of two languages but also the performance of the different tasks involved in the translation process (the reading of the original, its interpretation, and the writing of the new version). As my examples of collaborative translation show, these roles become easily visible when performed by separate members of a team. Instead, Bruni's ideal translator must perform all the tasks by himself. As we can see in the passage I cited earlier, this is a part of translation's difficulty: "For many are fit to understand, but not fit to expound." That is, in addition to mastering the two languages, the translator has to be able to do both: *understand* the original and *expound* it in the target language. In the next line, Bruni's examples take the difficulty one step farther. He moves from the realm of two different activities in the process of translation (*understanding* and *expounding*) to different pairs of activities in the realms of music and painting: "For instance, many can judge correctly on a painting who themselves are not capable of painting, and many understand the musical art who are themselves unable to sing." These, too, are examples of pairs of activities that may very well be performed by two different persons but whose performance by the same individual make this individual a true expert. Scholars have explained Bruni's mention of painting and music in this passage in relation to the role that music had in classical and humanist pedagogical programs and in relation to the iconic-rhetorical value that Bruni assigns to the word. Such explanations emphasize Bruni's positioning of the translator in the midst of a classical tradition.[32] However, I believe that the more direct function of these examples in the argument should not be overlooked. They help Bruni develop the point that correct translation implies the concentration of different roles in a single translator.

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[32]   In his notes, Viti discusses ancient and medieval texts available to Bruni that highlight the role of music in pedagogical and philosophical thought (including Aristotle, Plato, Boethius, and Dante). Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzzione*, 141–2. Bruni's pictorial understanding of the word and of the text of translation is central to the argument of Norton's "Humanist Foundations" as a whole.

Translating One-Self: Metaphorical Synthesis in Renaissance Discourse on Translation

Placing Bruni's requirements for the ideal translator in the implicit context of collaborative translation practices helps us see the emphasis he places on the concentration of translation tasks in a single person. This insistence is even more apparent a few paragraphs later, when he establishes that, in addition to being produced by a single translator, the text of the translation must appear to be the work of a single writing subject: "the best translator will indeed translate himself into the first author of the writing, in all his mind and soul and will," and this, Bruni adds, has a "marvelous effect" [*mirabilis effectus*]. The urgency of this identification is highlighted by a violent image: the translator is "rapitur" [abducted/ravished/torn away] by the force of the first author's style.[33]

The value Bruni assigns to this effect reveals both his anxiety about a text that could be said to have two authors and his enthusiasm for the metaphorical solution he proposes. However, I want to argue that underlying this rhetorical marvel is a very problematic theoretical operation. Bruni is alternatively drawing on two different models of textual production. In the first model, there are two writing subjects (his explicit references to a "*first* author of the writing" [*primus scribendi auctor*] implies that the translator is a *second* author of the writing).[34] In the second model at play, the writing must be the production of a single writing subject. The simultaneous use of the two models creates a contradiction that he can bridge only metaphorically—either through a *marvelous* transformation, or through the *abduction* of the translator. In the end, Bruni's metaphors are less a solution than an indication of a complex theoretical problem.

This is, I must note, a very productive problem, since the relation between author and translator was—together with translation's difficulty—one of the most recurrent themes in early modern writings on translation. In a particularly prosaic and unenthusiastic view of translation's difficulty, the French translator Hugues Salel connects the two topics explicitly. Translation, claims Salel in a prefatory poem to his 1545 version of the *Iliad*, is "a difficult task that brings much labour and little honour, for whatever the perfect translator may achieve, the honour always goes to the original writer."[35] Yet, as Theo Herman's survey of the metaphors used by Renaissance translation theoreticians shows, the relation between author and translator tended to be explored through more complex and varied figurations,

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[33]   "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 linamenta cuncta exprimere meditabitur. Ex quo mirabilis quidem resultat effectus. ... Rapitur enim interpres vi ipsa in genus dicendi illius de quo transfert." Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, 84–6.

[34]   Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, 84, 86, 102; emphasis added.

[35]   In Theo Hermans, "Metaphor and Imagery in the Renaissance Discourse on Translation," *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 110.

many of which portray this relation as a paradoxical form of union or condensation. Among the images used in these explorations are the transmigration of the soul and different forms of engendering and reproduction, of ingestion and assimilation, and of conquest, abduction, and enslavement. Ben Jonson's celebratory epigram on Henry Savile's translation of Tacitus (1591) invokes the "doctrine of Pythagoras" to explain that "the soule of Tacitus in … most weighty Savile live'd to us." In the preface to his French version of Thucydides (1622), Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt would resort to this metaphorical field as well, observing that his version was "not so much a portrait of Thucydides, as Thucydides himself, who ha[d] passed into another body as if by a kind of Metempsychosis." Combining the fields of reproduction and digestion, Marie de Gournay explained that the translator can be said to "engender a work anew … because [the ancient writers] have to be decomposed by profound and penetrating reflection, in order to be reconstituted by a similar process; just as meat must be decomposed in our stomachs in order to form our bodies." The call of Philemon Holland to English readers in the preface to his translation of Pliny (1601) is a well-known example of more violent figurations. He encourages the English people to "triumph now over the Romans in subduing their literature under the dent of the English pen, in requitall of the conquest sometime over this Island, achieved by the edge of their sword." In Isaac Vos's praise of Lion de Fuyter's Dutch version of Lope de Vega's *Carpio; or, The Confused Court* (1647), the translator becomes Lope's "conqueror." Translator and author are then joined in a paradoxical sharing, which the conquered author is ironically invited to appreciate: "Be glad, Vega, who are his [the translator's] captive / by law of arms, that he is prepared / to share with you that which is wholly his." I must note, however, that there was also a more common metaphorical scenario in which the translator complained about performing a "wretched, thankless and *slavish* labour," as Etienne Pasquier had described it in 1584.[36]

As these various examples suggest, there is no clear agreement on who gets the upper hand in the metaphorical union of author and translator. In some cases, the condensation of roles entails the submission or disappearance of the translator. In others, it is the translator who assumes control and takes over the author's role. In any case, however, the different formulations agree on one point: there are two writing subjects involved, but, theoretically, there is space for only one of them in the translation text. The complexity of this problem (of the requirement that there be only one writing subject when there are actually two) sometimes calls for more than one metaphor. We have seen Marie de Gournay describe translation as the engendering of a new work after having decomposed the ancient writers in a metaphorical stomach. What is more, many times there appear discontinuities or contradictions among the combined metaphors. A famous example can be found in John Florio's 1603 dedication of the first book of his translation of Montaigne's

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[36]   In Hermans, "Metaphor and Imagery," 110–27. Some of this images are also discussed in Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), chap. 2.

Essais to Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and Lady Anne Harrington, her mother. In the same sentence, Florio presents himself first as a midwife helping in the author's delivery (a male delivery, in which the translator "serve[s] but as *Vulcan*, to hatchet this *Minerva* from that *Iupiters* bigge braine") and then describes himself as "a fondling foster-father" to the author's "conceipts." I believe that the crossings these figures imply (foster father, male midwife, male mother who gives birth to the text) are pointing to the theoretically problematic double writing that gives shape to translations. In fact, we can already see some anxiety about double writings surfacing in the opening lines of the dedication. There, Florio remarks that if his pair of dedicatees had been husband and wife (a paradigmatic figure for making one out of two), it would have been enough to name only one of them, thereby avoiding a "disjoined" dedication.[37]

As students of translation theory have noted, metaphors of synthesis can also be found in the early modern discourse on the literary practice of imitation. Thomas M. Greene explains that the Renaissance imitator defined himself as an author, and "grasp[ed] his own selfhood" in this process, by establishing a dynamic relation with another, past author. However, as in the case of translation theory, this relation is not as much a dialog or a collaboration with the past author as it is a form of synthetic identification, in which only one writing subject remains. In this identification, too, the multiple authorial spaces are eventually reduced to one. Using a classical image that would become a staple of humanist theories of imitation, Petrarch portrayed the relation between the ancient author and the humanist imitator as one of assimilation, reduction, and unification: "This is the substance of Seneca's counsel, and Horace's before him, that we should write as the bees make sweetness, not storing up the flowers but turning them into honey, thus making *one thing of many various ones* [*ex multis et variis unum fiat*]."[38] Later, one of the speakers in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* would also recommend such a reduction:

> I approve an imitation that is not limited to one model from whose features one does not dare to depart, an imitation which excerpts from all authors, or at any rate from the most eminent … but which transfers what it finds into the mind itself, as into the stomach, so that transfused into the veins, it appears to be a birth of one's intellect … and also, so that one's discourse does not appear to be some sort of cento or mosaic, but an image breathing forth one's mind or a river flowing from one's heart.[39]

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[37] Michel de Montaigne, *The essayes or morall, politike and militarie discourses of Lo. Michaell de Montaigne*, tr. John Florio (London, 1603), A2.

[38] Thomas M. Greene, "Petrarch and the Humanist Hermeneutic," *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 98; emphasis added.

[39] In G. W. Pigman, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33.1 (1980): 8–9.

It is interesting to note that in his own speech, this speaker seems to be compensating for the loss of stylistic variety that the reduction entails by using multiple metaphors (the digestion process, the birth, the mosaic, the river). The combination of different metaphors points to a complexity in the definition: the final *appearance* of the discourse. Above all, the imitation text must not look like a mosaic of multiple juxtaposed pieces—that is, it must not show traces of the many writing stages of the imitation process; it must not open up different alternative perspectives, or different possible voices. On the contrary, it must look *as if* it were the product of the imitator's intellect alone. In turn, this *appearance of unity* offers an image of the imitator's mind. In other words, part of the expected effect of imitation was the (re)production of the imitator's self—or, to use Greene's words, the grasping of the imitator's own selfhood. The trick was that the grasping of one's self had to be accomplished, precisely, through a text that had room for one self only.

This ad hoc mechanism speaks of the importance and the urgency of the theoretical requirement that a text be the exclusive domain of a single writing subject. The grasping of the self (as one self) was, as Greene has shown, a very meaningful literary mechanism for Renaissance writers. Nevertheless, as in the realm of translation theory, defining a text as the province of one author alone (when in fact the process involved at least two writing subjects) proved itself nothing less than a *difficult task*: "He who wishes to imitate should understand that it is *not an easy thing* to follow well the virtues of a good author, and almost (as it were) transform oneself into him," warns Joachim du Bellay in his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse* (1549).[40] Du Bellay's exploration of this difficulty offers an entry into the theoretical challenges that both imitators and translators faced when they attempted to conceptualize their writings as single-authored texts. Like translation theoreticians, Du Bellay uses a combination of metaphors in his definition. He explains, for instance, that Roman writers had "imitat[ed] the best Greek authors, transforming themselves into the Greeks, devouring them, and after having well digested them, converting them into blood and nourishment."[41] As Erasmus had done, and as Mme. de Gournay and Florio would also do, Du Bellay moves from one metaphor to another, but in his case, the discontinuity between metaphors is particularly marked. As Margaret W. Ferguson has noted, by placing both metaphors in the same sentence, Du Bellay creates a logical and temporal contradiction (first the imitator transforms himself into the ancient author and then he devours this author—which is already himself). The

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[40]   "Mais entende celuy qui voudra immiter, que *ce n'est chose facile* de bien suyvre les vertuz d'un bon aucteur, & quasi comme se transformer en luy." In Margaret W. Ferguson, *Trials of Desire: Renaissance Defenses of Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 43; emphasis added.

[41]   "Immitant les meilleurs aucteurs Grecz, se transformant en eux, les devorant, & apres les avoir bien digerez, les convertissant en sang & nouriture …" In Ferguson, *Trials of Desire*, 42.

problem results from the juxtaposition of two conceptualizations of assimilation: a humbling denial of the imitator's self, on the one hand, and an assertive displacement of the author, on the other.[42]

This contradiction should not be dismissed as a mere rhetorical excess. It can be said to represent Du Bellay's ambivalence about imitation models. It can also be said to represent his ambivalent understanding of his own social position as a writer. Ferguson tellingly speaks of a conflict between "the *old* and the *new* aristocratic souls within Du Bellay's breast."[43] She suggests that Du Bellay associates the first type of assimilation (the transformation into a past author) with his ties to an older, feudal order and the second one (the devouring of the author) with a newer, different perception of power as the usurpation of another's place. I therefore want to propose that the model of a "mosaic text"—albeit rejected by Erasmus's speaker and by early modern translation theoreticians—is still available to Du Bellay. A multi-authorial model, in which the self cannot easily be grasped in a single position, may still make sense to Du Bellay, because it offers him a way to articulate his anxiety about his double social identity. Therefore, it surfaces in his writing when he attempts the theoretical reduction of writing positions. It creates a deep problem in his definition of imitation, which becomes visible in the discontinuity of his metaphors.

Now, moving back to the specific realm of translation theory, I would like to argue that the profusion of metaphors used to describe the fusion of two writing subjects plays here a similar role. As in the case of Du Bellay, the movement among different metaphors offers translation theoreticians a discursive ground on which to play out their anxieties about national, social, religious, and gender identities. Of course, there are formulations in which the call for a single authorial space appears to be less conflictive. Toward the end of the early modern period, Lord Roscommon described the union of author and translator as a sympathetic friendship when he gave advice to the aspiring translator:

> Then seek a poet who your way does bend,
> And choose an author as you choose a friend:
> United by this sympathetic bond,
> You grow familiar, intimate, and fond;
> Your thoughts, your words your stiles, your souls agree,
> No longer his interpreter, but he.[44]

This passage portrays the fusion in less violent terms than an abduction of the translator or a conquest of the author. However, the fusion can be said to have an ambivalent character. The last claim in the cited passage allows for the possibility that the translator will efface his role as interpreter in order to become one with

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[42]   Ferguson, *Trials of Desire*, 44.

[43]   Ferguson, *Trials of Desire*, 19–21.

[44]   In Douglas Robinson (ed.), *Western Translation Theory: From Herodotus to Nietzsche* (Manchester, UK: St. Jerome, 2002), 177.

the author. At the same time, it allows for an alternative situation, in which the translator will displace the author and assert himself as the controlling position in the text—no longer as a mere interpreter but as the author himself.

Deborah Uman and I have argued elsewhere that the unification of the two writing subjects in a single authorial position becomes a more explicit problem if we perform the exercise of marking one of the positions as feminine. What happens, for instance, when we render Roscommon's formulation as the requirement that the translator be "no longer his interpreter, but *she*"? In this case, the identities of the translator and the writer become disjointed and irreducible to a single writing position. Indeed, to cite a concrete example, when, in 1578, Margaret Tyler translated Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra's chivalric romance *Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros*, she negotiated her authorial position precisely by marking her role as that of an English woman translator (as opposed to the role of the Spanish male author). Once she has marked, and thus made visible, the different writing and interpretive spaces available in the double-layered text of the translation, she occupies one of these spaces. Ortúñez's Spanish title page playfully presents the original story as if it were a translation of a Latin chronicle that had been previously translated from the Greek, and it presents Ortúñez as the "translator" of the story into Spanish. In turn, Tyler appropriates the voice of the fictional translator that Ortúñez had created to mark it as the voice of a woman translator, who explicitly addresses the possible concerns of an English female audience. For instance, she makes the feminine voice visible when she remarks on implications that the forcibly consummated marriage to the hero may have for the heroine (absent from the Spanish version); she also marks her position, as English translator, when she explains the meaning of a Spanish-Arabic term (which did not need to be explained in the Spanish version), or when she gives specific British locations for the scenes that the original had vaguely situated on a faraway English island.[45] By marking the place of the translator as that of an English woman vis-à-vis that of the Spanish male author, Tyler makes explicit that, in spite of the theoretical requirements for unity, the text of the translation offers many writing and reading positions—and she appropriates one for herself.

Of course, this is not the dominant strategy we find among early modern translators. Most often, translation's multiplicity generates a problem for them. This multiplicity is directly in conflict with the dominant idea that a text must have a single authorial position—and this is why translation theoreticians have to invest so much effort in metaphorical abductions, ingestions, and conquests. As I have already mentioned, Renaissance theoreticians of translation struggled to accommodate their definitions of translation to a single-language, single-version, single-author textual model. They must have done so because this model was compatible with the social, political, and economic dynamics of European

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[45]   Deborah Uman and Belén Bistué, "Translation as Collaborative Authorship: Margaret Tyler's *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*," *Comparative Literature Studies* 44.3 (2007): 298–323.

processes of centralization and unification. We can see that already in the context of medieval exegetical operations the *auctor* could be used as a unifying center for the interpretation of a text. "A medieval lecture-course on an *auctor*," explains A. J. Minnis, "usually began with an introductory discourse in which the text would be considered *as a whole*."[46] In time, the unifying value of the author figure would acquire new force in the new contexts in which it functioned, including censorship, the book trade, commercial authorship, and copyright institutions. In particular, in the early modern theoretical discourse on translation, the figure of the author can be said to have worked as a unified *point of insertion* for the subject in the text. The disappearance of either the translator or the author, demanded by early modern theoreticians, helped eliminate the conceptual possibility of alternative points of insertion for the subject. It also helped eliminate the possibility of alternative linguistic identities with which a reading subject could identify. In this sense, the model of the unified text (as opposed to a text in which the versions, languages, and styles of both author and translator are visible) functions as a place where early modern writers and readers can *grasp* their emergent national selfhood. The model of the single-subject text, where only one writing position is visible, was a good fit for emerging notions of individuality and national identity.

As a translator attempted to conceptualize his practice—and his *self*—in this ideological context, he had to test, redefine, and ultimately reject translation's multiplicity. The difficulty of such rejection becomes visible in the disjointed metaphors and fissures in the logic of the early modern discourse on translation. I want to propose that if we do not disregard these fissures as the product of mere rhetorical excess, they can offer us an entry into an alternative conceptualization of translation: one that allows for a multiplicity of tasks, versions, linguistic identities, and interpretive positions.

The Translation Text(s)

So far, we have looked at definitions of the translator and his role. Another area of reflection in which we can find traces of the difficulty of thinking translation is the definition of the translation product. One of the earliest attempts at this definition can be found in Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal's extensive discussion of the "difficulties of translating" [*dificultades de trasladar*], which he develops in the commentary he made to his own Castilian version of Jerome's *Chronici canones* (itself a translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's Χρονικοὶ κανόνες with additions by Prosperus of Aquitania).[47] "Each word in the translation must correspond to another

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[46]   A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 2; emphasis added.

[47]   The word "dificultad" recurs throughout the commentary and is part of many of the chapter titles. In the first volume, we find, among others, "chapter 6, of Jerome's prologue and of the difficulties of translating" (capitulo vi, del prologo de Hieronimo et

from the original language, so that both writings *appear to be texts*," states the Spanish scholar.[48] Here, Madrigal acknowledges the importance of both versions in the translation process. In addition, he is formulating his definitions in the midst of a multiplicity of versions and authorial positions (he is glossing his translation of Jerome's translation of Eusebius' and Prosperus' work). And to this complexity of authors, translators, and versions, we must add the previous Latin commentary Madrigal had made to Jerome's work, which is now lost.[49] Surprisingly, in spite of the many versions and writers involved in this textual production (and in spite of the importance he assigns to the two versions involved in a translation), Madrigal's definition of translation constantly struggles against textual multiplicity. Early in the commentary, for instance, Madrigal finds it problematic that Prosperus had referred to the work in the plural, as "books" [*libros*], and he feels the need to justify this plural: "Although, the book is one due to the uninterrupted continuation of its writing, even then, what is written in it is not by one man, but by three; and, thus, because of the three writers, they may be called three books."[50] Again, we find an explanation that juxtaposes two models. First, he espouses the view that a book must constitute a textual unit, a single whole. Then, he acknowledges that, as a product of translation, this book is the result of three different writing stages. We have seen the juxtaposition of two conflicting models in other early modern reflections on translation and imitation, but Madrigal can be said to present the contradiction more openly.

In general, he is very scrupulous about theoretical and prescriptive limitations. This happens, for instance, when he states that "the translation and the original must be of equal length, and the interpreter must always maintain this *insofar as it can be maintained*." And, again, when he comments on another difficulty: "that the

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de las dificultades del trasladar); "chapter 16, of the special difficulties of this translation" (capitulo xvi, delas dificultades especiales de esta traslacion); "chapter 17, of some difficulties for translating this book and for understanding it" (cap. xvii, de algunas dificultades para trasladar este libro et para se entender). Alfonso de Madrigal, *Tostado sobre el Eusebio*, vol. 1 (Salamanca: Hans Gysser, 1506).

48   "[D]eve responder una palabra de interpretatión a otra de la original lengua, para que anbas scripturas *parescan testos*," *El comento o exposición de Eusebio de las Crónicas o tiempos interpretados en vulgar*, chapter 7. Transcription of Ms. 10811, in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. María Isabel Hernández González, "A vueltas con Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal y el Marqués de Santillana: De traducciones y comentos," *La experiencia de los traductores castellanos a la luz de sus textos (Siglos XIV-XVI)* (Salamanca: SEMYR, 1998): 93.

49   It is believed that Madrigal produced his Castilian translation between 1445 and 1450, and that at this point he began to write his commentary. Hernández González, "A vueltas," 75. With the title *Tostado sobre el Eusebio*, the commentary was printed in five volumes by Hans Gysser, in Salamanca, between 1506 and 1507.

50   "Aunque el libro sea uno por continuacion non partida de escriptura, enpero lo en el escripto non es de uno, mas de tres, según suso dicho es. Et, ansí, por los tres scriptores se pudieron llamar tres libros" (chapter 2). In Hernández González, "A vueltas," 82.

translator must observe what belongs to his office; and to his office it belongs to imitate the original in everything, in such a way that there be no difference, *except for their being in different languages*."[51] While equivalence is a key requirement for Madrigal, he scrupulously acknowledges that it cannot always "be maintained" and that, despite the hardest imitative efforts, the two versions will always be written in "*different* languages." As Julio César Santoyo has noted, at the center of Madrigal's definition of translation lie both the demand for a perfect equation of the two versions and an acknowledgment of the ontological impossibility of such equation.[52]

The tension in Madrigal's definition helps us see a simple, fundamental point: in practice, translation always involves two versions of the work. His scrupulousness reminds us that translation practice involves more than one version, more than one linguistic identity, and more than one writing position (and, as we will see, there were actually numerous medieval and Renaissance translations that presented two or more versions of the work side by side on the same page). Nevertheless, such linguistic and interpretive multiplicity cannot be easily accommodated to the notion of the text as a unity of language, style, and intention. In order for the translation to qualify as a text—or, in Madrigal's words, in order for the translation to *appear to be a text*—it must enter into an intrinsic relation of equivalence with the original. Through this relation, both versions must actually become separate and autonomous texts that exclude, or replace, each other. In some later formulations of this dynamics, the new version must be so faithful that it becomes transparent. In others, it must be so fluent that, in the words of Garcilaso de la Vega, it can make the reader forget "that it is written in another language."[53] Thus, whether the new version is transparent or the original version can be forgotten, early modern definitions of translation leave room for only one version in the text.

Bruni had not made this requirement explicit in his definition of translation. He had focused instead on the role of the translator. However, Glyn Norton's

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[51] "En esto es de entender que el traslado ha de seer egual en largura del original. Et esto deve el interpretador siempre guardar, en tanto que guardar se puede" (chapter 7). "Este es otro inconveniente, ca el interpretador deve guardar lo que a su oficio pertenece; et es de su oficio del todo remedar al original porque non haya diferencia otra, salvo estar en diverssas lengua" (chapter 8). In Hernández González, "A vueltas," 92, 101; emphasis added.

[52] Julio César Santoyo, "La reflexión traductora en la Edad Media: Hitos y clásicos del ámbito románico," *Traducir la Edad Media: la traducción de la literatura medieval románica*, ed. Juan Paredes y Eva Muñoz Raya (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999), 39–40.

[53] "Siendo a mi parecer tan dificultosa cosa traducir bien un libro como hacelle de nuevo, dióse Boscán en esto tan buena maña, que cada vez que me pongo a leer este su libro o (por mejor decir) vuestro, no me parece que le haya escrito en otra lengua." Garcilaso made this statement in his 1534 prefatory letter addressed to doña Jerónima Palova de Almogávar, which accompanied Juan Boscán's Spanish version of *Il cortegiano*. In Santoyo, *Teoría y crítica de la traducción*, 60.

insightful essay on humanist translation theory helps us see that the ideal of textual concentration was also a key element in Bruni's thought. Norton proposes it is, precisely, the juxtaposition of versions that triggers humanist speculation on the translation process: "Consciousness of the feasibility of translation begins … at the level of juxtaposed texts." Yet, he also explains that the theoretical goal of humanist translators consists in the "pursuit of internal coherence," the "fusion of extremes," and, ultimately, the "neutralization" of the differences between versions.[54] Norton finds a telling example of this double theoretical motion in the formal organization of Giannozzo Manetti's translation of the Psalms (c. 1455–1458). Bruni's younger contemporary, Manetti was Papal Secretary for Nicholas V and Calixtus III, and he spent his last years in Naples, at the court of King Alfonso. It is at this time that he must have worked on his translation of the Psalter.[55] The translation is organized in a three-column arrangement that included his Latin version out of the Hebrew (displayed in the right column), as well as two Latin versions by Jerome: one made from the Greek Septuagint version (in the left column), and the other one, from the Hebrew Scriptures (in the central column). In three of the extant manuscripts containing this work, the multilingual translation is followed by Manetti's *Apologeticus*, an essay that delineates his theoretical principles, and whose final book is called "De interpretatione recta," probably after Bruni's treatise.[56] The combination of translation and treatise in the same manuscript makes formally visible a complex tension between theoretical principles and practice. First, the text formally combines the three versions produced in three different writing instances, but, immediately afterward, follows a treatise that conceptualizes *correct translation* as a unifying "middle road" [*medium iter*].[57]

Manetti was concerned with religious translation in particular, an area in which the impulse for unification of versions dates back to the efforts of the early Church to present a unified theological system, and to establish the textual cohesion and uniformity of the Scriptures.[58] In this context, it is not surprising that Manetti is particularly sensitive to the unifying constraints of early modern translation theory. We can see this when he establishes the duties of the "faithful translators of the philosophers and theologians":

> [P]ressed within certain narrower laws of translating, and constricted within certain barriers, they are compelled to move and proceed more modestly and seriously according to the certain severe norm of their profession, and not to

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[54]   Norton, "Humanist Foundations," 179, 189, 202.

[55]   Botley, *Latin Translation*, 64–70.

[56]   Pal. lat. 41, a copy by Pietro Ursuleo, was made in Manetti's lifetime and dedicated to King Alfonso of Naples. For details regarding the manuscripts, see Norton's "Humanist Foundations," 174n7, and Botley's *Latin Translation*, 178–9.

[57]   Gianozzo Manetti, *Apologeticus*, book 5 (Roma: Biblioteca Italiana, 2006), 77.

[58]   Brenda Schildgen, *Power and Prejudice: The Reception of the Gospel of Mark* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 46.

wander too far away from their assumed purpose in translating. Nor adhering entirely even to the first authors, but holding to a middle and safe road, as it is said, they should conduct themselves so modestly that they will seem to decline and bend in neither direction.[59]

In this case, the "assumed purpose" (and not the first author, as in Bruni's case) provides a space in which theory and doctrine merge as unifying forces. It is the assumed intention of *the* doctrinal single author—God—that should give unity to the text of the translation. In general, it is also this assumed intention that offers the ideological bases for humanist, philological attempts at collation of the Scriptures. In this context, Manetti makes the paradoxical claim that the compilation of different versions in juxtaposed columns is actually a means of "eliminating ambiguity and contradiction." He sees an example of this method in Origen's compilation of versions in the *Hexapla*, a work that, as Manetti explains, is believed to have combined six columns containing the Hebrew Scriptures and five Greek editions of them.[60] An expert in Greek and Hebrew, Origen composed "a quite new, profitable, and admirable work, in order to take away all the ambiguity and contradiction that seems to arise out of so many and varied translations."[61] As Norton explains, Manetti pushes Bruni's thought further, revealing that the force of translation, as humanist scholars conceive it, lies precisely in the neutralization of textual multiplicity. Correct translation must solve the conflicts between juxtaposed versions and produce a cohesive new text. Thus, Norton concludes, "in its loftier form, translation transcends the level of juxtaposed texts, so familiar as a pedagogical exercise, in order to involve the translator in an act of creative discovery and restoration."[62] What is more, he sees a growth of this transcending impulse, beyond the call for a synthesis of versions, into a search for a middle ground between words and sense, between fidelity and freedom, and between philosophy and rhetoric. The fusion of versions seems to work here not only as the definition of a higher form of translation, but also as the conceptual ground for even higher theoretical fusions.

The restrictive laws that Manetti postulates for translation can be seen, in part, as a continuation of ideological forces. The Catholic Church's longtime struggle for textual unification of the scriptures would lead in 1546 to the Council of Trent's declaration that there is only one authoritative version of the Scripture, the Latin Vulgata. Like other Renaissance theoreticians, in order to comply with ideals of textual unity and internal coherence, Manetti needs to go against the multiplicity and discontinuity of translation practices—including his own. While,

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[59]   Charles Trinkaus's English version, in Norton, "Humanist Foundations," 201.

[60]   Manetti, *Apologeticus*, book 5, 70.

[61]   "Que omnia cum ad manus illius prestantissimi viri ac grece et hebree lingue peritissimi pervenirent, novum quoddam et utile atque admirandum opus ad tollendam omnem, que ex multis tam diversis interpretationibus oriri videbatur, ambiguitatem ac contentionem in hunc modum composuit." Manetti, *Apologeticus*, book 5, 68.

[62]   Norton, "Humanist Foundations," 183.

in practice, he combines three versions on the same page, this multi-version arrangement triggers his theoretical treatise on a higher form of translation. That is, his speculation on translation searches to transcend the practical juxtaposition of versions in the text. In this way, Manetti's translation and treatise represent the conflictive relation between a practice that displays textual multiplicity and a theory that struggles to reduce it.

As theoretical unifying efforts intensify, multi-version scriptures continue to be produced. As Robert Mathiesen explains, the invention of movable-type printing, and the production of many copies of the same book which this technology was starting to make possible, would foster the "illusion of Biblical uniformity." Nevertheless, this same technology would also allow printers to disseminate multiple versions of the Scriptures, laying the textual basis for the Reformation movement.[63] And, many times, these multiple versions would be combined on the same text. Multi-version translations, such as the one Manetti attempts to transcend, can also become—at least, before they are transcended—a provisional site of resistance to ideologies of unification.

One of the best known examples of this multilingual practice is perhaps Erasmus' New Testament (it offers the Greek version and Erasmus' Latin version in parallel columns, with an extra column containing the Latin Vulgata added on the right, in the 1527 edition). It is also the one that reached the widest audience at the time of its publication. While other polyglot Bibles and Psalters faced financial, marketing, and licensing obstacles, Erasmus' Greek-and-Latin New Testament saw five editions during the sixteenth century, at the press of Johann Froben in Basel (1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535). But there are many other examples of early modern multilingual translations of the Scriptures. Their editors and printers show as much care as Manetti did in the arrangement and correlation of versions on the page. I have already mentioned the 1516 Genoa Psalter, which correlates seven versions across facing pages (see again Figure 1.4). I have also mentioned the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. As we saw, in this work the pages of the Pentateuch include five columns (three on the upper part of the page, and two shorter, wider columns below). There are, in addition, Hebrew and Aramaic roots on the outer margins. These are correlated to the words in the respective columns through superscript Roman characters in alphabetical order. In the case of the Hebrew version, these superscript characters also work to correlate some of the words with the respective Latin words in the Vulgata. In addition to these marks, we find other traces of the work carried out to correlate the versions: the complex proportioning of the columns, the use of abbreviations in the Latin versions, especially in the rendering of the Aramaic Targum, the use of chained O's to fill in spaces in the column containing the Vulgata (see again Figure 1.5). These elements generate a careful line by line correspondence among versions

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[63]   Robert Mathiesen, *The Great Polyglot Bibles: The Impact of Printing on Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Providence, RI: The John Carter Brown Library, 1985).

(in spite of the semantic and syntactic variations among them and in spite of the different scripts and printing types used in each column).

The Complutensian is only the first of a series of Polyglot Bibles printed in European cities, including the great polyglots of Antwerp (1569–1572), Paris (1645), and London (1657). In their linguistic multiplicity, some of these texts cut across the divisions between ancient and vernacular languages. The historical catalog of printed polyglot Bibles edited by Thomas H. Darlow and Horace F. Moule lists several examples of this combination: it mentions a 1547 polyglot Pentateuch printed in Constantinople, which juxtaposes Hebrew, Greek (in Hebrew characters), Aramaic, and an early Castilian version; there is also a Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and German Bible published in Leipzig in 1563; there is Elias Hutter's New Testament in Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, Gallic, Dane, and Polish, and there is also a New Testament in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German (both of them were printed at Nuremberg in 1599–1600 and 1602, respectively). In total, and counting only editions that combine three or more languages in parallel columns, Darlow and Moule list forty different polyglots printed between 1516 and 1700 (it is interesting to note that the number goes down to twenty-six between the years 1700–1900).[64]

As I have also mentioned in my brief discussion of collaborative translation practices, we can also find many earlier manuscript examples of multilingual translations. We saw Manetti invoke a prestigious third-century precedent in Origen's compilation of the *Hexapla*. If we go back to the ninth-century Greco-Latin Psalter in Figure 1.1, we can consider a less complex example (it combines a Greek version of the Psalms with an interlinear, word for word, Latin version). But even this less complex arrangement can give us an idea of the basic problems multilingual translations create for a theory of translation that postulates a unified text. For instance, instead of representing the chronological order of composition (source version—new version) through the conventional order of writing (up—down), interlinear translations tend to present the new version on top of the source line. Thus, in order to find the Latin version of the first line of psalm 1 ("Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὅς οὐκ ἐπορευθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβεῶν"), the gaze of the reader has to move upwards, instead of following the usual downward movement required for reading Latin and Greek texts. It is on top of the Greek words that the reader can find the interlinear version, "beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum."

If we now consider parallel column arrangements, we can think of further reading displacements. In a way, the careful correlation of lines promotes a horizontal and discontinuous movement between versions. Thus, it makes explicit that the translation is not the new version alone, but the two versions working together. This is perhaps clearer in the ninth-century Latin and Old High German translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron* (see again Figure 1.2). The page I have chosen

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[64]   T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1963).

shows a combination of Luke 1:1–4, John 1:1–5, and a longer passage from Luke, which starts at 1:5. The layout presents a careful correlation of lines, but only the Latin column has large capital letters at the beginning of each passage.[65] Therefore, a reader searching for a passage in the German column may need to find the capital letter that marks this passage in the Latin column first. This speaks of a text that works horizontally as well as vertically. Instead of going through the left column completely and then moving into the right one—the usual order for reading both Latin and German texts—readers of this text may use partial, discontinuous, and recursive ways of reading. What is more, if we use the Latin capitalized initial to locate different passages in both columns, we can then consider these passages as small Latin-and-German units. In a way, these bilingual compounds go against the very interpretive linear unity that the Gospel Harmony attempts to create. In other words, while the Gospel Harmony is joining different sections of each Gospel to create a linear, unified narrative of Jesus' life, the double-version arrangement invites the reader to stop, and to look at both columns, and, thus, it can actually create discontinuity in the narrative.

Material traces of discontinuous readings are found on the first pages of Genesis in the copy of the Complutensian Polyglot held at the Bancroft Library, in Berkeley (the image in Figure 1.5 comes from this particular copy). The initial pages, in which we see the highly complex multilingual arrangement, show marginal notes in a very small hand as well as underlining of a few phrases in the Latin translation of the Aramaic Targum. The underlining speaks of a selective, discontinuous reading of the work. The excruciatingly small notes (perhaps made by a seventeenth-century reader in the Jesuit house at Sevilla where the copy was housed) work to extend the multiplication of versions even further. Visually the notes give shape to a new column on the outer margin of the page. Functionally, each of them is correlated to one of the superscript Roman characters that appear in the Hebrew and the Vulgata versions. These notes offer a series of alternative Latin terms for each reference. For instance, God's words in Genesis 1:6 are rendered in the Vulgata column as "fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum" (with superscript "k", "l", and "m" preceding "firmamentum," "in medio," and "aquarum" respectively), and in the correlated marginal notes for this line, the translation keeps growing: the note marked with superscript "k" reads, "firmamentum, extensio, expansio. ab extendo [?] expando," the note for superscript "l", gives "in medio, intermedio, intra," and the rest of the notes work in a similar way. Thus, the new column to which the notes give shape continues to expand the number of versions. The notes interrupt a linear reading, proposing multiple alternative readings for each correlated word. Thus, they are traces of interpretive practices that do not imply a unified reading of the whole.

As Chapter 3 will show in more detail, translation of the Scriptures was not the only field in which multi-version texts were produced. There are many other

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[65]   There seems to be no indication that the scribe intended to leave space for the German initials.

genres in which we find translations that combine different versions of a work, in different languages, on the same page: Medieval scientific treatises and goliardic poems, Renaissance broadsheet news and pamphlets, sentimental novels, printed multilingual versions of Aesop's *Fables*, Cicero's letters, grammar treatises and pedagogical texts prepared by renowned scholars, and anonymous manuscript exercises, to name only a few. These secular texts offer, too, a wide range of language combinations, visual arrangements, and reading possibilities. What is more, they show some marks of the ways in which both source and new versions are integral parts of the translation text. In these marks, as in the ones I have discussed above, I see the formal traces of meaningful connections between versions. When we look at the careful proportioning of versions, at the use of initials, at marginal notes and underlining, we can imagine many possibilities: upward movements in interlinear versions, horizontal displacements and expansions in parallel columns, partial and discontinuous readings, back and forth readings. In sum, a multiplicity of readings.

The Legacy of Humanist Thought on Translation

Above all, my brief discussion of these formal traces is an attempt at making translation's multiplicity *visible*. The variety of genres in which we can find examples of multilingual translation speaks of a textual practice that must have been familiar to many early modern writers and readers. Implicitly, the discontinuous metaphors, forced turns, and acknowledged limitations that characterize Renaissance theoretical discourse on translation are an indication of this familiarity, too. The latter are also an indication of the gap between translation practices and ideologies of textual unity: they reveal Renaissance theoreticians' efforts to bridge the gap. However, as we move forward in time, we can see theoreticians beginning to take for granted the idea that the text of the translation must present a single version—written in a single language, being the result of a single writing event, and susceptible of being comprehended as a whole by a single reader working alone.

In 1565, for instance, Arthur Golding explained that, instead of completing the translation of Caesar's *Commentaries* that Brend had left unfinished and presenting it as the work of two translators, he decided to start it anew and to "put the work wholly in [his] own name." Golding justified this decision precisely by invoking ideals of textual unity. "I was desirous to have the body of the whole Storye compacted unyforme and of one stile throughout," he explains, "for so I thought it shuld be both more allowable among such as are of knowledge, and also more acceptable to the reader."[66] In the next century, Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt would simply mock any concern for the fact that translation involves more than

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[66]   Arthur Golding (tr.), *The eyght bookes of Caius Iulius Caesar conteyning his martiall exploytes in the realme of Gallia and the countries bordering upon the same* (London, 1565), iii–iv.

one version. In the epistle dedicatory to his translation of Lucian (1664), he characterized defective translations precisely as those "scrupulous Translations, which require one to read the Original to understand the Version!"[67] The exclamation mark at the end of the line speaks of his confidence in the shared standards of textual and linguistic unity. Nothing can be worse, he assumes, than a translation that forces the reader to acknowledge that translating involves two versions. An earlier writing by this French translator, the preface to his translation of Tacitus (1640), gives us an idea of the ways in which he tackled the difficulties of defining a translation as a single-version text:

> One need not marvel, therefore, that he [Tacitus] is so difficult to translate, seeing that he is difficult even to understand. He is, furthermore, wont to mix in the same sentence, sometimes in the same phrase, diverse thoughts which bear not the slightest relation to each other, and of which a part is inevitably lost (as when one polishes a work) in the effort to express the rest without offending the delicacy of our Language and the correctness of the argument … [O]ne must take heed that an Author's grace not be lost through too much scrupulousness, and that the fear of being unfaithful to him in some one thing not result in infidelity to the whole: principally when one is creating a work that is to take the place of the original.[68]

Perrot d'Ablancourt does not explicitly define the difficulty as the existence of a multiplicity of versions produced by different writing subjects. He displaces the difficulty onto Tacitus's own mixing of disconnected thoughts. He bases his definition of the translator's duties on a very particular form of fidelity. The translator must be faithful to the work *as a whole*, even if it implies not being scrupulously faithful to the small parts. In his view, a translation that carefully correlates passages from the new version with passages from the original—and, thus, acknowledges a multiplicity of versions—is simply a failure. The paradoxical fidelity to the author points more confidently than Bruni's to underlying ideologies of unification: to "the delicacy of our Language," and to "the correctness of the argument."

What Bruni once described as a "marvelous effect," is now taken for granted. The limitations and inconsistencies that Madrigal scrupulously brought to the foreground are now bypassed. At best, they have become a founding paradox for a translation theory that cannot account for collaborative and multilingual translation practices. That a translation must present a single version has become an unquestionable principle. Nevertheless, as I have shown, in the recurrent definitions and re-definitions of translation's proverbial difficulty, there are still traces of an alternative model. In other words, while collaborative and multilingual

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[67]   In Lawrence Venuti (ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 36. The lines come from the Epistle dedicatory that Perrot d'Ablancourt appended to his translation of Lucian's works (1664).

[68]   In Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, 31–2.

translation practices are not today familiar to students of translation history, we have inherited a theoretical discourse that was, to a large extent, built against these practices. It is against the background of team translation that Bruni prescribed the need for a single translator to master both languages, to perform all the tasks of the translation process by himself, and to imitate the author of the first version with such force that there appears to be only one writing position in the text. It is against the combination of different versions, in different languages, on the same page that Madrigal defined a translation text that has room for only one version (or that, at least, appears to do so). Manetti actually placed different versions side by side on the same page, but only to propose that this multiplicity must be transcended. Garcilaso celebrated the fact that the Spanish version of *Il cortegiano* appeared to be the only one, and Perrot d'Ablancourt made explicit that a translation should not remind its reader that there are two versions involved. A translation must be, in Golding's words, "compacted uniform and of one style throughout," so that its text can be put under the name of a single writer. In general, and guided by the ideal of a text that offers a single version and a single point of insertion, early modern definitions of translation performed a repression of knowledge about translation practices.

In the area of literary studies, this situation has been continued in the assignment of a central position to the notion of *the author*—and, later, to *the reader*—as a unit of analysis (be it biographical, intentional, structural, or functional). As I discuss in my next chapters, the repression of knowledge has also been continued in the tendency to study monolingual works as the most representative products of national language traditions. We will also find a continuation in modern criteria for cataloguing, since the linguistic multiplicity of translations presents *difficulties* for classification purposes. Multilingual translations are usually listed under only one of the languages involved, without even a rigorous criterion for deciding which language (the source or the target) should be the chosen one. And the search engines of most library catalogs do not offer the possibility of entering more than one language at the same time among the search terms. We will see that, in general, the way in which catalogs are organized presupposes that a text should present a single version, in a single language, and be authored by a single person.

Above all, the repression of knowledge about collaborative and multilingual translation has had consequences in the field of modern translation theory. As we saw in the introduction, the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* can confidently state today that "translations are rarely meant to be read side by side with the original texts."[69] Certainly, this standard has become pervasive to the point that Derrida could challenge "the limitations of translation theories" simply by inviting us to imagine the virtual possibility that multiple languages could give shape to a text. "And what of translating with several languages at a time, will that be called translating?" asks Derrida—the rhetorical force of this question

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[69]   Rainier Grutman, "Multilingualism and Translation," *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker (London: Routledge, 2001), 157.

lies in the commonly shared assumption that it would not. Standards of textual unity are pervasive to the point that Derrida's combination of Walter Benjamin's reflection on "The Task of the Translator" with his own "translation" of this reflection is a subversive practice in itself.[70] So is Gayatri Spivak's juxtaposition of passages from Peter de Bolla's *The Discourse of the Sublime* with her own "reading as translation" of these passages.[71] Derrida uses the doubling of versions to deconstruct, among other things, the oppositions between theory and practice and between authority and citation. Spivak uses it as a model for the reader to resist an ideological invitation to "self-identity."

Before them, in the well-known piece I implicitly invoked when I spoke about the "task(s) of the translator(s)," Walter Benjamin had proposed that "the interlinear version of the Scriptures is the prototype or ideal of all translation."[72] He used this image in the context of delineating a philosophical thought that could incorporate history, for instance, in the form of multiple translation events put together side by side (using another of his images, we could think of "fragments of a vessel that are to be glued together," and we could even think of the versions of a multilingual translation juxtaposed on the same page). Interestingly, Benjamin begins his essay by offering a polemical critique of the theoretical notion of *the reader*. This notion, he explains, works merely as a repository of the universal subject: "the concept of an 'ideal' receiver is detrimental in the theoretical consideration of art, since all it posits is the existence and nature of man as such."[73] I want to propose that Benjamin is here challenging the principles of interpretive unity. He is, in a way, challenging the notion of the universal subject and, ultimately, the notion of the individual self that, as we saw, Renaissance theoreticians of translation and imitation were beginning to *grasp*. It is only through this critique that Benjamin can make room in his philosophical reflection for multiplicity in historical thought, and, along the way, for the multi-version texts of translation in translation theory.

With this challenge in mind, I want to claim that translation practices have a critical potential for questioning not only some inherited principles of translation theory but also our conceptualizations of the text. My description of medieval and Renaissance collaborative translation practices in the following chapters is an attempt to pose this challenge. The difficulties these practices created for theoreticians suggest that when Renaissance translation theory began to establish itself as a discursive field, it did so, to a large extent, as a struggle against the multiplicity of languages, roles, versions, and interpretive positions that give shape to the texts of translations. At that point, there necessarily appeared a rift

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[70]   Derrida, "Des Tours de Babel," 171, 175.

[71]   Gayatri Spivak, "Politics of Translation," *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

[72]   Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*," tr. Harry Zohn, in Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, 83.

[73]   In Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, 83.

between translation theory and practice—between, on one hand, a widespread activity that entails more than one language, more than one version, and more than one interpretive position, and, on the other hand, a theoretical discourse that forcefully calls for a unified, cohesive text. Translation's multiplicity defied unification. If we take the historical context into account, we can see that, for Renaissance theoreticians, the *difficulty of translation* was conceptual (it was the difficulty of defining translation as an acceptable practice), rather than a matter of how difficult or how easy it actually was to translate. In their particular historical frame, it was difficult to think about translation, so they thought of translation as a difficult task. In turn, this unresolved difficulty has continued to urgently invite speculation.

In closing this chapter, I want to make explicit a final twist that my argument has been performing and to which my last sentence points. I want to propose that, while translation theory can be a repository for ideologies of unification (economic, political, doctrinal, and stylistic), it can also be a site of resistance to them. The convoluted metaphors, forced turns, disjunctions, and ambiguities that punctuate theoretical writings on translation are spaces for such resistance. In this context, if the speculative concentration of languages, roles, and versions demanded by early modern translation theory is basically a struggle to reduce translation's practical multiplicity, then speculation and practice are contradictory but also inseparable from each other. It is in this sense that I see my discussion of translation practices as a key to understanding the critical potential of translation's difficulty, and it is with this understanding in mind that in my next two chapters I undertake a more detailed study of collaborative practices and multilingual texts.

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Fig. 1.1   Psalm 1, Greco-Latin Psalter (manuscript, ninth century)

Fig. 1.2   Luke 1:1–4, John 1:1–5, and a longer passage from Luke, starting
              at 1:5, Gospel Harmony in Latin and Old High German parallel
              versions (manuscript, ninth century)

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Fig. 1.3   Psalm 1, Hebrew and Latin Psalter (manuscript, thirteenth century)
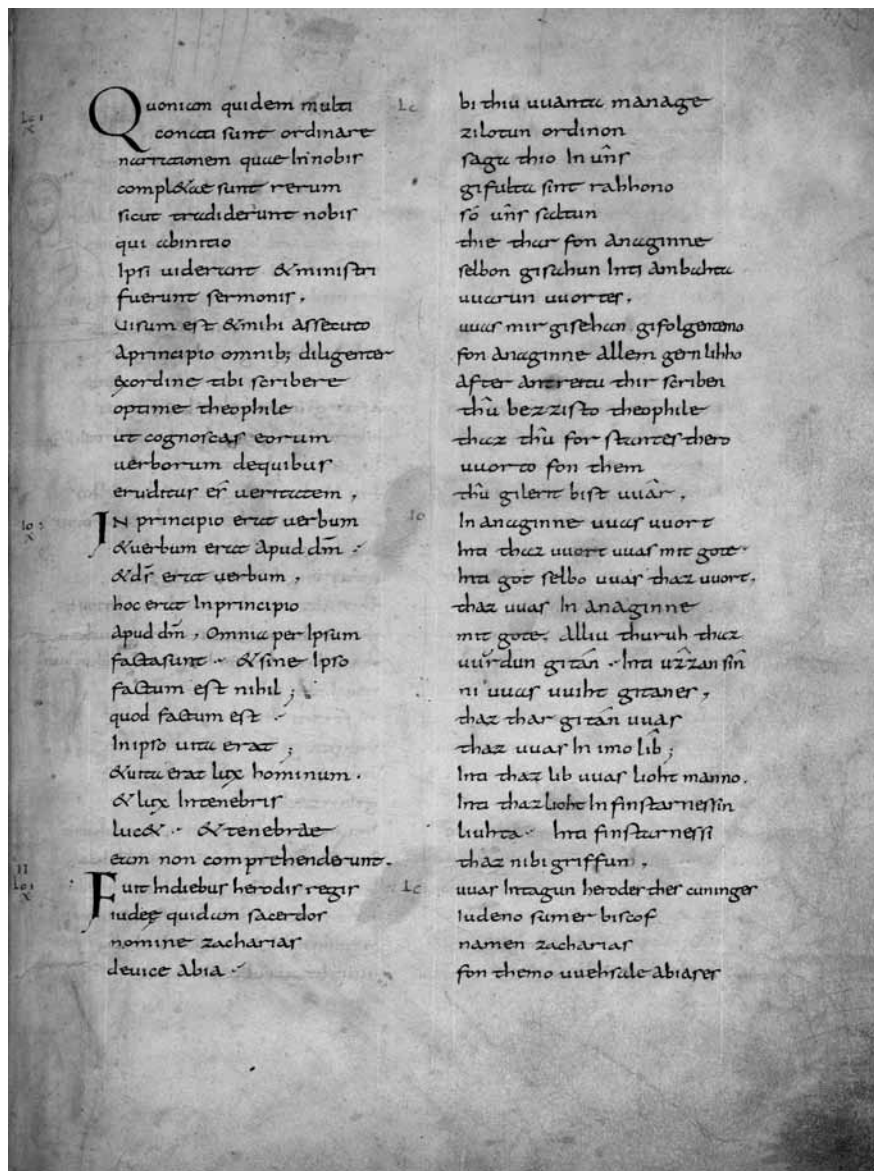
Fig. 1.4   Psalm 1, Genoa Psalter (sixteenth century)

Fig. 1.5   Genesis 1, Complutensian Polyglot Bible, the first of the *Great Polyglots* (sixteenth century)

Chapter 2
Unthinkable Practices

As we saw in the last chapter, a prefatory note to a medieval translation of Avicenna's *De anima* contains a brief description of collaborative translation. Judeo-Spanish translator and philosopher Avendauth makes a brief mention of the method that he and Archdeacon Dominicus Gundisalvus used in Toledo: the book "was translated from the Arabic, with [Avendauth] as the one delivering each word in the vulgar [*singula verba vulgariter proferente*] and archdeacon Dominicus as the one converting each of them into Latin [*singula in latinum convertente*]."[1] Marie Thérèse d'Alverny believes that this collaborative translation took place sometime between 1152 and 1166, and she identifies the name Avendauth with the Jewish philosopher Abraham Ibn Dāūd, who came to Toledo from Cordova in the middle of the twelfth century.[2] Following Amable Jourdain, José Gil identifies Archdeacon Dominicus with Dominicus Gundissalinus or Dominicus Gundisalvus (Domingo González), Spanish translator and philosopher, and archdeacon of Cuéllar, Segovia. Gil speculates that Avendhaut and Gundisalvus collaborated in several translations between the years of 1130 and 1150.[3]

This brief mention of the collaborative method points to a translation practice that was once widespread. A particularly fruitful space for such collaboration was found in the Iberian Kingdoms, where rich Arabic libraries had been formed in the Umayad Caliphate of Cordova, as well as in the *taifas* of Toledo, Zaragoza, Valencia, and Sevilla. José Millás Vallicrosa mentions, for instance, that the library of al-Hakam II, Caliph of Cordova, housed 400,000 volumes, and that the caliph had agents who traveled to such centers as Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo in search of literary novelties. He adds that this example was later followed

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[1]   "Et <me> singula verba vulgariter proferente et Dominico archidiacono singula in latinum convertente ex arabico translatum." In Lynn Thorndike, "John of Seville," *Speculum* 34.1 (1959): 22n10.

[2]   Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes: d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et de la langue vernacularie en latin," *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge: actes du colloque internationale du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (Paris: CNRS, 1989), 195–6. There has been much debate regarding the identity of this translator. For important contributions to this debate, see d'Alverny's work as well as Lynn Thorndike, "John of Seville," *Speculum* 34. 1 (1959): 20–38, and the more recent take on the debate of Maureen Robinson, "The Heritage of Medieval Errors in the Latin Manuscripts of Johannes Hispalensis (John of Seville)," *Al-Qanṭara* 28.1 (2007).

[3]   José S. Gil, *La Escuela de traductores de Toledo y los colaboradores judíos* (Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1985), 30–31, 38–9.

by many of the *taifa* kings.[4] Arabs, Jews, and Mozarabs (Christians who lived or had lived in the Muslim kingdoms) had worked together, and they continued to do so actively after the Christian *reconquista* of Toledo (1086), especially during the reign of Alfonso X, "the Learned", in Castile (1252–1284). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, numerous translations, made from Arabic versions of ancient mathematical, medical, astronomical and astrological, philosophical, moral, and religious texts, as well as of medieval treatises by Arabic and Jewish scholars, were produced at such cultural centers as Barcelona, Tarazona, Pamplona, Burgos, and, most famously, Toledo.[5] These translations were carried out sometimes individually and sometimes through the joint efforts of a Latin scholar and a Jewish or a Mozarab partner who was well versed in Arabic. It is believed that in these collaborative instances, the translators would use the method described by Avendauth: the Arabist would orally render words from the Arabic into a Romance vernacular, and, in turn, his partner would render the Romance into Latin (the official language of the schools and the Church). Their work would sometimes involve writing the intermediate version down on wax tablets (probably on paper after the mid-thirteenth century) or dictating the words to a scribe.[6]

Charles Homer Haskins has emphasized the importance of the Norman kingdom of southern Italy as another center for translation activity where scholars worked from both Arabic and Greek sources. Sicily had been under Arabic rule for almost two centuries (902–1091), and later, under the Norman rule, Arabic, Greek, and Italian populations continued to inhabit this territory. In this context, Palermo offered the opportunity for intellectual exchange among scholars proficient in one or more of the learned languages (Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin).[7] There is evidence that collaborative translation was also performed in French speaking territories. D'Alverny mentions the case of a 1263 translation of an Arabic treatise by Spanish-Arabic philosopher and astronomer Azarquiel. The Latin version, which perhaps was made from an intermediate Hebrew version, is believed to have been made at Montpellier by a certain "Profacius of the Hebrew people as the one vulgarizing it [*vulgarizante*] and John of Brescia as the one

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4   José M. Millás Vallicrosa, "La corriente de las traducciones científicas de origen oriental hasta fines del siglo XIII," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*/*Journal of World History*/*Cuadernos de Historia Mundial* 2.2 (1954): 402.

5   The notion of pairs or groups of translators working together in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Toledo should not be confused with the idea that there existed a "Toledo School of translators," which, as Julio César Santoyo explains, stems from a misread comment in Amable Jourdain's work, and of which no evidence has been found. Julio César Santoyo, "Sobre la historia de la traducción en España: algunos errores recientes / On the History of Translation in Spain: Some Recent Errors," *Hermenēus* 6 (2004): 175.

6   D'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes," 195.

7   Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, reprint (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1960). First published in 1924 by Harvard University Press.

reducing it into Latin [*in latinum reducente*]."[8] In her study of late-medieval scientific translations into French, Lys Anne Shore cites a colophon to the *Livre du commencement de sapience* (a 1273 French version of an astrological treatise originally written by the Jewish scholar Abraham Ibn Ezra). In this book another instance of collaborative translation is briefly described: "Hagin the Jew translated from Hebrew into Romance; and Obert de Montdidier wrote the Romance, and it was made at Malines, in the house of Lord Henry Bate." Shore speculates that Bate, who later produced a Latin translation of Ibn Ezra's treatise, must have acted as a patron, financing the enterprise and providing a space to carry it out.[9] As I will further discuss, this particular form of collaborative translation, in which the Romance version constituted the final product of the collaborative process, was frequently employed by translators working under the more systematic patronage of Alfonso X in thirteenth-century Castile. This is the case, for instance, of the Alfonsine astronomical and astrological treatise known as the *Libro de la ochava esfera*, whose prologue states that the translation was made in 1256 "from Chaldean and Arabic into Castilian language" by Guillén Arremón Daspa, who has been identified as a canon in the cathedral of Seville, and by the *alfaquí* Judah ben Cohen.[10]

In my previous chapter, I proposed that it is against this type of collaborative practice that Leonardo Bruni defined *correct translation*, urgently demanding that the translator be an expert in both languages involved and that he perform by himself all the tasks of the translation process. It is also against this type of work, I have claimed, that Renaissance theoreticians determined the text of a translation should present a single version. These requirements were made in the context of ideologies of linguistic and religious unification, which supported the processes of political unification and centralization that Renaissance Europe was undergoing. In this context, it became difficult for translation theoreticians to validate a textual practice in which the different linguistic identities of the translators intersected with political, religious, and social categories (the Greek monk, the Mozarab interpreter, the Jewish physician, and the Latinist, who was usually a member of the Christian institutions of the Church, the schools, or the royal chancery). In other words, it became difficult for Renaissance theoreticians to think about collaborative practices as a valid form of translation—that is, as a form of translation that agreed with the unifying impulse in the social and

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[8]   "Profacio gentis hebreorum vulgarizante et Iohanne Brixiensi in latinum reducente." D'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes," 201.

[9]   Lys Ann Shore, "A Case Study in Medieval Nonliterary Translation: Scientific Texts from Latin to French," *Medieval Translators and their Craft*, ed. Jeanette Beer (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), 303, 320.

[10]   Evelyn S. Procter, "The Scientific Works of the Court of Alfonso X of Castile: The King and his Collaborators," *The Modern Language Review* 40.1 (1945): 24. As I explained in Chapter 1, the term *alfaquí*, normally meaning a scholar learned in medicine, philosophy, astronomy, and astrology, was also used in medieval Spain to designate simply a translator or interpreter (see Chapter 1, note 20).

political realms. This difficulty led to an exclusion of collaborative practices from Renaissance reflections on translation. What is worse, since modern histories of translation draw almost exclusively on the theoretical writings of translators, they have excluded these practices, too.

Pursuing these claims further, I will use this chapter to offer a survey of instances of collaborative translation and to explore the difficulties that students of translation history still face when thinking about this practice and its textual products. The main form that these difficulties take is precisely the lack of studies that deal with actual texts that are the product of collaborative translation. Charles Faulhaber has explicitly commented on the lack of attention paid to translation texts in general, and to intermediate translations in particular, "as objects of serious study."[11] Clara Foz had highlighted the problem when she remarked on the importance that a comparative study of translations could have for the study of medieval translators.[12] Indeed, in her comparative analysis of two translations attributed to Gerard of Cremona, Danielle Jacquart suggests that extended analyses of this type could shed light on possible marks of collaboration.[13]

The general lack of scholarly attention paid to the actual texts of translations is surprising when we take into account the amount and the quality of work invested in the edition, collection, and discussion of dedicatory letters, prologues, colophons, and titles of medieval and Renaissance translations, and the careful investigation carried out to identify the names, activities, and displacements of the translators who produced them.[14] What is more, in the last decades scholars have continued to build upon this work by focusing on the translators' religious and social identities. Gil, for instance, has drawn attention to the information collected about Jewish translators who worked in Toledo. Foz has argued that the work of translation teams was based not only on the linguistic complementarity of its members (an Arabist and a Latinist), but also on the fact that the Latinist's status, as a member of the schools or the Church, became more and more necessary to

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[11] Charles B. Faulhaber, "*Semitica iberica*: Translations from Hebrew and Arabic into the Medieval Romance Vernaculars of the Iberian Peninsula," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81.7 (2004): 874.

[12] Clara Foz, *Le Traducteur, l'Église et le roi: Espagne, XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Otawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1998), 50.

[13] Danielle Jacquart, "Remarques préliminaires a une étude comparée des traductions médicales de Gérard de Crémone," *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge: actes du colloque internationale du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (Paris: *CNRS*, 1989): 109–18.

[14] Among the fundamental studies that provide detailed information regarding twelfth- and thirteenth-century translators are those of Charles Haskins, Lynn Thorndike, and Marie Thérèse d'Alverny. These scholars continued to build upon, and in some instances carefully corrected, the pioneer work of Amable Jourdain and Valentin Rose. Moritz Steinschneider collected information about Jewish translators in particular, and the studies of José Millás Vallicrosa, Manuel Alonso Alonso, and Evelyn Procter are central to the study of translators who worked under the patronage of Alfonso X.

legitimize the translation in the context of Western learning. Anthony Pym has proposed to analyze information about the lives of translators and their patrons as indications of their role as human mediators between defined social groups (Islam and Christianity, Church and crown, scholasticism and humanism).[15]

Nevertheless, in spite of the solid historical work and the fruitful theoretical explorations carried out in this field, the actual texts produced through collaborative translation have not been the object of analysis. I argue that this lack of interest has to do with the conceptual model that we have inherited from Renaissance theoreticians, and especially with the notion that a work which combines more than one version does not qualify as a text. For, as I will show, not only the process of collaborative translation, but also its textual products can show formal marks of the multiplicity of versions combined in the translation process, and such a combination is difficult to accommodate to the model of the monolingual, linear text.

In the last section of this chapter, I offer a reading of one of these products: the *Libro de la ochava esfera*, made under the patronage of Alfonso X of Castile. The prologue of this thirteenth-century astrological-and-astronomical treatise has a central place in the history of Spanish language and literature. In this prologue is found the well-known passage that mentions Alfonso X's concern with the linguistic quality of the treatise (in this famous passage, the king is said to have cut away phrases that were "doubled" and "not in straight Castilian"). However, as we will see, the actual text of the translation is not part of this history, and, in fact, it is full of *doublings* of words and phrases, not only *in Castilian* but also in Latin, Arabic, and Greek. I propose a reading that considers both prologue and text, as well as the tensions and contradictions between them. I also propose to consider this translation's inadequacies: above all, its lack of linguistic uniformity and unity of meaning and its failure to offer a single subject position for the writer and a single position for the interpreter. My claim is that, by acknowledging these tensions and inadequacies, without trying to solve them, we can begin to question some of the limits of dominant models for writing and interpretation.

Collaborative Translation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe

Humanist definitions to the contrary, forms of collaborative translation appear to have been practiced in southern Europe as early as the tenth century. Millás Vallicrosa mentions the case of the translation of Dioscorides's pharmaceutical treatise *Peri hulēs iatrikēs* made at the court of the Umayad Caliph Abd al-Raḥman III (912–961) in Cordova. A Byzantine monk translated the Greek manuscript (a gift from the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII) into Latin. Then, the caliph's Jewish minister and physician Hasday Ibn Saprut rendered it into Arabic—

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[15]   Gil, *La Escuela*; Foz, *Le Traducteur, l'Église et le roi*; Anthony Pym, *Negotiating the Frontier: Translators and Intercultures in Hispanic History* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2000).

plausibly, with the aid of an earlier Arabic version of this work that Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq had made in Baghdad.[16] Mariano Brasa Díez believes that we can also find early instances of collaborative translation farther north, and he sees the translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* from Greek into Latin in the abbey of Saint Denis in Paris as such an instance.[17]

As I have mentioned, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries offer a larger number of examples of collaborative practices in the extensive work of translation from Arabic into Latin that took place in the Christian kingdoms of northern Spain. An early instance of collaboration is suggested in the descriptions that Peter the Venerable, Great Abbot of Cluny, makes of the translation project he organized and financed in 1142, during his visit to Spanish territories. This project resulted in the Latin version of a group of Arabic religious and theological texts, including the Qur'an, known today as the *Collectio Toletana*. Referring to the translation of one of the texts in the *Collectio* (the *Apology* of al-Kindī, a defense of Christianity written in Arabic), the abbot explains in a letter to Bernard of Clairvoix that the translation was carried out by the Spanish Peter of Toledo, an expert in the Arabic language, with the help of the abbot's own notary, Peter of Poitiers, who could write in a more polished Latin than the first Peter.[18] This collaboration is also described in a rubric preceding the translation of the *Apology*, which indicates that "Peter abbot of Cluny had the work translated from Arabic into Latin by master Peter of Toledo, with Peter the monastic notary as the one helping [*iuvante*]."[19]

In addition to the description of the method used by Avendauth and Gundisalvo, which I have cited at the beginning of the chapter and which is perhaps the most specific extant description of the method, there is another important twelfth-century reference to collaborative translation in the Iberian kingdoms. This reference is found in the writings of the English traveling student Daniel of Morlay. In the dedication to Bishop John of Norwich, with which Daniel introduced his *Philosophia sive Liber de naturis inferiorum et superiorum*, he enthusiastically praised the intellectual work he had seen carried out in Toledo, and he made a passing mention of the method used in the Spanish city by the prolific Italian translator Gerard of Cremona, who rendered the *Almagest* (as Ptolemy's comprehensive treatise on mathematics had become known in the Arabic tradition) from Arabic into Latin. "Gerard," comments Daniel in passing,

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[16]   Millás Vallicrosa, "La corriente de las traducciones científicas," 402, 404–5.

[17]   Mariano Brasa Díez's "Métodos y cuestiones filosóficas en la escuela de traductores de Toledo," *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval* 3 (1996): 42–3.

[18]   Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen-Age," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 16 (1947–1948): 70–77.

[19]   "Hunc librum fecit dominus Petrus Cluniacensis abbas transferri de Arabico in Latinum a Petro magistro Toletano, iuuante Petro monacho scriptore." James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 35n115.

"rendered the Almagest into Latin with the Mozarab Gālib as the one who was interpreting it [*interpretante*]."[20]

The twelfth century also saw instances of team translation beyond the Iberian Peninsula. As I mentioned earlier, Haskins brought attention to the importance of southern Italy as another region where scholars could find Arabic and Greek manuscripts, as well as collaborators who were learned in these languages. He was able to provide specific details about a Latin version of the *Almagest* made around 1160 at the Sicilian court of William I, this time from a Greek copy of Ptolemy's treatise instead of from an Arabic intermediate version. The prologue to this version, made fifteen years earlier than that of Gerard of Cremona (and Gālib), indicates that the work was also the product of collaboration. The anonymous translator, who is also the author of the prologue, describes himself as a student of medicine who resided in Salerno for some time. He explains that he was able to produce the Latin version with the help of Eugene (believed to be Eugene of Palermo, a member of the royal administration), whom he describes as "an expert in Greek as much as in Arabic, and not unacquainted with Latin."[21]

Moving into the thirteenth century, we find several notices in titles and indexes that suggest instances of collaboration between an expert in Arabic and an expert in Latin. D'Alverny mentions a canon from Padua that worked in Toledo around 1218 with a Jew named David, as well as the case of the better known translator Michael Scott, who may have worked in Toledo with a certain Abuteus and, later, with Jacob Anatoli, a Jew from Provence in the service of Frederick II. Hermann the German complained in the preface to his translation of the Arabic version of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* about having to search for someone who could help him work with the Arabic.[22]

As we have seen, scholars have found thirteenth-century examples of collaborative translation at different locations (the Jewish scholar Profacio and John of Brescia translating Azarquiel in Montpellier, Hagin the Jew and Obert of Montdidier translating Ibn Ezra in Malines), but, again in this century, the Iberian peninsula offers a particularly rich source of references to translation—both individual and team translation. The Castilian court of Alfonso X stands out as an

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[20] "Cum vera predicta (sc. Astrologica) mystagogis et aphiris auditoribus suis affirmaret Girardus Tholetanus, qui Galippo mixtarabe interpretante *Almagesti* latinavit …" In Valentin Rose, "Ptolemäus und die Schule von Toledo," *Hermes* 8 (1874): 348. Because of his long stay in this city, Gerard of Cremona was also known as Gerard of Toledo (Girardus Tholetanus). See also Lynn Thorndike, "Daniel of Morlay," *The English Historical Review* 37.148 (1922): 540–44.

[21] "[E]xpositorem propicium divina mihi gratia providente Eugenium, virum tam grece quam arabice lingue peritissimum, latine quoque non ignarum … latine dedi orationi." Haskins, *Studies*, 157–65, 191–3.

[22] Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators," *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth century*, ed. Robert Louis Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol Dana Lanham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 454–6.

active center for this activity.[23] Among the prefatory texts that Evelyn Procter cites in her study of Alfonsine scientific works, there are several suggestive mentions. The prologue to the *Lapidario* recounts that, as early as 1243 (nine years before he became king), Alfonso commanded Judah Mosca, the Younger, to translate from Arabic into Castilian a manuscript obtained from a Jew in Toledo, and that "one Garci(a) Pérez his clerk aided in this translation." The prologue to the *Libro de la açafecha* (1277) recounts that, not satisfied with a translation that Fernando of Toledo had made, King Alfonso "commanded Master Bernardo *el Arábigo* and don Abraham his *Alfaquí* to translate it a second time in Burgos better and more completely."[24] Another brief reference is found in the title of an early fifteenth-century copy of the *Liber de iudiciis astrologiae* (a Latin version of a treatise by Ali Aben Ragel), which states that, at Alfonso's command, "Judah ben Moses translated [*transtulit*] it from Arabic into the maternal, that is Spanish, language, and that Giles of Tebaldis from Parma, notary of the imperial chancery, together with Peter of Regio, protonotary, translated [*transtulit*] it into Latin."[25] The Latin translation of the *Miraj* produced under Alfonso's patronage is introduced as the work of Bonaventura de Siena, another of the king's Italian notaries, and is said to have been made from an intermediate version by a Jewish translator named Abraham.[26]

In the last two examples, scholars have seen a variation of the method, in which the intermediate vernacular version is written down, instead of orally delivered word-by-word, and in which the producer of the vernacular version does not work simultaneously with the first translator. Pym suggests that the circulation of intermediate vernacular translations in written format became a frequent practice in the thirteenth century, because the use of paper became generalized in Christian Spanish territories at this time. This technology made it possible for the vernacular version to be copied and edited as well. In time, the polished vernacular versions became the final stage of many Alfonsine translations.[27] The fact that the vernacular version was now fixed in writing also led to situations in which there could be a difference of several years between the production of the vernacular and the Latin versions. Nevertheless, even in these cases, prefaces and rubrics still describe the process in familiar terms, identifying the names of all the translators as part of

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[23] Foz distinguishes between translation *in tandem* (the work performed by pairs of translators during the twelfth century) and later forms of collaboration carried out in Alfonso X's workshop that involved more participants. Clara Foz, *Le Traducteur, l'Église et le roi*, 85–93.

[24] Procter, "The Scientific Works," 16, 19.

[25] "Jhuda filius muce praecepto domini Alfonsi romanorum et castelle dei gratia Regis illustris transtullit de Arabico in maternum videlicet yspanicum ydioma et quem egidius de tebaldis permensis aule Imperialis notarius vna cum petro de regio ipsius aule protonotario transtulit in latinum." In Procter, "The Scientific Works," 20.

[26] D'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes," 200–201.

[27] Pym, *Negotiating the Frontier*, 82–5.

the same project. This is the case of the above cited *Liber de iudiciis astrologiae*, whose Castilian version by Judah ben Moses Cohen circulated in written form for some years, before the Latin version was made by Giles and Peter, but whose preface still brings together the names of the translators that were involved in the two different stages.[28] Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal cites another prologue to a Latin translation of this work, which, in almost identical terms as the one cited by Procter, indicates that the translation was performed by a certain Alvaro (instead of by Giles and Peter): "Judah son of Moses, by command of Alfonso, the most illustrious king of Castile and Leon, translated from Arabic into the mother tongue, and Alvaro … translated from the mother tongue into Latin." He believed this was still a case of simultaneous collaboration, but Procter considered that in this case the two versions had been produced at different times.[29]

If we look closely at the cited passages, I believe it may be possible to find small differences between the descriptions of versions that were the product of simultaneous team translation and those whose versions were produced at separate stages. In most of the descriptions I have cited, the role of the two translators is described using the present-participle form of the verb: Avendauth described himself as "singula verba vulgariter *proferente*" [the one delivering each word into the vulgar] and Gundisalvus as "singula in latinum *convertente*" [the one converting each of them into Latin]; Profacius was the "*vulgarizante*" [the one vulgarizing the work] and John of Brescia, its "in latinum *reducente*" [the one reducing it into Latin]; Peter of Poitier is the "*iuvante*" of Peter of Toledo [the one helping him]; and Gālib is "*interpretante*" of the Arab *Almagest* for Gerard of Cremona [the one interpreting it]. Instead, in the case of both prologues to the *Liber de iudiciis astrologiae*, the role of the translators is described using the perfect tense: Judah ben Moses Cohen "*transtulit* de Arabico in ydeoma maternum" [translated from Arabic into Spanish] and Alvaro "*transtulit* de ydeomate materno in latinum" [Alvaro *translated* it into Latin]—and in the case of the version attributed to Giles and Peter, the former is also said to have "*transtulit* in latinum" [translated it into Latin] with the help of Peter. Thus, we can see an incipient pattern in which the present participle is used to describe the simultaneous activity of two translators, while the perfect indicates two translation instances carried out at different times. This small difference is important to me as a mark that—in spite of its later theoretical and historical invisibility—collaborative translation must have been such an established practice that there were more or less systematic conventions for describing these two different types of collaboration.

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[28] The Castilian version, known as the *Libro conplido en los judizios de las estrellas*, dates from 1254. Faulhaber, "*Semitica iberica*," 883.

[29] "Juda filius Mosse de precepto domini Alfonsi illustrissimi regis Castelle et Legionis transtulit de Arabico in ydeoma maternum, et Alvarus … transtulit de ydeomate materno in latinum." Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 5 (1951): 365. Facsimile reprint in *Quaderns. Revista de traducció* 4 (1999): 67–84: 69; Procter, "The Scientific Works," 20–21.

Indeed, not only the practice of team translation and the model that it offered, but also the very products of this practice seem to have been well known and well regarded during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance. As noticed in Chapter 1, the library of Florentine humanist Coluccio Salutati (city chancellor and Leonardo Bruni's mentor) housed a fourteenth-century copy of the collaborative Latin version of the *Almagest* made in twelfth-century Sicily. Henry Bate is believed to have used the collaborative translation of Ibn Ezra's treatise made at Malines, for whose production he provided living and working space, as study material (and even to have later produced a Latin version of this and other treatises by the Jewish scholar). And Procter has found evidence of grants of land made by Alfonso X to a Garci Pérez and a Guillén Arremón whom she believes to be the Garci Perez who participated in the translation of the *Lapidario* and the Guillén Arremón D'Aspa who translated the *Libro de la ochava esfera* in collaboration with Judah ben Cohen.[30]

We can find cases of collaborative translation, in its different modalities, not only during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but even as late as the mid-sixteenth century. D'Alverny cites two descriptions of team translation belonging to this period. One of these collaborative episodes took place in 1544 Venice. Marco Fadella, who worked as an interpreter for merchants, rendered an Arabic biography of Avicenna into Venetian dialect, which the physician Niccolò Masa turned then into Latin. In the other episode, which took place twenty-eight years earlier, the two translation stages were separated in time and place. The Italian Francesco Roseo brought a manuscript of the work known as Aristotle's *Theology* (which he believed an original work by Aristotle) from Damascus to Cyprus. There, he hired Jewish physician Moses Rouas, who expertly translated it into an Italian dialect, and there are some indications that Rouas produced at some point a Hebrew version as well. Once in Italy, Roseo met Pier Nicola Castellani, a physician and philosopher from Faenza, who translated the vernacular version into Latin.[31]

Having reached the end of the survey, I only want to add that there were also those who, like Roger Bacon, may have rejected this translation methodology even before humanist theoreticians did. As I have suggested in my previous chapter, such rejections can also offer an important entry into the study of collaborative translation practices—indicating the extent to which these practices were recognized as an established and extended method. The English Franciscan philosopher seems to have had a very low opinion of the work of translators who were not expert in both the source and target languages. In his *Opus maius*, he complains about the interference of Spanish and other vernaculars in the production of Latin translations:

> [T]he translators did not have the words in Latin for the studies that needed to be translated, because these works were not first composed in the Latin language,

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[30]   Haskins, *Studies*, 157; Shore, "A Case Study," 303; Procter, "The Scientific Works," 22.
[31]   D'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes," 203–6.

and for this reason they introduced an infinity of terms from other languages, and as these terms were not understood by those ignorant of the languages, they were neither delivered nor written correctly, as will be declared; and, besides, which is despicable, because of their ignorance of the Latin tongue they used Spanish, and other mother tongues, almost infinite times, instead of Latin.[32]

If we think of these remarks in the context of the translation practices I have described, it seems probable that Bacon is referring to some form of team translation. In his *Opus tertium*, Bacon identifies Gerardus Cremonensis, Michael Scotus, Aluredus Anglicus, and Hermannus Alemannus as some of the mediocre translators who were not well learned in languages—and, as we have seen, there is evidence that at least the first two among these scholars performed collaborative work at some time.[33]

Surprisingly, another, early instance of rejection of collaborative translation is implicit in a celebratory notice about Gerard of Cremona's life. This notice was appended after Gerard's death (1187) to a copy of his translation of Galen's *Tegni*, and it is said to have been composed by his *socii* (a word that scholars have translated as *pupils* or *followers*). It lists seventy-one translations attributed to Gerard, and it uses a quotation from Hametus (Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf) to describe the ideal that Gerard embodied for these followers: "It is necessary that the interpreter, in addition to the excellence which he has acquired from the knowledge of the languages from which and into which he translates, should also have knowledge of the subject (*ars*) which he translates."[34] This formulation seems somewhat distant from the work of translation teams, in which each translator was an expert in one of the languages. It is not entirely in the line of the later ideals that Leonardo Bruni would uphold (the emphasis on the knowledge of subject is closer to the position that Bruni's Spanish contender, Alfonso de Cartagena, would assume). However, the mention that the translator must have knowledge of the two languages does point to the individual-translator model, which Bruni would so strongly favor (see Chapter 1).

This position is reinforced by the explanations given in the note in order to present Gerard as the sole responsible of the translations listed. It is made clear that Gerard had not inscribed his name in any of his translations, but that the *socii* themselves drew the list of the works translated by Gerard and appended it to

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[32] "Interpretes non habuerunt vocabula in Latino pro scientiis transferendis, quia non fueront primo compositae in lingua Latina, & propter hoc posuerunt infinita de linguis alienis, quae sicut nec intelliguntur ab eis qui linguas ignorant, sic nec recte proferentur nec feribuntur, ut dicetur; atque, quod vile est, propter ingnorantiam linguae Latinae posuerunt Hispanicam, & alias linguas maternas, quasi infinities pro Latino." Roger Bacon, *Opus majus ad Clementem quartum, pontificem romanum* (London: William Bowyer, 1733), 45.

[33] Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium*, in Fr. Rogeri Bacon, *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, vol. 1, ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Robergs, 1859), 91–2.

[34] Charles Burnett, "The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century," *Science in Context* 14.1/2 (2001): 255.

his translation of the *Tegni*. This clarification is significant because, as Charles Burnett has noticed, they have omitted astrological translations from the list.[35] This omission goes hand in hand with the silence about the fact that Gerard must have produced some of these numerous translations with the help of other translators. We know, from Daniel of Morlay's notice, that Gerard collaborated with a certain Gālib at some stage of his work on the *Almagest*, and scholars believe that he must have worked with other Mozarab and Jewish helpers during his long stay in Toledo.[36] What is more, Jacquart has actually compared passages from two translations of medical texts included in this list, and the differences in style she found have led her to suspect that one of them was produced with the help of another translator.[37] Thus, I would like to argue that the construction of Gerard's figure made by the *socii* implicitly rejects collaborative translation. As later theoreticians and historians of translation would do, they omitted information about this activity. Gerard is presented as a non-collaborative translator, as an expert in the two languages, whose identity as a Latin scholar can be the unifying principle behind the list of translations. What we should not forget is that the figure of the individual translator they are imposing on Gerard was only one among competing models for textual interpretation and production.

In order to emphasize the alternative options, I want to close this section with one last example, in which the collaborative model is highly valued, as well as explicitly and carefully described. This example comes from the fifteenth century, when John of Segovia organized the production of a trilingual Qur'an (now lost, but a detailed description of which survives in a separate copy of its preface). John, theologian and former professor at Salamanca, but now retired in the priory of Aiton, Savoy, had Segovian *alfaquí* Iça of Jabir travel to Savoy in 1455 to make a vernacular version of the Qur'an, which John then translated into Latin. The preface recounts that during the first two months of work, Iça copied the Arabic text with diacritical marks in one column on a paper folio. During the third month he produced a Castilian version, which he wrote down as a draft in a small codex, and which John of Segovia had copied by a scribe in a second column, side by side with the Arabic. The following month was devoted to the revision, which was performed by Iça reading the Arabic and John, the Castilian. After the *alfaquí*'s departure, John produced the Latin version, reading from the Castilian and comparing his work with the Arabic. Finally, he had the Latin inscribed in red ink, in between the lines of the Castilian version.[38] This example is particularly interesting to me, because of the value John assigns in his writings not only to his study of the text but also to the work of the *alfaquí*. I want to emphasize the

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[35]   Burnett, "The Coherence," 257–8.

[36]   D'Alverny, "Translations and Translators," 453.

[37]   See Jacquart, "Remarques préliminaires."

[38]   D'Alverny, "Les traductions à deux interprètes," 202–3. See also Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 178–97.

careful description John makes in his writing of the three versions coexisting side by side on the same page, simply because it makes it explicit that the translation consists of the three versions. The multi-version text formalizes the multiplicity of languages and writing stages that inform the translation process. In doing so, this format generates room for a multiplicity of interpretive positions and linguistic identities that can be claimed by or be assigned to its producers and readers.

My case study in the following section is a much earlier text that combines different versions and is the product of collaborative translation, but which has not been considered as such. My analysis of this text is inscribed in a discussion of the paradoxical status that it has in the history of Spanish literature, and, in this way, I attempt to offer a concrete entry into the vexed relations between collaborative translation practices and the theories of translation and literature that exclude them.

Collaborative Translation, Multiple *Knowledges*, and the Difficulty of Studying the *Libro de la ochava esfera* (1256; 1276)

The *Libro de la ochava esfera* [The Book of the Eighth Sphere] is the first text in a thirteenth-century compilation of astronomical and astrological treatises that were translated and re-elaborated, mostly from Arabic sources, under the patronage of Alfonso X of Castile.[39] It offers information on the "fixed stars" and on the images, or figures, that they form in the sky. In the Ptolemaic system, the fixed stars are the ones that, unlike the planets, are attached together to a single sphere that revolves around the earth (the eighth, and outermost, sphere). In this model, because of their attachment to the sphere, the fixed stars maintain the same position in relation to each other and, therefore, they can be grouped in constellations. Indeed, what the *Libro de la ochava esfera* offers is basically a catalog of stars, accompanied by illustrations of each constellation.

The source for the figures, and the main source for the text of the treatise, is *Kitāb ṣwaru'l-kawākib* [The Book of the Figures of the Fixed Stars], a tenth-century Arabic work by Persian astronomer Abu'l-Ḥusayn ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmān

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[39]   The manuscript in which this treatise is included was edited in the nineteenth century by Manuel Rico y Sinobas. He gave the compilation the title of *Libros del saber de astronomía* [Books of the Knowledge of Astronomy]. More recently, Anthony Cárdenas has proposed to call this compilation *Libro del saber de astrología* [Book of the Knowledge of *Astrology*], which is the actual name that appears in the opening pages of the manuscript. *Libros del saber de astronomía del rey D. Alfonso X de Castilla*, ed. Manuel Rico y Sinobas, 5 vols. (Madrid: E. Aguado, 1863–1867), facsimile reprint, Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 2002; Anthony J. Cárdenas, "A Study and Edition of the Royal Scriptorium Manuscript of *El libro del saber de Astrologia* by Alfonso X, el Sabio" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974), xciv.

aṣ-Ṣūfī.[40] Oiva J. Tallgren speculates that half of the Alfonsine treatise can be read as a direct translation of aṣ-Ṣūfī's text. As Tallgren explains, it reproduces the enumerative passages, adding philosophical and astrological considerations as well as some Arabic names for the stars that are not given by aṣ-Ṣūfī and omitting Arab legends that the Persian astronomer associated with specific stars.[41] My comparison of passages from the two texts has allowed me to see that, in some instances, the Alfonsine version redistributes some of the specific passages it renders from aṣ-Ṣūfī's text, presenting one part of a passage in an earlier section and the other part in a later one. Aṣ-Ṣūfī's work is itself based on other texts. It re-elaborates Arabic versions of the catalog of stars that Ptolemy had offered in books 7 and 8 of his comprehensive treatise on mathematics, the *Mathēmatikē syntaxis*, known as the *Almagest* in the Arabic tradition. To his translation and re-elaboration of Ptolemy's work, aṣ-Ṣūfī added the figures—and, with them, the iconography of Arab astronomers, and of the Bedouin tribes in particular.[42]

Drawing on this rich combination of traditions, the Alfonsine treatise offers a new version of the catalog, and it further elaborates the figures by inscribing them into a wheel (*rueda*) whose rays contain information about each star (see Figure 2.1). The visual richness of the images in the *Libro de la ochava esfera* is matched by the linguistic complexity of its text: every time a constellation is introduced, its name is given in Latin, Castilian, Arabic, and, many times, also in Greek. Since the treatise is a catalog of constellations, these multilingual phrases occupy a large portion of the text. It is in this multilingual texture that we can see the traces of the collaborative work of translators and compilers, who, in the process of translating, drew on several alternative versions and produced several new versions, oral and written, as well. What is more, I want to propose that this form of translation is a productive conceptual model for the multiple "knowledges" [*saberes*] that, according to the treatise, the stars can offer. I also believe that, in turn, this model is an important piece in the puzzle of medieval collaborative translation.

Because of its multilingual texture, however, the *Libro de la ochava esfera* has a problematic status in the field of Spanish language and literature studies. In 1974, Anthony Cárdenas claimed that "the nature of this Alfonsine composition [was] relatively unknown, and that many of the studies pertaining to it continue[d]

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[40]   It has been edited as Abu'l-Ḥusayn ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmān aṣ-Ṣūfī, *Ṣuwaru'l-Kawākib (or Uranometry): Description of the 48 Constellations* (Hyderabad-Deccan, India: Osmania Oriental Publications Bureau, 1954). H. C. F. C. Schjellerup translated the treatise into French and published it as *Description des étoiles fixes composée au milieu du dixième siècle de notre ère par l'astonome persan Abd-al-Rahman al-Sûfi* (St. Pétersbourg: Académie Impériale des sciences, 1874).

[41]   O. J. Tallgren, "Sur l'Astronomie espagnole d'Alphonse X et son modèle arabe," *Studia Orientalia* 1 (1925), 344–5.

[42]   Emmy Wellesz, *An Islamic Book of Constellations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 3–7.

to propagate errors and misconceptions."[43] Unfortunately, there is not, to my knowledge, any literary analysis of the *Libro de la ochava esfera* that has taken advantage of Cárdenas's solid work of textual criticism (or of Tallgren's comparisons to the Arabic version).[44] Yet, the prologue to the treatise contains one of the most quoted passages from Alfonsine writings. I am referring to the passage that describes Alfonso X's participation in the work: "et tolló las razones que entendió eran soveianas, et dobladas, et que non eran en castellano drecho" [and he cut out the reasons that he understood were superfluous, and doubled, and not in straight Castilian].[45] Ever since Antonio Solalinde quoted them, in 1915, these words have been read as evidence of the king's direct "intervention in the composition of his works." Solalinde encouraged a careful linguistic and stylistic study of Alfonsine writings that would help determine "if a true unity of language exists in it, due to the vigilance of the learned king."[46] Forty years later, Ramón Menéndez Pidal quoted the same prefatory passage in order to assert definitively the existence of linguistic unity, achieved through Alfonso's pruning of "doubled reasons" and defined as Alfonso's stylistic concern for "conciseness and purity."[47] More recently, Cárdenas questioned the idea that Alfonso had a purist attitude. Building upon the linguistic studies of Steven Hartman, Georg Bossong, Hans Niederehe, and Rafael Cano Aguilar, Cárdenas proposed that Alfonso's *cutting* and *straightening* were aimed mainly at clarity and accuracy of expression.[48] Going one step farther, Francisco Márquez Villanueva quoted the passage once again in order to emphasize the king's search for "clarity of expression, elimination of repetitions," and, above all, a "certain equilibrium among the different tendencies in Castilian and in its surrounding dialects."[49] Ultimately, what connects these reflections on the prefatory remarks of the *Libro de la ochava esfera* is the

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[43]   Cárdenas, "A Study and Edition of the Royal Scriptorium Manuscript," xv. Cárdenas is referring to the compilation in which the *Libro de la ochava esfera* is included, which he reads as a coherent whole.

[44]   See also his careful study of Spanish transcriptions of Arabic names in the Libro de la ochava esfera. O. J. Tallgren, "Los nombres árabes de las estrellas y la transcripción alfonsina: ensayo hispanoárabe fundado sobre un cotejo personal de los manuscritos (con seis facsímiles y dos mapas celestes)," *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal: Miscelánea de estudios lingüísticos, literarios, e históricos*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Hernando, 1925), 634–718.

[45]   *Libros del saber de astronomía*, 1:7.

[46]   Antonio G. Solalinde, "Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras," *Revista de Filología Española* 2 (1915): 288.

[47]   Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "La Primera Crónica General de España," *Primera Crónica General de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Gredos, 1955), li, xxxii.

[48]   Anthony Cárdenas, "Alfonso X nunca escribió 'castellano drecho,'" *Actas del Xo Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1992), 51–9.

[49]   Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El concepto cultural Alfonsí* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1994), 46–8.

understanding of Alfonso X as an authorial figure as well as an authority in matters of language use. Following this understanding, scholars have also traced connections between Alfonso's stylistic concerns and later Spanish fictional and historical prose, and, as a result, the prefatory statement has today a fundamental place in the history of Spanish language and literature.[50]

However, and in spite of its prologue's fame, the actual text of the treatise remains outside this history. Claims regarding the meaning of its preface have been made only in relation to other Alfonsine works or to the monarch's larger role in Spanish history, but not in the context of a specific study of the treatise or of any translation or composition strategies that can be traced in its text. In my opinion, the lack of interest in the actual treatise is due to its multilingual nature, which seems to be at odds with the prologue's description of linguistic pruning. For, while the prologue of the treatise has become the emblem of Alfonso X's development of a prestigious unified and uniform Castilian prose, the text of the treatise cannot quite be defined as a text written *in Castilian*. Despite the promised cutting of phrases "that are doubled and not in straight Castilian," the text recurrently *doubles* the names of the constellations, offering alternative versions *in several different languages*. This is the case, for instance, when the book introduces the figure of the Serpent:

> [I]n Latin it is called *serpens*, and in Castilian *serpiente*, and in this most of the philosophers agree with each other. But Ptolemy, in his book of the *Almaieste*, called it *dragon* [δράκων]. And in Arabic it is called *tannin* [التِّنِّين]. And it is the figure of a serpent or dragon that has the mouth open and the tongue outside.[51]

The juxtaposition of names in different languages is, in fact, essential to the description of the figure. Even after all the names have been introduced (in Latin it is called *serpens*, in Castilian *serpiente*, in Greek *dragon*, and in Arabic *tannin*), when the passage starts to describe the image formed by the stars, there is yet another doubling of names: "it is the figure of a serpent or dragon that has the mouth open and the tongue outside." In this way, the doubling ("serpent or dragon") continues to be intrinsic to the description, and to the conceptualization, of the figure.

The introductions to each group of stars (those in the northern hemisphere and those in the southern one) present all the figures that will be later discussed. Therefore, they are the best example of linguistic doubling—or, better,

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[50]   Fundamental studies of the influence of Alfonsine style in different genres include the work of Diego Catalán, Herbert A. Van Scoy, Fernando Lázaro Carreter, Olga Tudorica Impey, and Anthony Cárdenas.

[51]   "Queremos agora fablar de la otra figura que viene en pos desta á que dizen en latin serpens. et en castellano serpiente. et en esto se acuerdan los mas de los philósophos. Mas Ptolomeo en ell su libro dell Almaíeste la llamó dragon. Et en arávigo le dizen tannin. et es la figura según serpiente ó dragon que tiene la boca avierta et la lengua sacada." *Libros del saber de astronomía*, 1:21.

multiplication. Take for instance, the introduction to the constellations seen from the northern hemisphere:

> And we begin with the ossa menor, which in Latin is called *ursa minor*, and in Castilian *ossa menor*, and in Arabic *dub-al-azgar* [الدُبّ الاصغَر], which is the first figure among all the others that are in this part. And after this one we will speak of the other figure, which in Latin is called *ursa maior*, and in Castilian *ossa mayor*, and in Arabic *alacbar* [الدُبّ الاكبَر]. And then we will speak of another, which in Latin is called *serpens*, and in Castilian *serpiente*, and in Arabic *tannin* [التِنّين]. And after that, we will tell of another figure, which in Latin is called *inflamatus*, and in Castilian *inflamado*, and in Greek *caypheos* [κεφεύς] and in Arabic *al-mutahib* [المُلتَهب].[52]

Until all the northern constellations are introduced, the names keep multiplying, and the phrases weave a multilingual fabric with them. In the texts of medieval and early modern manuscripts that contain the treatise, this fabric is remarkably cohesive. The modern edition that I have been quoting presents the Latin, Arabic, and Greek names in italics, but the manuscripts do not show any differences in script or hand to highlight these languages. This continuity can be seen in Figure 2.2, a page from a thirteenth-century copy, which scholars believe was produced in one of Alfonso X's *scriptoria*.

The tight multilingual fabric of the text and the multilingual conceptualization of the stars are informed—I argue—by the very textual practice that was used to produce the treatise. The *Libro de la ochava esfera* is a translation, and, after all, the process of translating always involves at least two languages, two writing stages, and two versions (the source and the target). In this particular case, the process entails more than that. It entails multiple languages, multiple writing stages, and multiple versions: not only the different Arabic and Latin versions of the *Almagest* to which the Alfonsine translators must have had access, but also the intermediate versions that were produced in the process of collaborative translation under Alfonso's patronage.

The prologue to the treatise tells us, although this has attracted much less interest than the remarks about the king's role, that the book "was translated from Chaldean and Arabic into Castilian," and, although it is not clear whether the term "Chaldean" indicates the translators' access to a Syriac version of Ptolemy's catalog or simply the acknowledgement of the previous source from which the Arabic version had been made, this mention suggests that translation

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[52] "Et començamos primero de la *ossa menor* á que llaman en latin *ursa minor*. et en castellano *ossa menor*. et en aráuigo *dub-al-azgar*. que es la primera figura de todas las otras que son en esta parte. Et en pos esta diremos de la otra figura que dizen el latin *ursa maior*. et en castellano *ossa mayor*. et en aráuigo *alacbar*. Et desí fablaremos de otra que dizen en latin *serpens*. et en castellano *serpiente*. et en aráuigo *tannin*. Et otrossí diremos dotra figura que llaman en latin *inflamatus*. et en castellano *inflamado*. et en griego *caypheos*. et en aráuigo *al-mutahib*." *Libros del saber de astronomía*, 1:12–13.

is conceptualized as a process that involves more than one version. The prologue also makes explicit that translation can involve many roles and writing instances as well, since it states that the translation was made in 1256 by the royal *alfaquí* Judah ben Moses Cohen and the clerk Guillén Arremón D'Aspa, and that it was revised twenty years later by the same Judah and a team of experts in different knowledges (*saberes*), including King Alfonso himself, who, as we already know, took care of revising the language:

> This is the book of the figures of the fixed stars that are found in the eighth heaven, which was translated from Chaldean and Arabic into Castilian language by mandate of King Alfonso, son of the most noble King Fernando, and of the noble Queen Beatrice, and Lord of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia, Jaén, and the Arabic speaking land. And it was translated on his mandate by Yhuda son of Cohen, his *alphaquin*, and Guillen Arremon Daspa, his clerk. And this was done in the fourth year of the reign of the above mentioned King, which was at the time of the one thousand and two hundred and ninety and fourth year of Caesar's era [1256]. And after that, he straightened it. And the above mentioned King mandated that it be composed. And he cut the reasons that he understood were superfluous, and doubled, and not in straight Castilian. And he put the others, which he understood were fitting. And what pertained to the language, he made it straight by himself, and in the other knowledges, he had as compilers master Joan of Mesina, and master Joan of Cremona, and the above mentioned Yhuda, and Samuel. And this was done in the thirtieth year of his reign, and it was at the time of the one thousand and three hundred and fourteen years of Caesar's era [1276].[53]

This passage, in which the famous line about Alfonso's participation is included, mentions the names of several other participants. What is more, and this point has not received scholarly attention, when the prologue mentions the king's cutting and straightening of phrases, these linguistic corrections are not said to encompass the whole treatise. The passage can be said to limit the king's intervention to phrases in Castilian alone. He straightened what pertained to this language, but he had help in the editing of other matters. Revision of the "other knowledges,"

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[53]   "Este es el libro de las figuras de las estrellas fixas que son en ell ochauo cielo. que mandó trasladar de caldeo et de arábiguo en lenguage castellano el Rey D. Alfonso. Fijo del muy noble Rey Don Fernando. et de la noble Reyna Donna Beatryz. et Sennor de Castiella. de Toledo. De Leon. de Gallicia. de Sevilla. de Córdoba. de Murcia. de Jahen. et del Algarabe: et trasladólo por su mandado Yhuda el Coheneso. su alphaquin et Guillen Arremon Daspa. so clérigo. Et fué fecho en el quarto anno que reynó este Rey sobredicho. Que andava la era de César en mil et doszientos et noventa et quatro annos. Et después lo endreço. et lo mandó componer este Rey sobredicho. et tolló las razones que entendió eran soueíanas. et dobladas. et que non eran en castellano drecho. et puso las otras que entendió que complian. et quanto en el lenguage endreçólo él por sise. et en los otros saberes ouo por ayuntadores. á maestre Joan de Mesina. et á maestre Joan de Cremona. et á Yhuda el sobredicho. et a Samuel: et esto fue hecho en el anno .XXX. del su reynado. et andaua la era de Cesar en .M. et .CCC. et. XIIII [1276]." *Libros del saber de astronomía*, 1:7.

we are told, was under the charge of Joan of Mesina, Joan of Cremona, Judah ben Cohen and Samuel (who has been identified as Samuel ha-Levi Abulafia, a Jewish scholar from Toledo).[54] There is, I argue, an intrinsic connection between the different *knowledges* that these scholars are compiling and the different languages from which they are translating and compiling (Latin, Arabic, and perhaps even Greek), and which function here precisely as *languages of knowledge*.[55] Latin, we can assume, must have been under the charge of the Italian notaries from Mesina and Cremona, and Arabic (a field of expertise of Judeo-Spanish scholars), under the charge of Judah and Samuel. By assuming that Alfonso's straightening of Castilian phrases encompasses the treatise as a whole, modern scholarship has performed a foundational *cutting*. If, instead, we take into account the many other *languages/knowledges* that give shape to the text, we can begin to see Alfonso not as a quasi-author who gives unity to the whole text, but as one among several other experts who collaborate in its production.

Without a doubt, the cutting of *doubled* and *non-straight Castilian* phrases that Alfonso is said to have performed, as well as the aim for linguistic *purity*, *clarity*, or *equilibrium* that scholars have seen behind this cutting, can be easily placed in the context of the political and religious unification process in which Alfonso is taking part, as well as in the movement towards a proto-national identity for his territories, which Márquez Villanueva sees as central to Alfonso's program of translation into Castilian.[56] As the prologue states, several of the Iberian kingdoms and territories were under Alfonso's control, most of them inherited from the conquests performed by his father Fernando III, the Saint. In the fifteenth century, the marriage of the Catholic monarchs, Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragon, their conquest of Granada (the last Muslim kingdom in the peninsula) in 1492, the restrictions imposed on those Jews and Muslims who would not convert into Christianity, and the official expulsion of the Jews from Spanish territories (also in 1492) would mark the culmination of a painful unification process. The mention that the prologue makes of Alfonso's mother, Beatrice of Swabia (daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Phillip of Swabia, and grandniece of Frederick I Barbarossa), places Alfonso in the midst of a bigger, but failed, unifying project: his nomination for the title of Holy Roman Emperor, which was never recognized by the Pope, but which Alfonso continued to claim at least until 1275. Procter points to a direct connection between the translation activity in Alfonso's court and this project, when she suggests that the Italian clerk Joan of Cremona (listed, as we have seen, as one of the compilers of the *Libro de la ochava esfera*) must have entered the monarch's service, together with other Italian clerks, during the

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[54] See, for instance, Foz, *Le Traducteur, l'Église et le roi*, 75.

[55] I would like to thank Margaret Ferguson for helping me see this crucial detail in the prologue, which gives us a new entry into the complex linguistic context in which the treatise was produced, as well as into the foundational *cutting* that modern scholarship has performed.

[56] Márquez Villanueva, *El concepto cultural Alfonsí*, 30.

period of negotiations for his imperial candidature with the Pope and with his German and Italian supporters.[57]

At the same time, the collaborative work of Christian, Jewish, and Mozarab translators and compilers presents problems for such a cohesive understanding of the Alfonsine translation project. As Pym proposes in his discussion of translations in medieval Spain, we should at least leave room for a divergence of interests between translators and their patrons, who also represented bigger institutional interests.[58] At the level of the text and its multilingual fabric, the different languages in which the alternative names for the stars are given intersect with different religious and political identities. They can also mark different interpretive positions, and, thus, suggest a more complex model for thinking about textual production and interpretation than that of the individual author.

Collaborative translation was, as we have seen, a wide-spread practice long before and long after Alfonso X's time. The instances in which the different versions produced during the translation process were placed together, on the same page, especially interest me. I am thinking of the case of the trilingual Qur'an produced in Savoy by John of Segovia and Iça, but also of the cases where versions produced at different times and places are put together, as is the case of the many multilingual Psalters, Gospels, and Bibles produced during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (see Figures 1.1–1.5). I see multi-version texts, which I discuss in further detail in Chapter 3, as a meaningful context in which to read the *Libro de la esfera*, because, using parallel-column or interlinear-version arrangements, they explicitly combine a multiplicity of versions in different languages on the same page. In this way, they also form a visible multilingual fabric. In the Alfonsine treatise, the juxtaposition of versions takes place inside the phrase, and the different languages combined are not marked by different scripts. Nevertheless, the many alternative names we find in these phrases can still guide us into the multiple versions that its phrases are combining.

If we go back to aṣ-Ṣūfī's Arabic version, we will find that he had already used doublings to render some of the Greek names. In his description of the eighth constellation, for instance, he gives several Arabic alternatives for the Greek: "اللورا وتسمى ايضاً السليق والاوز والصنج والمعزفة والساحفاة" [the lūra, named also the ṣalyaqa and the aūza and the ṣanja and the miʿzafa and the ṣulaḥfa].[59] The first name is the Arabized form of the Greek λύρα [lyre], and the rest of the names are Arabic terms for this type of instrument, except for the last one, the ṣulaḥfa, which is also the Arabic word for tortoise. The Alfonsine version incorporates these names and goes even farther than aṣ-Ṣūfī. In addition to giving a Castilian equivalent, and in addition to including the Greek name and the Arabic alternatives, the Alfonsine text gives two Latin alternatives: "This figure … is called in Latin *testudo* sive *vultur cadens*, and in Castilian it is called *galapago* [tortoise], and, in Arabic, it has

57   Procter, "The Scientific Works," 25.

58   Pym, *Negotiating the Frontier*, 21, 31.

59   Schjellerup, *Description des étoiles fixes*, 75.

three names. The first one is *azulafe*, and the other one *zuliaca*, and the third one *alsanja*. And in Greek it is called *allora*."[60] We saw that aṣ-Ṣūfī had listed some of these names already: *azulafe* (ṣulaḥfa), *zuliaca* (ṣalyaqa), *alsanja* (ṣanja), and the Arabized *allora* (lūra). But we have to go to another translation of Ptolemy's catalog to find the double Latin name, "testudo sive vultur cadens" [tortoise or falling vulture]. It is in the Latin version made in twelfth-century Toledo by Gerard of Cremona and Gālib that we read, "Stellatio *allore* et est *vultur cadens* et est *testudo*."[61] Gerard and Gālib were working with several Arabic translations of Ptolemy's catalog available in Toledo, including an early-ninth-century version by al-Ḥajjāj and a late-ninth-century version by Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn. Here, they are following al-Ḥajjāj, who had added the Arabic terms for *tortoise* and *falling vulture* [والسُّلَأَحفاة النسر الواقع] to the names of this constellation.[62]

The Alfonsine treatise is the last piece in a translation process that extends across languages, across time, and across the Mediterranean—from second-century Alexandria, where Ptolemy composed his treatise in Greek, to the ninth and tenth centuries in Baghdad and in Persia, where Arabic versions were made from the Greek, to twelfth-century Toledo, where the Latin versions were made from the Arabic by an Italian and a Mozarab translator—before it was finally re-elaborated under Alfonso's patronage. At this last stage, the composition of the Alfonsine treatise involved yet new, intermediate versions made during the collaborative-translation process. It is this multiplicity of versions and interpretive positions that the treatise formalizes in the multilingual fabric of its text. The linguistic identity of each alternative name (Greek, Arabic, Latin, Castilian) represents the different versions that were consulted or produced, as well as the different readings that were made at different times and places.

The treatise itself draws attention to the complex combination of versions that I have tried to describe, and it makes explicit that juxtaposing versions is a highly valued strategy. The comments that close the description of the eighth figure explain that the doubling of names "is not an error," and that readers should make an effort to understand this doubling. The eighth figure is both a vulture and a tortoise, but it is important to note that "it is not a tortoise-vulture, or a vulture-tortoise," and it is important to understand this complexity, because the double name is part of what gives meaning to this figure:

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[60]   "A esta otra figura que uiene despues del genuflexu dizen en latin testudo siue vultur cadens. et en castellano lo llaman galápago. et en aráuigo a tres nombres. el primero es azulafe. et el otro zuliaca. et el tercero alsanja. et en griego le dizen allora." *Libros del saber de astronomía*, 1:31.

[61]   Claudius Ptolemäus, *Der Sternkatalog des Almagest: Die arabisch-mittelalterliche tradition*, vol. 2, *Die lateinische Übersetzung Gerhards von Cremona*, ed. Paul Kunitzsch (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), 56.

[62]   Ptolemäus, *Der Sternkatalog*, vol. 1, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen*, ed. Paul Kunitzsch (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 316–17.

> Learned men called this tortoise falling vulture … not because it was tortoise
> and falling vulture all in one. And, thus, it cannot be that this figure does not have
> great significance, and great virtue, since learned men named two animals whose
> natures are very different. … He who wants to understand this well must be
> learned and imaginative. And, as in all knowledges [*saberes*], these two things
> are very good for men to learn with certainty, but, above all, they are convenient
> for these three knowledges: geometry, astrology, and astronomy, since geometry
> measures and compasses, and astrology speaks of the movements of the skies
> and the stars, and astronomy of the works that come from the former, either
> through divination or through many other ways.[63]

Thus, the treatise assigns value to the multiplicity of names and it claims that this multiplicity should not be reduced. Multiplication is not seen as an error, but as something that demands learning and imagination from the reader. The figure has two names, *tortoise* and *falling vulture*, "but not because it was tortoise and falling vulture all in one." What is more, as the passage develops, it moves from the multiplication of names to a multiplication of meanings, fields of knowledge, and forms of interpretation. Understanding this multiple significance requires learning and imaginative skills, which are central to the various "knowledges" that intersect in the text and to the many possible ways of interpreting it.

Here, by inviting us to consider the two names in their diverging meanings, instead of taking them as a unified whole ("all in one"), the treatise is revealing an understanding of translation that is radically different from humanist theorizations of translation. Translation, as the Alfonsine treatise conceives of it, involves more than one version. Its goal is not the goal to which humanist theoreticians would aspire (a fusion or synthesis in which we see only the work of a single writing subject). The treatise's invitation for readers to understand the many alternative names for the stars is modeled upon the process of collaborative translation that gave shape to the treatise. The practice of translation, I argue, informs not only the linguistic multiplicity of the text, but also the conceptualization of the knowledge that the treatise offers. It even informs expectations about how its readers should learn about the stars. Readers should pay attention to their multiple names, and, therefore, to the many versions that each phrase is combining. They should allow for the many names that each phrase combines—the more the wiser. The value that the *Libro de la ochava esfera* assigns to translation lies not in the complete identification between the translator and the first author, but in the many names

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63 "Los sábios llamaron á este galápago boeytre cayente … non porque fuesse galápago et boeytre cayente todo en uno. Et por ende non puede seer que en esta figura non haya grande significança. et gran gran vertud. porque los sábios nombraron dos animales de sendas naturas muy departidas … Onde qui esto bien quissiere saber deue seer entendudo et ymaginador. Et cuemo quier que en todos los saberes sean estas dos cosas muy buenas pora saber los omes ciertamientre. sobre todo conuiene mas pora estos tres saberes geometría. astrología. astronomía: ca la geometría es de medir et compasar. et la astrología fabla de los mouimientos de los cielos. et de las estrellas. et la astronomía de las obras que desta salen. ó por íuyzios ó por otras maneras muchas." *Libros del saber de Astronomía*, 1:31–2.

that learned men from different traditions have given to the stars—and thus, in the collaborative nature of the intellectual work.

With this textual model in mind, I now return one last time to the contradiction that the text's multiplicity represents when we compare it to its prologue. For, as I have shown, in spite of the prefatory announcement that King Alfonso cut the phrases that were "doubled, and not in straight Castilian," the text of the translation is filled with doublings (not only in Castilian, but also in many different languages). These doublings are, as we have seen, integral to the text and to the knowledge that the treatise offers. How, then, do we reconcile prologue and text? As I have explained, literary scholars have bypassed this contradiction by focusing on Alfonso's correction of Spanish phrases and ignoring the work of experts in other languages, together with the multilingual text that they produced. After all, how do we place a multilingual text in the history of a national literature? Or in the history of a national language? The history of Spanish takes into account the influence of Latin, and perhaps Greek, and it has even acknowledged the influence of Arabic. However, in the context of the history of a particular language, it does not make much sense to study a phrase that is not completely in that language—a phrase that is partly Castilian, but also partly Latin, and partly Greek, and partly Arabic. The multilingual phrase is not even an object of study in such important works as Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes's study of Arabic influences on Castilian and Georg Bossong's consideration of the influence that translations from Arabic had on Castilian scientific prose. Since the focus of these works is on the history of the Castilian language, they pay attention to how the Castilian phrase borrows lexical, syntactic, and stylistic elements of the Arabic, but they make no point of considering phrases that simultaneously combine Castilian and Arabic words as a meaningful object of study.[64] In sum, the *invisibility* of this Alfonsine translation in literary history has to do with the multilingual nature of the text—and with the monolingual focus of national-literature traditions.

We should not, however, see the contradiction between preface and text exclusively as a product of modern literary studies. Their monolingual focus precludes consideration of multilingual-translation strategies as a coherent object of study, but this does not mean that the unifying impulse was not already present in the text as well. After all, the treatise's own prologue does state the need for *cuttings*. In addition, the fact that the text of the treatise has to emphasize the validity of *doubled* names is, in a way, an indication that this doubling could be considered problematic even then. What is more, the multiple languages, versions, and interpretive positions that give shape to the text of the treatise were already at odds with ideologies of textual unity. They are at odds, for instance,

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[64] Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, *Influencias sintácticas y estilísticas del árabe en la prosa medieval castellana* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1956); Georg Bossong, "Las traducciones alfonsíes y el desarrollo de la prosa científica castellana," *Actas del Coloquio hispano-alemán Ramón Menéndez Pidal: Madrid, 31 de marzo a 2 de abril de 1978* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982), 1–14.

with allegorical modes of interpretation. Without a doubt, there are intersections between considering multiple names, meanings, and areas of knowledge and exploring multiple layers of meaning. However, an allegorical correspondence among different levels of meaning is not fully compatible with the mode of interpretation that the Alfonsine treatise proposes—with what we could call a *translational* mode of interpretation. For the latter does not assume, as allegorical exegesis does, a unifying doctrine, moral teaching, or authorial *intentio* the reader can use to collate the versions. Neither does it assume a hierarchy of layers, literal and figurative. It is true that Augustine had found specific points of contact between translation and allegory in his treatise *On Christian Doctrine*. When he discusses the problem of the abundance of Latin translations of the Scriptures, he acknowledges that "the inspection of various translations frequently makes obscure passages clear." He also concerns himself with different levels of meaning made available by translation, such as when one translator offers the *literal sense* and another, the *figurative* one:

> For example, one translator renders a passage in the prophet Isaiah: "Despise not the family of thy seed"; but another says: "Despise not thy own flesh." Either confirms the other, for one may be explained by means of the other. Thus the "flesh" may be taken literally, so that one may find himself admonished that no one should despise his own body, and "the family of the seed" may be taken figuratively, so that it is understood to mean "Christians" born spiritually from the seed of the Word which produced us. But a collation of the translations makes it probable that the meaning is a literal precept that we should not despise those of our own blood, since when we compare "family of the seed" with "flesh," blood relations come especially to mind.[65]

In Augustine's conceptualization of translation's multiplicity, there are different versions and there are different meanings. Nevertheless, and here is where we can find the fundamental difference with the Alfonsine treatise, these meanings must eventually be collated (they must become a sort of *tortoise-vulture*, all in one), and such collation presupposes the principles of Christian doctrine. On the contrary, in the *Libro de la ochava esfera* there are many *literal* meanings, and they are not organized hierarchically. They continue to coexist in the text.

In this sense, there is no reconciliation between the prologue and the text of the treatise. There is no reconciliation between, on the one hand, a prefatory call for a linguistic pruning that intersects with political, doctrinal, and theoretical ideologies of unification, and on the other, a text that offers multiple versions, linguistic identities, and interpretive positions side by side on the same page. There is no reconciliation between, on the one hand, the theoretical *cutting* that offers the foundation for a unified Castilian language, and, on the other, the practical

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[65]   Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 2.12.17, tr. D. W. Robertson, Jr., in Douglas Robinson (ed.), *Western Translation Theory: From Herodotus to Nietzsche* (Manchester, UK: St. Jerome, 2002), 32–3.

coexistence of many languages that corresponds to a *translational* form of understanding knowledge. The contradiction seems to be intrinsic to the treatise.

Then again, we can always accept the contradiction. After all, if we use the multi-version text of collaborative translations as a model, we can understand the treatise as a place where these different impulses can coexist. This text was produced in the context of processes of territorial, political, and religious unification under the proto-national identity of the Castilian language. However, it was also produced in the context of collaborative intellectual practices informed by different languages of study and conversation. If we read the *Libro de la ochava esfera* exclusively as the product of Alfonso's authorial intention, we are overlooking this contextual complexity and precluding the analysis of possible discontinuities in the historical process. We are closing the doors to a form of literary analysis that can be critical of more violent forms of unification, expulsion, and *conversion*, and that can offer a basis for imagining more inclusive models of texts and textual interpretation. It is in this sense that I see a formal analysis of translation strategies in the *Libro de la ochava* as a productive first step. Reading this text as a collaborative multilingual translation can help us challenge some of the limits in our conceptualizations of texts—starting with theoretical demands for a single, unified interpretive position, marked by a single linguistic identity. These limits are further explored in my next chapter, which discusses multilingual-translation texts in various formats, as well the difficulties that modern editing and cataloguing present for such a discussion.
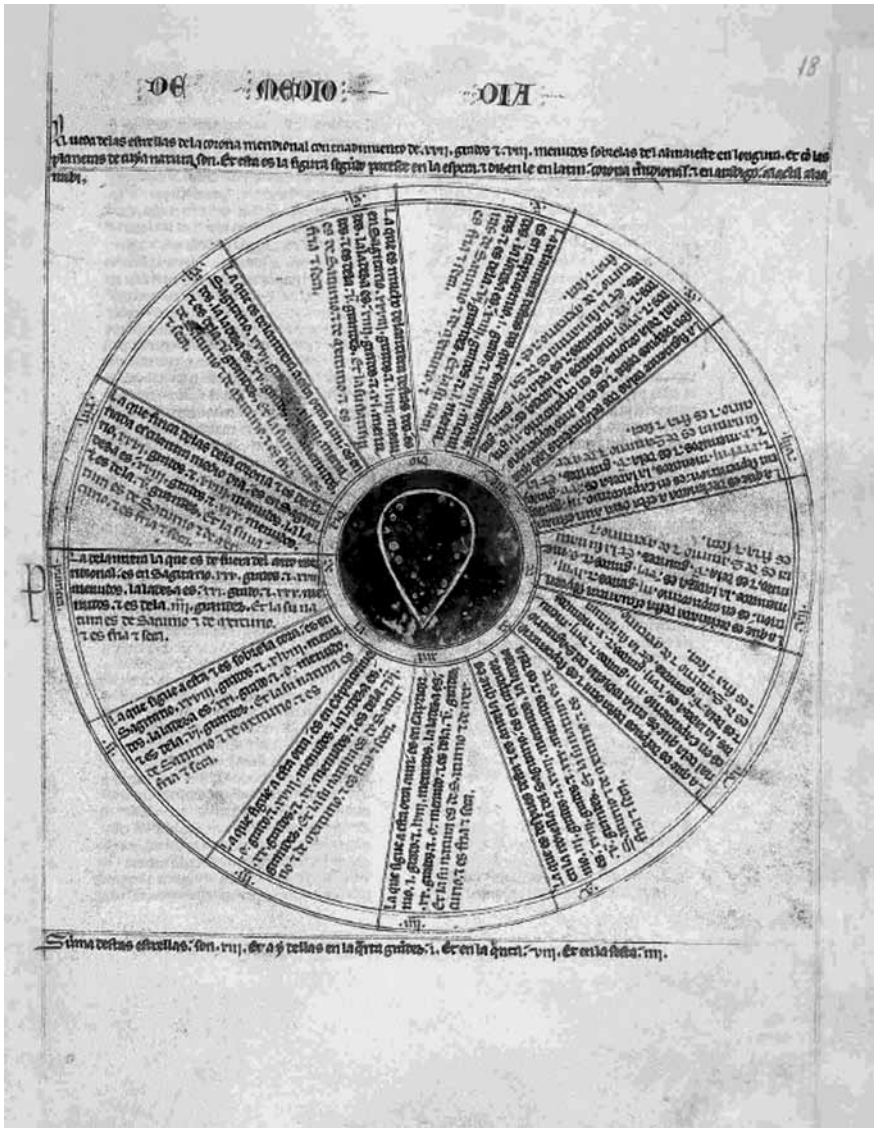
Fig. 2.1   "Rueda de las estrellas de la corona meridional." *Libros del saber de astronomía* (c. 1276)

Fig. 2.2   "De la figura de la corona meridional." *Libros del saber de astronomía* (c. 1276). "Corona meridionalis disen en Latin a esta figura, et en castellano la llaman corona meridional, et en arabigo aliclil elgenubi. …" [This figure is called in Latin corona meridionalis, and in Castilian it is called corona meridional, and in Arabic aliclil elgenubi. …]

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Chapter 3
Unthinkable Texts

translation: The action or process of turning from one language into another; also, the product of this; a version in a different language.
—*Oxford English Dictionary*

Translations are rarely meant to be read side by side with the original text.
—*Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*

In my previous chapter, I questioned the assumption that translation (in the sense of an action or process) has always been understood exclusively as *the work of the translator*—that is, of a single translator working alone. In this chapter, I continue to explore medieval and Renaissance ways of practicing translation in order to challenge a related assumption: the idea that the translation text has always been conceptualized as a single, autonomous version. I have argued that, in the context of early modern Europe's political centralization processes, and in the context of the ideologies of linguistic unification that accompanied these processes, Renaissance translators struggled to accommodate their definitions of translation to a monolingual text-model. In so doing, they met the extreme difficulty of thinking about a practice that involves two or more versions in different languages *as if* it involved only one. The *OED*'s definition of translation quoted above attests to the continued pervasiveness of this difficulty. The product of translation, we are told, is "a version [a single version] in a different language."

From the start, this definition leaves room for only one of the versions involved in the process, but such forceful exclusion leaves its traces: A version in a language different *from what*? The answer is perhaps obvious: different from the original version, or from a source version—or simply from other versions, if we want to challenge the status of textual originality. In any case, insofar as we are able to pose the question, it becomes evident that there is a very small gap in the syntax of the sentence. This is not as insubstantial a gap as it may seem at first sight (for one thing, we already saw it opens up room for debate on the status of the original), and the *OED* might have preferred to leave it open. The definition is not exhaustively explicit, either, regarding *who* is turning *what* from one language into another. Or is the agent turning himself? Here again, the small part of the sentence that is missing should be completed easily, yet, here again, the choice is not as straightforward as it first seems. For instance, when we consider the *what*, are we talking about the content or about the form? Or is it both form and content that need to be turned? Or is it perhaps the function the text had in the culture where it was produced? These are questions that have been debated for centuries and that continue to be central to translation theory. Thus, once more, a very small

gap in the definition leads us to big theoretical questions. Above all, I believe that the question about the other version points to a very complex problem. The silence about this version (be it original, source, or simply another version) is a sign of the persistent theoretical efforts I have traced in the reflections of early modern translators: the effort to avoid conceptualizing translation as a relationship between two (or more) versions and the effort to deny that the translation text can offer many versions, in which different languages, as well as different writing and interpretive positions, can coexist—or, to use the words of the *Routledge Encyclopedia*, the effort to deny that the new version could be "meant to be read side by side with the original text."

And, if a *translation* and *the original* are "rarely meant to be read side by side," it is probably even rarer that these two versions together are considered to constitute a *text*. However, I want to argue that this might have been the case for the many originals and new versions that were carefully arranged *side by side* on the pages of a variety of medieval and Renaissance manuscript codices and printed books. This chapter offers examples of *multilingual translations* (that is, of texts that combine two or more correlated versions, in different languages, on the same page), attempting to show the variety of possible layout arrangements they could have: facing pages, parallel columns, alternate paragraphs, and interlinear versions. The options even included intra-linear combinations, like those of the *Libro de la ochava esfera*, where we saw the recurrent use of multilingual synonyms inside the same phrase. Indeed, in the last section of this chapter, I analyze a representative example of the frequent use that Renaissance translators made of *synonymia*, to argue that, even when the synonyms belonged to the same language, they could be seen as yet another way of combining different versions inside the same text.

The cases I will discuss also show the variety of genres in which these translation techniques were used: the Christian Bible, the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Qur'an; herbals and scientific texts; fictional narratives and lyric songs; administrative documents and news broadsheets; brief anonymous exercises and careful editions of ancient Greek and Roman works, dictionaries, grammars, proverb collections, and pedagogical dialogs made by reputed scholars. Such a list may very well remind some readers of Borges's Chinese encyclopedia, and it is certainly not easy to place these various items in familiar categories of study. They cross the line between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. They sometimes combine both classical and vernacular languages. They include religious and secular texts, popular and scholarly genres, manuscripts as well as printed books, and expensive works on vellum as well as cheap editions. In fact, my main goal in putting these examples together is to give my readers an idea of both the span of this textual practice and the difficulties that we still face when we want to think about it.

As we have seen, in the realms of modern translation theory, editorial formatting, and cataloguing categories, multilingual translations can easily become *invisible*—to use Lawrence Venuti's famous term. What is worse, they can even become *unthinkable*. For, although multilingual translations were written

and printed, and bound in codices and books, and although we are still able to handle many of them in this format, we usually do not consider such an object to be *a text*. After all, and despite the obvious efforts that must have gone into correlating them, it is always possible to separate the different versions that a multilingual translation combines—and, as I will show, there are cases in which they have actually been edited separately. In addition, when we search in the catalogs (both paper and electronic), we learn that they have not been designed with multi-version texts in mind. As I have explained in the introduction, it is not only that we are not given the option to search for texts that combine different languages, but also that multilingual translations have been frequently catalogued under only one of the versions involved.

Here, I must make clear that I do not want to argue that a multilingual translation is—or is not—a text, but that in order to study it, and to even find it in a library or an electronic facsimile, we need to go through the exercise of thinking of it as a text. We have to use the search tools that we normally use for finding texts, and we must try to guess how these multi-version works were made to fit categories designed for classifying single-version texts. Was the work catalogued under its author or its translator? Is the title entered in the language of the first version or in the language of one of the new versions? (I have found that there is not any strict criterion for making this choice, and that, in any case, it is not always easy to determine which version is the first). And, if we cannot make a systematic search in the catalogs, then in the history of what literature or what language could we find mentions of multilingual works, when the works included in the history of a national literature are precisely the works written in its corresponding national language, and not in other languages?

The fact is that, through this exercise, and through a non-systematic search in the archives, I did find a large number of multilingual-translations. Along the way, the exercise led me to question the conceptual models that we use for texts—as well as to see with new eyes those that we implicitly reject. The cases I discuss in this chapter, along with the ones I have already discussed, are intended as material support for my ongoing argument that, like collaborative translation, the production of multilingual translations was an extended textual practice and that against these practices an emerging Renaissance theoretical discourse on translation was defining itself. These examples also work as a background for the claim, which I make in the next chapter, that early modern fictional narrative defined itself against this practice, too.

The Invisibility of the Translation Texts: The Case of the *Carmina Burana* (Thirteenth Century)

The first example of a multilingual translation I would like to discuss is a short Latin-and-German song in which the main composition strategy is the combination of two versions. The song is included in the medieval collection known as the *Carmina Burana* [Poems from Beuern]. The codex, now held in Munich (Codex

Latinus 4660), was discovered in the nineteenth century in a Benedictine monastery in Beuern, Bavaria, and in the early twentieth century it became the base of Carl Orff's beautiful scenic cantata. Bernhard Bischoff believes the collection to have been compiled in a Bavarian speaking area, perhaps Carinthia, in the mid thirteenth century at the latest, by three scribes who worked in collaboration. It is an anthology that contains around 200 pieces of varied themes and forms, the majority of which show clear patterns of rhyme and rhythm. Bischoff distinguished four main thematic sections: moral and satirical poems, love songs, songs of drinkers, gamblers and goliards, and religious plays.[1]

Some of the pieces are written in Latin and some are written in Old High German, and the poem which interests me in particular is written in both. Although I have separated them below, its verses are copied continuously in the manuscript, both languages in the same script and hand. There are, however, three red large capitals that mark different sections of the poem: a first stanza, a refrain, and a second stanza. The first stanza is written in Latin and the second one in Old High German, and the transition between languages takes place in the middle of the refrain. The song revolves around the contrast between the blooming forest and a lament for an absent companion. Each of the three sections rephrases the contrast, and the Latin and German stanzas can be read as translations of each other:

> Floret silua nobilis
> floribus et foliis
> ubi est antiquus
> meus amicus
> hinc equitauit
> eia quis me amabiit.
>
> *Refl.* Floret silua undique
> nah mime gesellen ist mir we.
>
> Gruonet der walt
> allenthalben
> wa ist min geselle
> alsenlange
> der ist geriten hinnen
> owi wer sol mich minnen.[2]
>
> [(*In Latin*) The noble forest is blooming,
> with flowers and leaves.

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[1]   Bernhard Bischoff, introduction to *Carmina Burana: Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Clm 4660 and Clm 4660a* (Brooklyn: Institute of Medieval Music, 1967), 21–7.

[2]   Bernhard Bischoff (ed.), *Carmina Burana: Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Clm 4660 and Clm 4660a*, (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1967), f. 60v–61; in the manuscript, the verses are copied continuously.

Where is my
friend of old?
He has ridden away from here.
Ah! Who will love me?

Refrain. The forest is blooming all around,
(*In German*) and my friend is causing me pain.

The forest is growing green
all around.
Where is my friend
from a long time ago?
He has ridden away from here.
Ah! Who will love me?]

A little flexibility is necessary in order to see the two stanzas as a translation, but the differences we can find are small. There is a slight variation in the first couplet: "the forest is blooming / with flowers and leaves" vs. "the forest is growing green / all around." In addition, the lines in the German stanza that read, "wa ist min geselle alsenlange" need some work to be equated to the Latin "ubi est antiquus meus amicus" [where is my friend of old]. The use of the word 'wâ' in the sense of 'wo' (which would be equivalent to 'ubi'/'where') is attested by Middle High German lexicons, but the term 'alsenlange' can cause some problems. Olive Sayce chooses to translate the lines as "Where has my companion been *so long*?"[3] Nevertheless, if we take into account the possibility that the copyist wrote "alsenlange" for "altenlange," it becomes easier to argue for a reading equivalent to "antiquus": something in the line of "Where is my friend *from a long time ago*."[4] A more marked difference between the two versions lies in the rhyme pattern (in the German version, only the last couplet rhymes, while the rest of the stanza uses assonant rhyme in each second verse).

There are, in addition, two verses which cannot be equated. These are the two verses of the bilingual refrain, which, in fact, complete each other rather than being two equivalent versions. Nevertheless, this bilingual transition actually works to lock the two versions together, since the rhyme still connects the verses, even when one of them is in Latin and the other one in German ("undique" can be said to rhyme with "ist mir we"). In this way, the refrain gives artistic form to a key component of translations, and of multilingual translations in particular, since, by creating a strong formal link between the two versions, it makes explicit that both of them are intrinsic, and inseparable, parts of the text. Thus, it vividly reminds us of the basic fact that there is always an intrinsic relation between the versions of a translation.

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[3] Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric 1150–300: The Development of its Themes and Forms in their European Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 239.

[4] I thank Professor Lila Bujaldón, at the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Argentina, for this suggestion.

From this point of view, the song is a remarkable achievement. Indeed, the fact that Carl Orff included this piece in his cantata speaks of its artistic value as a lyric poem. Nevertheless, this piece has tended to be excluded from studies and anthologies of medieval lyric. Even though the bilingual translation-poem is available in modern editions of the codex, in the field of Latin poetry, neither translations nor discussions of it are found in such important works as Frederic J. E. Raby's *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, or in Peter Dronke's *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric*.[5] From the start, the exclusive focus on *Latin* lyric—explicit in both Raby's and Dronke's titles—already precludes the inclusion of a poem in which, as we have seen, the Latin version is difficult to separate from the German one. Patrick G. Walsh's introduction to his anthology of *Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana* is also a good example of this preclusive assumption, and of how a monolingual-text model continues to shape the field. Although Walsh's title does not announce it, his introduction clearly explains that his first rule for selecting pieces is that they be written in Latin. In the cases of pieces that combine German and Latin, Walsh tells us that "the Latin stanzas can be legitimately detached from the German supplements and evaluated as autonomous creations."[6] Of course, this precludes any consideration of the translation-poem in which the two versions are so closely linked. Not surprisingly, "Floret silva" is not included in Walsh's selection. What is more, a little earlier in the introduction, Walsh has told his readers that the pieces he has left out "have little literary merit" and that his selection "is certainly representative of the more talented content of the anthology."[7] Thus, his model for understanding and judging medieval lyrics does not leave room for considering multilingual translation as a legitimate composition strategy, or multi-version texts as a meaningful lyric form.

Now, if we move from medieval Latin lyric to the history of German literature, we do not find much room for the Latin-and-German poem from the *Carmina Burana*, either. When Dronke published *The Medieval Lyric*, he cited the German stanza of the poem as an example of German *winileodas* (songs for a friend, or women's love songs), but only to signal the problem that we cannot tell whether these German lines are the original or the translation of the Latin verses that accompany them in the manuscript, or whether both of them where composed

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[5]   F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934); Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). Modern editions available include those by J. A. Schmeller (1847; reprinted in 1966), by Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann, and Bernhard Bischoff (1941), and by B. K. Vollmann (1987).

[6]   Patrick G. Walsh, *Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), xiv.

[7]   Walsh, *Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana*, ix.

together as a single piece.[8] Sayce does discuss "Floret silva" in her study of medieval German lyric, but she focuses exclusively on the German version, too. While Walsh considered German stanzas in the collection to be *supplementary* to the Latin, Sayce judges the Latin stanza of this particular poem a "clumsy and wordy paraphrase." She sees the German stanza as the *original*. Both the theme and form of this song are documented in the German lyric tradition, explains Sayce, but not in other medieval Latin poems. Even then, she stills considers the poem problematic, and she concludes that, in general, the German stanzas in the collection do not fully belong in the history of German lyrics: "The anonymous German strophes of the *Carmina Burana* do not belong to the mainstream of the German tradition, either because they represent simpler forms deliberately avoided by the Minnesang, or because they are more akin to the medieval Latin lyric."[9]

In the end, although we can find "Floret silva" in modern editions of the codex and although we can listen to it in Carl Orffs's musical arrangement, it cannot quite fit the history of either Latin or German literature. This double-version poem formalizes a way of practicing translation that has remained outside Western literary theory and history. For this reason, the poem is particularly important to my argument. While, on one hand, the fact that this text combines two languages puts it on the margins of literary studies, on the other hand, it is precisely the strong link between its versions that has helped preserve "Floret silva" as a multi-version text. The link has made it difficult for editors and scholars to separate the parts in order to place each of them in its *proper* linguistic tradition. This resistance is significant in that it sheds light on the specificity of multilingual translation as a textual practice. The strong link between versions, emphasized by the metrical structure of the poem, forces us to look at the two versions side by side, and to consider this poem a multi-version text.

Other multi-version pieces in the *Carmina Burana* have been less fortunate, especially when one of the versions has been considered instrumental.[10] This is the case of the forty-line list of bird names ("Nomina avium") and the twenty-three-line list of beast names ("De nominibus ferarum") in the lower part of folio 56. In the manuscript, the medieval-Latin version has a superscript German equivalent for each name. On top of the Latin word "accipiter" [falcon], we find the German "habich," on top of "nisus" [sparrow-hawk], we find "sparwer," for "capus" [another type of falcon], "valch," for "ciconia" [stork], "torich," and for

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[8]   Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, 3rd ed. (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 1996), 94–5. First published in 1968.

[9]   Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric*, 237–9, 264.

[10]   As R. I. Page remarks, it is common scholarly practice to set apart glosses written in a language different from that of the main text, in order to edit and study them independently. R. I. Page, "The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo–Saxon England [2]: The Evidence of English Glosses," *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Nicholas Brooks (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), 142–3.

"picus" [woodpecker], "speht." In the next line, on top of "pica" [magpie], we read "aglister," and the translation continues to work in this way:

> *habich   sparwer valch   torich speht*
> Accipiter. nisus. capus. atque ciconia. picus.
>
> *aglister grunspeht musar   wehi*
> Pica. merops. larus. atque loaficus. ibis.
>
> *ræiger   turtiltub   uf   tah   gir*
> Ardea. vel turtur. seu bubo. monedula. vultur.
>
>   *aren   chunigil   wiltvalch*
> Hiis assint aquile. pitisculus, herodiusque.
>
>   *tube   hagetuben*
> Natura pariles hic state columba, palumbes.[11]

Johannes Andreas Schmeller's mid-nineteenth-century edition (the first modern edition of the codex) maintained the interlinear arrangement of this piece. However, a century later, Otto Schumann offered only the Latin version in the main body, while he relegated the German names to the footnotes, dispersing them in his own critical apparatus. Benedikt Konrad Vollmann's late-twentieth-century edition offered the Latin version alone. Unlike "Floret silva," the multilingual lists lack an artistic form that locks the versions together, and, in the context of modern editorial processes, they ended up losing one of the versions. Here, we can see how the monolingual-text model can not only preclude consideration of multilingual translations as valid objects of study but also lead to the material erasure of one of the versions.

In a way, multilingual translations also tend to be erased from the paper pages and electronic search engines of library catalogs. It is not common for catalogs to include the category *multilingual* or *polyglot* among their available search terms, or to allow cross-searches by two or more languages at a time. Even when they offer the option to search by more than one language, this does not mean we can make an exhaustive search for multi-version texts. For instance, halfway through my research, the Melvyl catalog of the University of California libraries incorporated the category *multiple languages* among its *language* search terms, but the use of this new option did not help me retrieve new multilingual translations, because these texts had not been catalogued by more than one language in the first place (this tool worked for entries that had been added to the system more recently). Copies of the *Carmina Burana*, for instance, were not among the results of a search for *multiple language* texts in Melvyl. Neither were five of the six Greek-and-Latin Aesops printed during the sixteenth century, which I already knew were held by libraries in the University of California system; nor was the famous 1578

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[11]   Bischoff, *Carmina Burana*, f. 56.

Greek-and-Latin edition of Plato's works printed by Henri Estienne II; nor Wolfe's 1588 trilingual edition of Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano*, which includes the Italian, the French version of Gabriel Chappuys, and the English version of Thomas Hoby (and this edition is catalogued only under the English language in the current version of Melvyl, via WorldCat). A similar case can be made for catalogs that do allow for searches combining two languages. In general, if they allow users to add another language term to the search, the results of such a search are not texts that include the two languages but various monolingual texts written in either one or the other of the two languages entered.

Luckily, information about the multilingual format of a text can sometimes be found in the *title field*, because this information was included in the long titles of early printed books (they tended to mention, for example, that the work included a Latin version [*cum Latina interpretatione*]). Other times, information has been added in the *uniform title* field, where, after the title, we can find an indication of the languages involved, for instance, "English & French." But this is not always the case. To give only one example, during my search through the catalogs of the Bancroft Library, I found out that the entry for the Greco-Latin edition of Plato's works printed by Estienne (Geneva, 1578) was catalogued as "*Works*. Latin & Greek" in the *uniform title* field, but Laemarius's Greco-Latin edition (Lyon, 1590), which includes the Greek version and Marsilio Ficino's Latin version in parallel columns, was not. Information, however, is given in the notes, where we read, "text in Greek and Latin in parallel columns." And, in fact, it is in the careful descriptive notes that librarians have added to some entries where information about a work's multilingual format is most likely to appear. It is in these spaces that some information about multilingual translations has made its way through the matrixes and processes of modern cataloguing. Nevertheless, there is not a regular criterion for such descriptions, either. The notes may mention, for instance, that a Bible or a Psalter is "polyglot," or that a lexicon is "Graeco-Latinum," or that this is a "dual-language edition," or that the work includes a "translation." They may also describe the particular arrangement of the versions ("in parallel columns," "with interlinear Latin"). And the mention of "glosses" in a different language from the main text can refer to a translation as well. Thus, it is not easy to devise an exhaustive search in this field either, because it is not easy to predict the terms that will be used for the descriptions. The variety of ways in which multilingual translations are described—that is, the lack of consensus or guidelines for their description—reflect their problematic theoretical status. In the end, the best way to find copies of multilingual editions is to bypass cataloguing categories and conventions. Asking librarians, curators, and fellow researchers if they remember any specific manuscripts or books containing multilingual translations can be a much better source of information.

Now, I want to note that more recent projects do include such categories as *multilingual* or *polyglot* among their search terms, having used these categories consistently during the cataloguing process. For example, the University of Toronto's database *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (LEME) includes the

category "multilingual" in its classification of works *by genre*, and it includes a significant number of entries that have been catalogued as such.[12] The *Spanish-English Translations Database, 1500–1640*, at King's College London, offers the option "polyglot" among the search terms in the *language* field (and a search by this term effectively retrieves a multilingual collection of proverbs; a prayer book in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Latin; and two editions of a multi-version sentimental romance).[13] Above all, the fact that this is a database of early modern "translations" and that some of its items are catalogued as "polyglot" not only makes it possible to find these texts, but also it allows for something more basic: it leaves room for the very notion of a *polyglot translation* (something that, as the *Routledge Encyclopedia* reminds us, is not always easy to do). These two projects are, after all, focused on types of texts that were frequently produced in multilingual format (as the introduction to LEME explains, monolingual lexicons were later in coming than their multilingual peers). Indeed, drawing attention to the effect that poststructuralist notions of textuality have had in the field of textual scholarship, Leah Marcus has highlighted the growing interest that scholars in this field show for the study of "plurality over monovocality."[14] I believe the newer databases are beginning to reflect these interests, too.

In the meantime, researchers must devise alternative search strategies. I found out, for instance, that if I came across a particular work in multilingual-translation format, it was likely that there would be more multilingual editions of this work, both in the same and in different language combinations. This pattern is ultimately reflected in the way in which I will describe examples in the rest of this chapter. Starting from a sixteenth-century multilingual herbal, we can learn that it had medieval multilingual predecessors, as well as several companions and successors that added other languages to the mix—and, ultimately, we will discover that the combination of multiple versions of each plant's name was central to the way in which herbals produced knowledge about plants in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. We will also see that polyglot Bibles and multilingual lexicons kept building upon previous versions and incorporating columns with new languages. This happens in other genres as well, and even at the level of particular works (as is the case of the sentimental romance of *Aurelio and Isabel*, of which we can find not only two-language but also four-language editions). Even as theoreticians of translation were rejecting this practice, there must have been particular aspects

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[12]   *LEME: Lexicons of Early Modern English*, University of Toronto, <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/>.

[13]   Early Modern Spanish-English Translations Database 1500–1640, Anglo-Spanish Literary Relations Project, Early Modern Spain, King's College, London, <http://www.ems.kcl.ac.uk/apps/search/index.html>. I thank Barbara Fuchs for directing me to this resource.

[14]   Leah S. Marcus, "Textual Scholarship," *Introduction to Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures*, ed. David G. Nicholls, 3rd ed. (New York: Modern Language Association, 2007), 148.

of book printing and marketing that contributed to the reissue of multilingual editions as such. And while, today, multilingual translations are excluded from the realm of translation theory, from modern editions, and from cataloguing matrixes, they seem to have been recognized as legitimate *texts* not only in the context of medieval lyric composition, but also, and more visibly, in the context of early modern transcultural printing and publishing practices.

Multi-Version Texts and Uncertain Subjects

Indeed, multilingual translation appears to have been central to the composition and organization of many medieval and early modern texts produced in different fields of letters and sciences. We saw in Chapter 2 that the combination of different versions of names, in different languages, inside the same phrase was intrinsic to the type of knowledge that the thirteenth-century *Libro de la ochava esfera* offered. The multiplicity of versions consulted and produced during the translation process was so central to the conceptualization of this work that the various names for each constellation (in Castilian, Latin, Arabic, and Greek) were presented as the most important knowledge that the treatise offered. As we move forward in time, we find evidence that the use of what we could call *multilingual synonyms* continued to be central to other scientific discourses as well.

In 1578, for instance, Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius published his *Synonymia geographica*, where information about various peoples, regions, cities, mountains, forests, water expanses, rivers, and other physical features was presented as an alphabetical list of Latin names and their various equivalents in different languages. Some names simply redirect the reader to other entries ("ABANTES, *vide* AMANTINI. / ABANTIAS, *vide* EUBOEA, *et* NAPITIA. / ABARES, *et* ABARI, *vide* SCYTHAE"), but others offer the synonyms inside the same entry, mentioning, for instance, the Latin and Greek names ("BABYCE, βαβύκα, *et* CNACIO, κνακίων, *locus in Laconica* [a place in Laconica]) and even the *auctores* who had used each name ("ABELLINUM, *Plinio*, ABELLA, ἀβέλλα, *Ptolemaeo*"). And other entries give various equivalent names in different languages, including, as in the following example, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Armenian, Chaldaic, Hebrew, and the name used in Ortelius's times:

> BABYLON. βαβυλὼν, *Aegypti vetustissima et maxima urbs. Vocatur Arabicè Mazar aut* Mizir, *Armenicè* Massar, *Chaldaicè* Alchabyr, *Hebraicè* MESRAIM· … *Ab omnibus Europaeis hodie* Cairo, *et* Alcairo *appellatur.* Misraim *eam quoque Beniamin nominat, Iosephus lib. Antiquitatum 2. cap. 13. scribit hanc Babylonem antea* LITHUS *dictam*.[15]

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[15] Abraham Ortelius, *Synonymia geographica* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1578), G2. A later edition, also printed by Plantin, came out under the name *Thesaurus geographicus*.

[BABYLON. βαβυλὼν, *Egypt's oldest and greatest city. It is called in Arabic* Mazar *or* Mizir, *in Armenian* Massar, *in Chaldaic* Alchabyr, *in Hebrew* MESRAIM· … *By all Europeans today it is known as* Cairo, *and* Alcairo. *And Benjamin also called it* Misraim. *Josephus, in the* Antiquities *book 2, ch. 13, wrote that Babylon was formerly named* LITHUS.]

The work also includes, at the end, another synonymic list, which gives the vernacular names of places (or as Ortelius calls them, "barbarian and recent names for places" [*barbara et recentia locorum nomina*]), together with their Latin and ancient equivalents. To cite only a few examples, the list includes such places as "Alcala de Henares, COMPLUTUM"; "Avignon, VOLCAE, et AVENIO"; "Bologna, FELSINA"; "Cairo, BABYLONIA, et MEMPHIS"; "Cambridge, CAMBORICUM"; "Copenhagen, HAFNIA"; "Engelandt, ANGLIA"; and "Islandt, THULE."

As I have already suggested, knowledge of alternative names in different languages was also particularly important to the study of plants. For example, the title page of an anonymous *Great herball newly corrected* (London, 1539), believed to be based on a French version of a medieval Latin work, advertises first among its contents "a table after the latyn names of all herbes" and "a table after the Englysshe names of all herbes." The importance of multilingual naming is made even more explicit in the titles of the works by English physician William Turner: his Latin *Libellus de re herbaria novus in quo herbarum aliquot nomina greca, latina, & Anglica habes, una cum nominibus officinarum* (London, 1538), as well as his English versions, *The names of herbes in Greke, Latin, Englishe, Duch [and] Frenche with the commune names that herbaries and apotecaries use* (London, 1548) and *A new Herball wherein are conteyned the names of Herbes in Greke, Latin, Englysh, Duch, Frenche, and in the Potecaries and Herbaries Latin* (London, 1551).[16] The advertisement of names in the titles reflects an important characteristic of early modern herbals in general, since, in addition to offering information about plants (their virtues and effects, appearance, location, and, sometimes, the planets with which they are associated), and many times even before this information is offered, these catalogs list the different names of each plant in different languages. Thus, linguistic multiplicity is at the base of the various *knowledges* that herbals offer.

Some herbals would concentrate on the equivalences between two languages only. An anonymous work, printed c. 1537 but believed to be of medieval origin, gives the Latin and English names of plants: "This herbe [is] Agnus castus, that

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16   The 1551 *New Herball* was the first part of the work. A second part, which extended its scope to Italian, was published in 1562: *The seconde part of William Turners herball wherein are conteyned the names of herbes in Greke, Latin, Duche, Frenche, and in the apothecaries Latin, and somtyme in Italiane*. A third part came out in 1568. The work has been recently reprinted and edited by George T. L. Chapman, Frank McCombie, and Anne Wesencraft, in William Turner, *A New Herball*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

men do call Turesayne, and otherwyse Darke le[a]ves"; "This herbe Apium is a herbe that men do call Smalage or stanmarche."[17] In John Archer's seventeenth-century *Compendious Herbal*, we find pairs of equivalent names: "Agrimony, or *Agrimonia* in Latine"; "Adders tongue, or *Ophiglossum*"; "Al-heal, or *Panay*"; "Amara dulcis, or *Morral*."[18] Other works, however, widened the scope. Among the first entries of Turner's *Libellus*, we find, "Abrotonum Latini g[r]eci ut infinitas alias voces debent, hanc herba galli auronum germani *Stubwurtz* angli *Sothernewod* nominant" (with the German and English names in gothic characters). In Turner's *Names of Herbes*, this entry reads, "Abrotonum is called in greke, Abrotonon, in englishe Sothernwod, in duche Affrush, in frenche Auronne."[19] Rembert Dodoens's *Niewe Herball, or Historie of Plantes* (the English version of the French version of Dodoens's 1554 *Cruydenboeck*) shows a more complex linguistic combination and typographical arrangement. In its entries, the section on "names" uses gothic types for the English and German, roman type for the Latin, and italics for French, Spanish, and Italian (see Figure 3.1). And a few years earlier, the Tübingen scholar Leonhart Fuchs, building solidly upon the base of linguistic multiplicity, had organized his botanical treatise as a philological reflection on the multiple names of each plant:

> Ἀρτεμισια by the Greeks, *Artemisia* by the Romans, by the Germans *Beyfůss*, *Bucken*, *S. Johans Gürtel*, *Sonnenwend Gürtel* or *grosser Reinfarn*. The apothecaries keep the ancient name. They believed the plant was named for Artemisia, wife of King Mausolus. … There are some who think it was named for Artemis because it especially alleviates female ills, over which Ἄρτεμις, that is Diana, presides. The German name, *S. Johans Gürtel*, that is to say Saint John's girdle, was applied to this plant by some superstitious monks, or old wives. For they were the ones who fashioned not only wreaths but also girdles from this plant.[20]

In general, be it in the form of a simple name catalog or of a more elaborate linguistic discussion, herbals tend to introduce and to arrange information about plants in relation to the multiple versions of their names. As in the case of the *Libro de la ochava esfera*'s "tortoise or falling vulture," the many names of the plants are all valid alternatives and they are not subsumed in a hierarchy ("all in one").

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[17] *A boke of the propertyes of herbes the whiche is called an herbal* (London, c. 1537), Ai v–Aii v.

[18] John Archer, *A Compendious Herbal* (London, 1673), 6–9.

[19] William Turner, *Libellus de re herbaria novus* (London, 1538), Aii; William Turner, *The Names of Herbes* (London, 1548), [5].

[20] Leonhart Fuchs, *The Great Herbal of Leonhart Fuchs: De historia stirpium commentarii insignes, 1542 (Notable Commentaries on the History of Plants)*, ed. Frederick G. Meyer, Emily W. Emmart Trueblood, and John Lewis Heller (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1:605–6.

As in the case of Alfonsine treatise, too, this structure can be said to reflect the way in which the knowledge was produced. Scholars have noticed that herbals build upon information found in previous works, both ancient and medieval. In her foundational work on the history of herbals, Agnes Arber explains that *The grete herball* (one of the early English herbals, printed by Peter Treveris in 1526) was based on the French *Le grand Herbier* and that some of its drawings were copies of the ones used in an early German work, the *Herbarius zu Teutsch*. She also notes that many of the woodcuts in Fuchs's herbal were reused in later works (Dodoens's and Turner's among them).[21] It is therefore possible to see the lists of names in these works as combinations of the knowledge offered in different versions, all of which are valid possibilities. Thus, multilingual translation can be said to be intrinsic to the way in which early botany was understood and developed.

By now, it should come as no surprise that such multilingual organization of knowledge has not found a comfortable place in the modern history of botany. The twentieth-century editors of Turner's *New herball* lament its lack of a taxonomic structure. For them, Turner's organization "had an inescapable *fragmenting effect* which he ought to have done something to remedy before finalising his text."[22] Before them, Arber had plainly stated that Fuchs "arranged his herbal alphabetically, making no attempt at a natural grouping of the plants, and his herbal is thus without importance in the history of plant classification."[23] I want to argue, however, that, in the history of translation, the organization of medieval and Renaissance herbals is significant. Until the eighteenth century, when Linnaeus establishes a uniform hierarchical system for classifying and naming plants, something like a *translational* form of organizing knowledge—based on the alternative names plants had in different languages—was central to the way in which people learned and shared knowledge about plants.[24]

What is more, if we believe the title page of Hieronymus Megiser *Thesaurus polyglottus; vel, Dictionarium Multilingue* (Frankfurt am Main, 1603), knowledge of multiple names in different languages was central to a variety of fields: "not only to philologists but also to students of letters, … to teachers, and, above all to historians, geographers, physicians, chemists, as well as to clerks and legates, and to those who travel: merchants and spice traders, as much as soldiers and their

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[21]   Agnes R. Arber, *Herbals, their Origins and Evolution: a chapter in the history of botany, 1470–1670*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 45, 70.

[22]   Turner, *A New Herball*, 2:8–9; emphasis added.

[23]   Arber, *Herbals*, 70.

[24]   At the beginning of the eighteenth century, we can still find a work such as William Salmon's *Botanologia*, which is said to be a history of plants containing, among other things, "I. Their names, Greek, Latin, and English" and "II. Their species, or various kinds." This work combines the multi–version system of organization with the notion of a hierarchical taxonomy. William Salmon, *Botanologia. The English Herbal: Or History of Plants*, vol. 1 (London, 1710), title page.

officers."[25] Megiser's work offers a variety of languages as well: it is arranged alphabetically according to the Latin term, which is followed by equivalent terms in Arabic, Armenian, Basque, Church Slavonic, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hungarian, Persian, Polish, Slovene, Sorbian, Spanish, Tartaric, Turkish, and Welsh.[26] In general, medieval and early modern dictionaries and lexicons tend to be organized as lists of equivalent words and definitions in different languages. Sometimes they are grouped in thematic clusters (including religion and liturgy, time measurement, the body and its parts, the court, the family, food and beverages, the school, names of animals, shelters for travelers, the names of spices, and the names of infidel peoples), but they can also follow an exclusively alphabetical order. Like herbals, dictionaries kept building upon previous editions. For instance, the small bilingual, Flemish-and-French, *Vocabulaire de nouveau ordonné et derechief recorrigé* (c. 1530), attributed to Noël van Berlemont (or Berlaimont), not only seems to be based on a previous work, as its title indicates, but also it continued to grow. Latin and Spanish versions were added in its 1550 edition. Berlemont had died around 1531, but new Languages continued to be added: *Colloquia et dictionariolum sex linguarum* (1576), *Colloquia et dictionariolum septem linguarum* (1585), *Colloquia et dictionariolum octo linguarum* (1598), and these continued to be reprinted at various European cities through the seventeenth century, too.[27] Figure 3.2 shows a page of a 1598 seven-language edition printed in Belgium.

Not much is known about the actual use of these works that can help us determine if multilingual dictionaries and dialogs were, in effect, read by men working in the variety of disciplines and professions that Megiser's *Thesaurus* envisions. Nevertheless, they interest me because these works are one of the few groups of multilingual translations that have received scholarly attention as such. The field is a vast one. Bischoff's survey of medieval multilingual lexica and conversational aids includes lists of names for months, numerals, and alphabets, as well as small vocabularies, glossaries, and collections of common conversational phrases to help travelers ask for food, drink, and shelter. These works could have various combinations of languages, including classical, vernacular, and even invented ones (such as the alphabet of Prester John's kingdom). To mention a few specific examples, in a ninth-century Old High German-and-Latin work for travelers, we can find such entries as "Guane cumet ger, brothro, *idest: unde venis, frater* [where

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[25] "[N]on Philologis tantum humaniorisque, literaturae studiosis ... Professoribus, imprimis vero Historicis, Geographis, Medicis, Chymicis, Principum quoque Scribis & Legatis, aliisque peregrinantibus: Mercatoribus item & Aromatopolis: ipsisque adeo Militibus, Militumque Praefectis, ut pernecessarium, ita maximo usuis futurum." In Terence Cave, *Pré-histoires II: Languages étrangères et troubles économiques au XVIe siècle* (Gènève: Droz, 2001), 87.

[26] William Jervis Jones, *German Lexicography in the European Context: A Descriptive Bibliography of Printed Dictionaries and Word Lists Containing German Language (1600–1700)* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 498–9.

[27] Cave, *Pré-histoires II*, 49–50; Jones, *German Lexicography*, 2–19.

do you come from, brother?]," or "Erro e guille trenchen, *idest: ego volo bibere* [I would like to drink]." A tenth-century vocabulary in Italian and vulgar Greek offers, among others, the following equivalents in parallel columns: "De capo [and] *cefali* / gamba [and] *poida* / ventre [and] *cilia*." Another tenth-century manuscript, perhaps destined to those traveling to Jerusalem, shows a short list of Hebrew words and Latin equivalents, including "Adonai [and] *dominus* / Agmon [and] *episcopous*," as well as words for king, count, and queen, but also simple requests for beverage and food. An eleventh-century manuscript offers Latin and vulgar Greek phrases such as "Da mihi panem [and] DOS ME PSOMI [Give me bread]." A short Latin-Basque vocabulary appended to a twelfth-century guide for pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela in Spain has words for bread, wine, meat, fish, wheat, and water, and Bischoff notes that keys for Greek and Arabic were also frequently used by pilgrims to the Holy Land. Towards the end of the survey he mentions a fifteenth-century manuscript that gives equivalent conversational phrases in four languages (Latin, Italian, Slavonic, and German), arranged in parallel columns.[28]

Terence Cave, who sees the "proliferation" of multilingual dictionaries as a context to better understand François Rabelais's work, gives an overview of the development of this genre during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition to the family of small dialogs and dictionaries attributed to Noël van Berlemont, Cave cites many other examples, including another family of vocabularies in which the number of languages kept growing: an *Introductio quaedam utilissima sive Vocabularius quattuor linguarum latine italicae gallicae et alamanicae* (Rome, 1510); a *Quinque linguarum utilissimus vocabulista* (Nüremberg, 1531), which adds Bohemian to the other four languages; another *Quinque linguarum utilissimus vocabulista* (Venice, 1537), which includes Spanish instead of Bohemian; a *Sex linguarum* (Venice, 1541); and a *Septem linguarum, latinae, teutonicae, gallicae, hispanicae, italicae, anglicae, almanicae, dilucidissimus dictionarius* (Antwerp, 1540).[29] I would like to emphasize that the number of languages included in this type of works could be even larger, as we can see in Konrad Gesner's late-sixteenth-century edition of Ambrogio Calepino's dictionary, which combines eleven (see Figure 3.3). A seventeenth-century example can be found in the work of Czech scholar Johann Amos Comenius, whose *Janua linguarum reserata* was translated into at least sixteen languages and saw numerous editions in multilingual format. A *Porta linguarum trilinguis reserata et aperta* (In Latin, English, and French) was published in London already in 1631.[30]

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[28]   Bernhard Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 36. 2 (1961): 209–24.

[29]   Cave, *Pré-histoires II*, 44–8.

[30]   There is a very large number of extant copies of early modern multilingual dictionaries, lexicons, vocabularies, glossaries, and thesauri, which databases and digital collections are making increasingly accessible. For an extensive list of representative examples see Belén Bistué, "Traducciones multilingües en Europa medieval y renacentista (siglos IX–XVII) —Bibliografía / Multilingual Translations in Early Modern Europe (from

Together with works identified as dictionaries, vocabularies, lexicons, and thesauri, Cave considers the numerous multilingual versions of pedagogical dialogs, grammars, and collections of proverbs that were also published, re-published, and augmented all across Europe.[31] Well known among these works are perhaps John Florio's 1578 *First Fruites: which yeelde familiar speech, merie proverbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings*, as well as his *Seconde Fruites* (1591). Cave places the earliest Renaissance polyglot *lexica*, *colloquia*, and *adagia* in the line of work of such humanist scholars as Erasmus and Vives.[32] We could add, as an early example in this line, the Greco-Latin editions of Manuel Chrysoloras's *Erotemata* (Vicenza, 1475) and of Constantinus Lascaris's *Erotemata* (in a bilingual edition of Aldus Manutius, with the Latin translation of Johannes Crastonus, 1494).[33] Late examples can be found in the prolific pedagogical production of the Spanish educator and scholar Pedro Simón Abril, who, in the second half of the sixteenth century, published in multilingual format a variety of educational aids, including translations of Aesop's fables and Cicero's letters, as well as grammars and proverb collections (Figure 3.4 shows a page from Abril's trilingual *adagia*, "Sentencias de un renglón por orden de alfabeto colegidas de diversos poetas," included in his 1587 Greek grammar, which itself was published in Greek-Spanish edition).[34] Closing the early modern period, and at the northern end of Europe, the work of the grammar teacher Charles Hoole (1610–1667) also shows a serious commitment to bilingual and multilingual pedagogical materials. He produced Latin-and-English editions of Maturinus Corderius's school colloquies, of proverbs and sayings (including Cato's and Seneca's *dicta*), of letters by Cicero, Pliny, and Johannes Ravisius Textor, of Terence's comedies, and of Aesop's fables.[35]

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the ninth to the seventeenth century)—a Bibliography." Centro de Literatura Comparada (CLC), Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, <http://ffyl.uncu.edu.ar/spip.php?rubrique1325>.

[31] Cave cites examples of dialogs that combine French and Flemish, of those that add Spanish to the mix, and of those that include English, such as Holyband's bilingual and multilingual dialogs, with grammars and vocabularies. He also cites a specific collection of proverbs, in Italian with a French translation *Bonne response à tous propos* (Paris, 1547; with later editions in both Paris and Lyon). Cave, *Pré-histoires II*, 53–75. For more examples, see Bistué, "Traducciones multilingües."

[32] Cave, *Pré-histoires II*, 68.

[33] Robert Proctor, *The printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1900), 173–83.

[34] Facsimiles of these works can be found in Manuel Breva-Claramonte, *La didáctica de las lenguas en el Renacimiento: Juan Luis Vives y Pedro Simón Abril* (Universidad de Deusto Bilbao, 1994).

[35] *Maturini Corderii Colloquia scholastica Anglo–Latina* (London, 1657); *Catonis disticha de moribus, with one row English and another Latin* (London, 1659); *Centuria epistolarum Anglo–Latinarum, ex tritissimis classicis authoribus, viz. Cicerone, Plinio & Textore* (London, 1660); *Publii Terentii Carthaginiensis Afris poëtae lepidissimi comoediae*

It is also important to note that, while Cave sees lines of connection between humanist pedagogical programs and the early production of multilingual dictionaries and dialogs, he also sees a marked development in a different direction: the editors of these multilingual works also searched to appeal to an audience of travelers and merchants. Following Cave, we can see the contrast between the two tendencies represented in Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532). In chapter 8 of this work, we find a letter by Gargantua, in which the giant advises his son Pantagruel to master the study of ancient languages, including Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Chaldee (Aramaic), and Arabic. But in the next chapter, Pantagruel encounters a different multilingual situation. He meets the *living* polyglot traveler Panurge, who uses an impressive variety of languages simply to ask for food, beverage, and shelter, but who cannot be understood by Pantagruel and his educated friends.[36] It is easy to agree that Panurge's request, which he makes not only in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, but also in German, Italian, Spanish, Danish, and in two fictional languages, should remind us of the multilingual dictionaries and dialogs traced by Cave (and even of the medieval traveling aids described by Bischoff, in which we also saw requests for drink and bread). The resemblance is greater when we learn that, like multilingual dictionaries and colloquia, later editions of *Pantagruel* kept adding new languages (by 1534, Basque, Dutch, the fictional Lanternois, and Scottish had been added, and the latter was replaced by English after 1542).[37] Part of the humor in Rabelais's work lies in the contrast between the two different models of multilingualism offered by Gargantua's letter and Panurges's speech, and thus, between the different currents of multilingual aids distinguished by Cave (those addressed to readers searching for humanist erudition and those addressed to the more pragmatic needs of travelers and merchants).

Building upon Cave's point, I would like to propose that the potential readership of multilingual dictionaries, colloquies, and proverbs includes even more possibilities, and that the question of who would read these works was already problematic for early modern scholars. We already saw that Megiser could imagine an impressively varied audience (one that encompassed scholars and teachers in a variety of disciplines, as well as clerks, soldiers, merchants, and spice traders). He is not the only one. A quick look at titles of multilingual dictionaries and grammars can give us an idea of the varied audiences they attempt to address. On one hand, we do find works addressed to those interested in ancient and learned tongues: we find Latin-English glossaries, such as the one included in William Lily and John Colet's *A Shorte Introdvction of Grammar … for the bringing up of all those that intende to attaine the knowledge of the Latine tongue* (London, 1567), and we find works such as Peter Leven's *Manipulus Vocabulorum. A Dicionarie of English and Latine wordes* (London, 1570), which presents itself as "necessary

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sex Anglo-Latinae (London, 1663); *Aesopi fabulae, Anglo-Latinae* (London, 1657). These works are available via Early English Books Online (EEBO).

36   Cave, *Pré-histoires II*, 27–9.

37   For more details, see my discussion of this passage in Chapter 4.

not onely for Scholers that want varietie of words, but also for such as use to write in English Meetre." On the other hand, we also find works such as *The English, Latine, French, Dutch schole-master*, which more pragmatically promised "*to teach young gentlemen and merchants to travell or trade*" (London, 1637). What is more, we can also find works that address readers who do not fit squarely in one of these two main lines. The 1510 edition of the *Introductio quaedam utilissima sive Vocabularius quattuor linguarum* declares itself "utilissimus vocabularius pro his, qui desiderant intelligere et scire legere sine visitatione scholarum, sicuti sunt *mechanici* et *muliers"* (or, as the English version included in the 1540 *Septem linguarem* renders it, "a right profitable vocabulary to rede for them that shold desire it without going to schole, as *artificers* and *women*"). Women could also be addressed, as attested by the title of Pierre Erondelle's *French Garden for English ladyes and gentlewomen to walke in* (London, 1605). Other works have "young children" as their intended readers, among them are Robert Estienne's *Dictionariolum puerorum tribus linguis Latina, Anglica & Gallica conscriptum* (London 1552), Gabriel Meurier's *Perroquet des petits enfants françois-flameng* (Antwerp, 1580), and Hoole's *Vocabularium parvum Anglo–Latinum, in usum puerulorum ... / A little vocabulary English and Latine, for the use of little children ...* (London, 1657). In addition, we could also consider Henry Hexham's *Copious English and Netherduytch dictionarie* (1647), which, perhaps in an attempt to widen its scope of courtly readers, offers "an appendix of the names of all kind of beasts, fowles, birds, fishes, hunting, and hawking."

It is not easy to identify clear-cut types of readers for whom multilingual dictionaries were intended. If anything, the variety of imagined audiences speaks of early modern editors' and publishers' uncertainty in this respect. This uncertainty is better suggested by a four-language vocabulary published in Antwerp, in 1558, which advertises its usefulness "for all merchants, and for *all others regardless of their social position and office*."[38] I want to draw attention to such disregard, because it suggests that uncertainty about social categories may have gone hand in hand with uncertainty about linguistic identity. The many languages included in multilingual dictionaries made them available to a variety of readers, and made them susceptible of a variety of readings, too. Different readers may correlate different languages/columns, and some of them may concentrate on a single language. It must have been difficult to anticipate the reader's linguistic need or preference, and it seems to have been equally difficult to anticipate the reader's class, gender, age, and occupation.

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[38] Its Spanish-version title, *Vocabulario, colloquios o dialogos en quatro lenguas, flamengo, frances, español, y italiano ... muy provechoso para todos mercaderes, y otros de qualquier estado que sean*, is cited in Cave, *Pré-histoires* II, 50. A similar statement is made in Meurier's Spanish-and-French Coloquios familiares, deemed "very convenient and most profitable ... for all qualities of persons who desire to learn how to speak and write Spanish and French." *Coloquios familiares muy convenientes y mas provechosos de quantos salieron fasta agora para qualquier qualidad de personas desseosas de saber hablar y escribir Español y Frances* (Amberes, 1568).

In fact, Jacques Lezra has argued that, in the many lexicons, dictionaries, florilegia, grammars, and colloquia that circulated in Europe, we can see traces of a "deterritorialized," "fluid," and "fractious" understanding of linguistic identity. This understanding coexisted with the emergence of proto-national categories, and it was ultimately incompatible with it.[39] Of course, we can always argue that each of the languages combined in a multilingual dictionary could be made to fit a proto-national category, and certainly, such efforts were made. The frontispiece of James Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton* (London, 1660) can be considered such an effort. Its engraving, entitled "Associatio Linguarum," shows four ladies, each of which has a letter above the head identifying her with one of the languages of the lexicon: S[panish], F[rench], I[talian], and E[nglish]. The relations expressed by the picture speak of their emblematic proto-national value (for instance, the way in which the Spanish and English ladies look at each other does not seem as friendly as the bodily attitude of their French and Italian peers).[40] However, this association was not usually the case, and in the end, a multilingual dictionary, which can combine from two to eleven languages, is difficult to place in one category as a whole—and we saw in Chapter 1 how increasingly important it was becoming for theoreticians such as Madrigal, Golding, and Perrot d'Ablancourt, to be able to consider a book as "a whole." Hence the anxiety of editors to try to determine the reading subject they were addressing.

Going back to Lezra's argument, I would like to focus on the specific problems and disjunctions he finds in the definition of translation given in Sebastián de Covarrubias's famous *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1611). For Covarrubias, to translate means, among other possibilities, "to take a thing from one place to another, or to set it on a path" [*llevar de un lugar a otro alguna cosa, o encaminarla*]. As Lezra puts it, for Covarrubias "translation is *either* a way for a subject to carry a particular, identifiable thing, … *or* it is the gesture of releasing a thing from its name, placing it as it were underway, upon the road, for any one to take." In this uncertain movement, the translator may be able to control the transport, but it may also happen that he merely sets *the thing* on a path where anyone can have access to it. Lezra also traces further doubts and uncertainties about translation in the writings of other Renaissance scholars engaged with language teaching and learning. Such scholars as Roger Ascham, John Minsheu, and Richard Verstegan articulate their local anxieties about the subject—Ascham's anxieties about the pedagogical fashioning of his pupils' selves through the method of double translation, Minsheu's anxieties about socioeconomic position, and Verstegan's anxieties about his qualification as legitimate subject of the English crown. In their concerns about the subject's identity, Lezra finds a space to ground

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[39]   Jacques Lezra, "Nationum Origo," *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, ed. Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 203–28.

[40]   This image can be accessed at *LEME*, <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/public/howell.cfm>.

a critique of modern notions of individualism and subjectivity. "At the moment of the emergence of the nation form," he tells us, "the lexical culture of translation [of multilingual translation, I would add,] designates a specifically nonsubjectivist form of cultural (self) resistance." However, as Lezra also explains, the conceptual model that takes shape in the texts of multilingual translation aids cannot be squared with the model of the Renaissnace's *grand homme*—based, as it is, on the notion of individual autonomy—and, thus, as we have seen happen in the field of translation theory, modern scholarship has left aside the alternative model that multilingual translations represent.[41] In an attempt to regain some conceptual room for this alternative text-model, I want claim that the titles and prefaces of the dictionaries and dialogs I have cited also reflect anxieties about the subject when they address a variety of readers, *regardless of their social position and office*. This uncertainty about the reading subject(s) speaks of the challenge multilingual translations posed to the social structures in which the modern notion of a unified reader was taking shape (a reader who, as we saw, understands himself as an individual, autonomous, interchangeable subject in a unified linguistic community).

I believe the critique of modern subjectivity that Lezra envisions can help us find a space in which to study multilingual translations in general. For, when we begin to interrogate the notion of *the reader* (as autonomous and interchangeable, and as virtually capable of understanding the work as a whole by himself), we can also begin to imagine textual structures that do not presuppose a unifying reading. We can then begin to consider multi-version texts as valid objects of study. And we can begin to ask questions about how they were conceptualized, and about how they were produced, and read.

Multilingual Translations and the Question of the Reader(s)

> The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination.
> —Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author" (1968)

Towards the end of Chapter 1, I proposed to take Walter Benjamin's disregard for the reader of the translation as another invitation—if much less explicit than the one I see in Lezra's work— to challenge the modern notion that there should be a unified reading position in the text. In that chapter, my discussion of the difficulties that a multiplicity of writing and interpretive positions could create for early modern translation theory led me, indeed, to a number of questions about the techniques used for reading and producing multilingual translations, and I think it will be useful to bring these questions to bear on the description of multi-version texts that this chapter is offering. The questions concerned possible ways of reading polyglot Gospels, Psalters, and Bibles, and the ways in which they challenged

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[41] Lezra, "Nationum Origo," 206–23.

principles of linearity, textual coherence, and unity of meaning. The interlinear arrangements of the Greco-Latin Psalter in Figure 1.1 may have prompted upward jumps, interrupting a continuous downward movement of the reader's gaze. The parallel-column arrangement of the Latin-and-Old-High-German harmony in Figure 1.2 must have allowed for horizontal as well as vertical readings, and even for partial readings in which the gaze goes back and forth, correlating the columns of a particular section of the text. We can also think of the discontinued readings prompted by the underlined passages in the three different Latin versions of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, or by the extra column in an excruciatingly small script added on the margin of the copy I discussed, which offers multiple Latin alternatives to particular words (see Figure 1.5). We can even consider disruptions at the level of the sentence. The multilingual synonyms in the *Libro de la ochava esfera* were integrated into the structure of the sentence, through commas and connecting conjunctions, but the Latin-and-Castilian glosses in the fifteenth-century copy of a Latin hymnal held at the Bancroft Library were not. In addition to a brief explanation (*constructio*) of each line, these glosses offer an intra-linear form of translation that disrupts the linearity of the phrase. For example, the gloss to the Latin line, "Primo dierum omnium quo mundus extat conditus" [On the first of all days, when the world was created] includes the following alternating Latin-Spanish translation: "id est primo die *en el primero dia* [that is, on the first day] omnium dierum *en todos los dias* [in all days]."[42] In sum, when we think of these texts, it is possible to imagine a multiplicity of ways in which they can be read. In the rest of this chapter, as I continue to survey different genres in which multilingual translation was used, I want to argue that it is possible to imagine a multiplicity of reading positions in these genres, too.

In this chapter and in the previous one, I have begun to show that the multilingual-translation format was not used exclusively for religious texts, but that it is found in such works as astronomic/astrologic treatises, geographical compendiums, herbals, and multilingual dictionaries (and I will continue to add examples of yet other genres). However, I want to go back for a moment to polyglot Bibles, Gospels, and Psalters because they form a vast field, which deserves an important place in this chapter's mapping. Although their production seems to have decreased towards the end of the seventeenth century, we find that in the early eighteenth century, Jacques Le Long identified printed polyglot Bibles as a coherent field of study in his *Discours historique sur les principales editions des Bibles polyglottes* (Paris, 1713). Le Long described 18 specific examples, including a 1599 twelve-version New Testament edited by Elias Hutter in Nüremberg, and he offered excerpts of prefaces and letters referring to these works. Thomas H. Darlow and Horace F. Moule's catalog of printed Bibles held in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society lists forty different polyglots

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42   Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, Ms. UCB 177, f. 5; emphasis added.

(combining three languages or more) printed between 1516 and 1700.[43] Among the best known examples are the 1516 Genoa Psalter of Agostino Giustiniani (see Figure 1.4), Erasmus's several editions of his bilingual New Testament (1516; 1519; 1522; 1527; and 1535), and the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (printed in 1514–1517, but not given papal sanction for publication until 1521), as well as the subsequent editions that build upon the latter, and which are usually referred to as the great polyglots of Antwerp (1569–1572) and London (1653–1657).[44]

These catalogs refer to printed works, but, as Walter Berschin has remarked, the production of multilingual editions spans the entire Middle Ages, reaching the Renaissance in an unbroken tradition. Among other early and late medieval examples, Berschin lists two Greco-Latin Acts of the Apostles (the *Codex Bezae* in Cambridge and the *Codex Laudianus* in Oxford), various Gospels, Pauline Epistles, an Apocalypsis, and several Greco-Latin Psalters. He also mentions a fifteenth-century trilingual (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) Psalter produced for Duke Federigo of Urbino in Florence.[45] David Parker gives a list of eighty bilingual New Testaments of which one of the languages is Greek (Greek-Latin, Greek-Coptic, Greek-Arabic), produced between the fifth and the sixteenth centuries, and he mentions other possible language combinations for scriptural bilinguals, including Coptic-Arabic and Syriac-Arabic.[46] The production of bilingual books of hours, hymnals, doctrines, and catechisms was also an extended practice across Medieval and Renaissance Europe.[47]

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[43]   The numbers go down after that date. They list only twenty-six polyglot editions between 1700 and 1900. T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1963).

[44]   To the languages included in the Complutensian Polyglot (see Chapter 1) the Antwerp Polyglot, directed by the Spanish Benedictus Arias Montanus and printed by Christophe Plantin with the partial patronage of Phillip II of Spain, added a Syriac version. The London Polyglot, directed by bishop and scholar Brian Walton, added Arabic, Ethiopic, and Persian versions of some books, together with their respective Latin translations. Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*; Basil Hall's *The Great Polyglot Bibles: Including a Leaf from the Complutensian of Acalá, 1514–17* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1966).

[45]   Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, tr. Jerold C. Frakes, rev. ed. (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 38–40.

[46]   David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1992), 53–9.

[47]   See Bistué, "Traducciones multilingües." In addition, I would like to note that production of multilingual versions of liturgical and instructional religious texts extended across the Atlantic into the New World Spanish colonies. The first texts to come out of the Spanish American colonial presses were such bilingual or trilingual translations: in Mexico, *Breve y mas compendiosa doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana y castellana* (1539; now lost); in Perú, the *Doctrina christiana, y catecismo traduzido en las dos lenguas generales, de este reyno, quichua, y aymara* (Lima, 1584), in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymará versions; and scholars believe that the two first texts printed in the Old Paraguay region were two

Focusing on the specific study of Greco-Latin biblical texts, Berschin began to pose general questions about how these texts were produced and read. He was interested, for instance, in the differences between manuscripts that used Greek and Roman scripts for Greek and Latin respectively and those which used a Roman transcription for the Greek. He speculated that manuscripts of the latter type must have served liturgical purposes (singing or reading aloud), while those with Greek script must have been used as textbooks or simply as showpieces. However, in spite of his interest, and in spite of the large number of extant biblical bilinguals (and multilinguals), we do not know much yet about how these texts were used. In the context of modern scholarship, most of these texts still are, as Berschin described them, "scarcely touched material."[48] In his palaeographical and textual study of one such bilinguals (the fifth-century Greek-and-Latin New Testament contained in the *Codex Bezae*), Parker states that the "analysis of the physical characteristics of bilingual manuscript traditions has yet to be made." He also poses some of the specific questions he would like such analysis to answer:

> Can particular sizes of books be discerned? Can lay-outs on the page, rules with regard to use of scripts for running titles, colophons, and quire signatures? Are there different practices for bilinguals written for different purposes or according to their contents? How is a copyist's writing style affected by the adjacent scripts?[49]

How, we could add, does the inclusion of versions in Hebrew or Arabic scripts (where the writing and reading direction is from right to left) complicate the relations among versions? And how is each of the two versions in a Greco-Latin Psalter used when the manuscript, as Berschin suggests, has a liturgical function?

Historical questions regarding how biblical polyglots functioned are further complicated by the variety of contexts in which such works were composed and read. Some of the scholars and scribes who produced them were Christian and some were Jewish. Some came from the Latin West and some from the Greek East. Some of these works were manually copied in rolls and codices by medieval scribes, and some were composed in the shops of Renaissance printers. Giustiniani's Psalter and the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglots, were made under Catholic patronage, while the production of the London polyglot was organized by Anglican bishop Brian Walton and financed by a subscription

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bilingual martyrologies, of 1700 and 1709 respectively. This production, I must also note, was accompanied by numerous bilingual and trilingual grammars and vocabularies. For an extensive list, see Belén Bistué, "Listado de traducciones multilingües producidas en las colonias Hispanoamericanas (s. XVI–XVIII)—Bibliografía," Centro de Literatura Comparada (CLC), Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, <http://ffyl.uncu.edu.ar/spip.php?rubrique1325>.

[48]   Berschin, *Greek Letters*, 39.
[49]   Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 50.

system.[50] Erasmus placed his Greco-Latin New Testament in a double context: on one hand, he gestured towards the Catholic Church (as Giustiniani and Jiménez de Cisneros had done, he dedicated his work to Pope Leo X); on the other hand, through his commentaries, he inscribed the work in a humanist program in the line of Lorenzo Valla's *Annotationes*, which Erasmus himself had edited in 1505. Elias Hutter, who in 1599 edited the New Testament in twelve versions (and who made the Hebrew version included in this work), was a protestant Hebraist. And, to add yet one more context, the distinguished Hebrew scholar Johannes Buxtorf the younger recommended the comparison between Hebrew and Latin versions of the scriptures to students of *rabbinica*.[51]

The context in which multilingual translation was practiced grows even larger and more varied when we consider that biblical polyglots share many formal characteristics with multilingual translations from other genres. Berschin, for instance, found similarities between biblical bilinguals and the extant fragments of Latin-and-Greek editions of Vergil's and Cicero's works dating from late antiquity. He also saw connections between medieval bilinguals and the interlinear design (in Greek and Latin) of the translations of Homer's epic poems that Leontius Pilatus made for Petrarch and Boccaccio in the late fourteenth century.[52] To be sure, when we continue with the survey of genres in which multilingual translation was used, we find that humanist bilingual and trilingual editions constitute a vast field of study as well. In his early-nineteenth-century catalog (which surveys both polyglot Bibles and editions of the Greek and Latin classics), Thomas Frognall Dibdin lists several examples of Renaissance Greco-Latin printed editions of ancient Greek authors. Among those printed in the sixteenth-century are bilingual editions of works by Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, Euripides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Euclid, Callimachus, Theocritus, Heliodorus, Epictetus, Pausanias, and Musaeus.[53] There are even earlier examples of Greco-Latin printed editions, such as a late-fifteenth-century edition of Plutarch's *Lives*, a copy of which is held at the Bancroft Library.[54] There are later editions, too, including the numerous Greco-Latin editions published in England from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.[55]

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[50]   For a description of this system, see *Propositions concerning the printing of the Bible in the original and other learned languages* (London, 1653).

[51]   Cited in Peter T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship, and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 119.

[52]   Berschin, *Greek Letters*, 38, 40, and note 81 to chapter 2.

[53]   Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics; Including the Scriptores de Re Rustica, Greek Romances, and Lexicons and Grammars: To which is added a complete index analyticus: The whole preceded by an Account of Polyglot Bibles, and the Best Editions of the Greek Septuagint and Testament*, 2nd ed. (London, 1804).

[54]   Plutarchus, *Vitae illustrium virorum siue parallelae* (Strasburg, c. 1470).

[55]   Regarding this particular group, in his study of classical works printed in early Tudor England in Latin and English, Daniel Wakelin also poses important questions about

Some multilingual translations were scholarly editions printed at the shops of the best known European printers and addressed to learned humanist readers. Aldus Manutius, for example, printed a Greco-Latin edition of Aristotle's *Poetics* in 1536.[56] Aldus himself is reputed to be the author of a Latin version of Musaeus's *Opusculum de Herone et Leandro* that was published in bilingual format, accompanying Aristoboulos Apostolios's edition of the Greek.[57] Many Greco-Latin texts came out of the renowned Estienne presses, among them, the famous 1578 bilingual edition of Plato's work known as the *Stephanus Plato*. This critical edition arranges the Greek and Latin versions in parallel columns surrounded by the commentary of the translator, Jean Serres. Printed by Henri Estienne II, this text became the basis for the reference system still used today when citing passages from Plato's dialogs. Every tenth line of the Greek is marked by a Roman letter (from *A* to *E*) placed in between the Greek and Latin columns. These letters divide the column into different sections and, thus, they help correlate these sections in the two versions (see Figure 3.5). Today's references to a particular passage in Plato's dialogs usually include the title of the dialog followed by the page number and column-section letter assigned to the passage in the 1578 Estienne edition (for example, Plato, *Apologia* 18b–19d, would indicate a passage in *The Apology*, that runs from a point in the section included under letter B, on page 18, to a point in section D of page 19). It was perhaps the careful attention to line correlation that made the Estienne system precise and useful for its readers. What is more, even if we do not have much information about how such careful multilingual editions were used, we can argue that the correlation between versions has become an intrinsic part of how learned readers refer to Plato's dialogs. Insofar as these references include the letters that were placed in between the two columns, they are still directing readers to both the Greek and the Latin versions at the same time. When, for instance, a quotation from Plato is given in English, reference to the in-between letters establishes a correlation among the English, Greek, and Latin versions of the passage.

We can also argue that smaller and less careful bilingual editions, which were more affordable to readers and profitable for printers, also played an important and pervasive role in the formation of early modern readers. Anthony Grafton and

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possible ways of reading bilingual translations. He, however, seems interested exclusively in individual forms of reading and bases his answers on the model of the monolingual text. He considers, for instance, that alternating-section layouts fragmented the text and limited the reader because they forced him to pay attention to both versions, while in parallel-column arrangements, the reader had the freedom of following one of the versions continuously downwards and ignoring the other one. Daniel Wakelin, "Possibilities for Reading: Classical Translations in Parallel Texts ca. 1520–1558," *Studies in Philology* 105.4 (2008): 463–86.

56   Dibdin, *An Introduction*, 43.

57   Musaeus, *Opusculum de Herone et Leandro* (Venice, c. 1495–1498), listed in H. George Fletcher, *In Praise of Aldus Manutius: A Quincentenary Exhibition* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1995), 40.

Lisa Jardine have remarked that, although we do not know enough about teaching methods and reading practices to generalize with confidence, there is evidence that large quantities of cheap editions of short texts, selections, and anthologies were printed to meet the needs of university students.[58] Pioneer in this field is a bilingual text: the Greco-Latin Aesop (Greek and Latin in parallel columns) printed by Bonus Accursius in Milan, around 1478.[59] Collections of Aesopic fables, derived mainly from Latin versions made in late antiquity, had circulated widely during the Middle Ages both in Latin and in the vernaculars. They had been, and they would continue to be, read as examples of moral wisdom, as religious allegories, as teachings about literary interpretation, and as pieces of political advice for kings and courtiers.[60] However, Aesopic collections awakened new interest, when, in the early fifteenth century, Greek manuscript versions brought from Constantinople began to circulate in Italy and were translated by such humanist figures as Guarino Guarini and Lorenzo Valla. The translation used by Bonus Accursius, and by several other printers, was that of Rinuccius Aretinus (Rinuccio da Castiglione, of Arezzo). Aldus Manutius also produced Latin versions of his own to accompany some of the Greek fables in his 1505 Aesop. Including this Aldine edition, there are at least six extant copies of Renaissance Greco-Latin editions of Aesopic fables dating from the sixteenth century, and several more were printed in the following one.[61]

Bilingual (and sometimes trilingual) Aesops appear to have been read not only by humanist scholars and university students, but also, as some of the title pages of later editions indicate, by young boys as well. The seventeenth-century *Aesopi fabulae Anglo-Latinae* of the English schoolmaster and translator Charles Hoole highlights the pedagogical design of his bilingual fables, "*Every one whereof is divided into its distinct periods, marked with figures: so that little children being used to write and translate them may not only more exactly understand all the rules of grammar but also learn to imitate the right composition of words and the*

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[58] Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth– and Sixteenth–Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 106–12.

[59] *Fabulae Aesopi/Mythoi Aisōpou* ([Milan], c. 1478), reprinted by Dionysius Bertochus (Reggio Emilia, 1479); copies of both editions are held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[60] See Seth Lerer, "Aesop, Authorship, and the Aesthetic Imagination," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37.3 (2007), 579–94; and Annabel M. Patterson, *Fables of Power: Aesopian Writing and Political History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).

[61] *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Graece et Latine* (Venice, 1543); *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latinè* (Basel, 1544); *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Graece et Latine* (Venice, 1549); *Aesopi Phrygis fabulae Graece et Latine* (Paris, 1549); *Vita et Fabellae Aesopi cum interpretatione latina* (Venice, 1505); *Aesopi Phrygis vita et Fabellae, cum latina interpretatione* (Basel, 1518). For examples of later editions, see Bistué, "Traducciones multilingües."

proper forms of speech belonging to both languages."[62] Yet we should not rush to generalize regarding the pedagogical use of such texts. While works such as Hoole's could be designed as practical school texts, in which the facing versions could be easily correlated line by line, there were also many editions organized around different principles. They could, for instance, include a more visually varied distribution, centered on elaborate illustrations that may have appealed to a more leisurely public, rather than on a careful correlation of versions. Such may be the case of the 1687 edition of *Aesop's Fables, with his life: in English, French and Latin* (London, 1687), with illustrations by Francis Barlow. In this work, each fable and its moral are given in a long French version (where the moral develops into an extended "discours moral"), and accompanied by a large elaborate illustration to which the English version, in smaller print, is attached below, and by a concise Latin version and "morale" in dark italics. Neither the number of words, nor the proportions of each section seem to be based on a careful correlation of the versions and languages.

As the last two examples begin to suggest, the range of possible targeted audiences of multilingual literary works increases when we consider that their linguistic combinations were not limited to ancient languages. Examples that combine vernacular languages include the trilingual edition of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, in Italian, French, and English: *The courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio deuided into foure bookes. Verie necessarie and profitable for young gentlemen and gentlewomen abiding in court, pallace, or place, done into English by Thomas Hobby* (London, 1588), in which the French version is that of Gabriel Chappuys, and the English version, as the title indicates, is Thomas Hoby's (see Figure 3.6). They also include the more popular sentimental romance known as *Historye of Aurelio and of Isabell, Doughter of the Kinge of Scottes*. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this work saw numerous multilingual editions (in two, three, and even four versions of the same story).[63] Joyce Boro identifies Juan de Flores's *Grisel y Mirabella* (1495) as the source for this work. She lists twenty-three early modern multilingual editions (including two-language and four-language editions), as well as eighteen French-and-Spanish editions of the well-known romance *Cárcel de amor*, and eight bilingual editions of *Arnalte*

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[62]   Charles Hoole, *Aesopi fabulae Anglo-Latinae/Aesop's fables: English and Latin* (London, 1657).

[63]   Available at the Early English Books Online database (EEBO) are two four-language editions of this work, one printed at Antwerp in 1556, and one at Brussels in 1608. The *Bibliographie Hispanique* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1912) lists several earlier bilingual editions in Italian and French: *Historia di Aurelio e Isabella figliuola del Re di Scotia. Histoire d'Aurelio & d'Isabel, fille du Roy d'Escoce* (Paris, 1546, 1547, 1553, 1574, and 1581; Lyon, 1552 and 1555); as well as a Spanish-and-French edition, *Historia de Aurelio y Isabela hija del Rey de Escocia mejor corregida que antes, puesta en Español y Frances* (Antwerp, 1560).

y Lucenda (five in French and Italian and three in Italian and English).[64] Even the news could be published in multilingual format. This was the case of a 1492 broadside with a poem by Sebastian Brant about a meteorite that fell near the town of Ensisheim, Alsace, that year. It is given in Latin and German versions, accompanied by a woodcut illustrating the event (see Figure 3.7).[65]

It is also interesting to note that among the earliest printed multi-version editions that included vernacular languages we find, again, collections of Aesopic fables. In fact, around the time Bonus Accursius published his Greco-Latin Aesop in Milan, a Latin-and-Italian *Aesopus moralisatus* (in medieval Latin verse with accompanying Italian sonnets by Accio Zucco) was printed at Verona.[66] And a few years earlier (c. 1476), Heinrich Steinhöwel had produced a Latin-and-German one, which was printed at Ulm by Johann Zainer. In Figure 3.8 we can see an image of two facing pages of this edition, where we find the Latin version of the fable of the two dogs, a woodcut illustrating the fable, and the German version. Like other multilingual translations I have described, Steinhöwel's *Aesop* is not a mere juxtaposition but the formalization of a process that actually involved a combination of multiple versions and sources. It draws on medieval collections (on those attributed to Avianus and to Romulus and transmitted in Latin since late antiquity; on *exempla* from the early-twelfth-century *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus; and on fables from the medieval pool that Steinhöwel's edition labels as "extravagantes"), and it includes seventeen fables from the humanist Latin version made by Rinuccius Aretinus, as well as a number of *facetiae* by the humanist Poggio Bracciolini.[67] In addition, as Gerd Dicke explains, Steinhöwel must have consulted earlier vernacular versions as well.[68] For Dicke, Steinhöwel's choice to combine not only Latin and German versions, but also medieval and

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[64]   Joyce Boro, "Multilingualism, Romance, and Language Pedagogy; or, Why Were So Many Sentimental Romances Printed as Polyglot Texts?," *Tudor Translation*, ed. Fred Schurink (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 18–38.

[65]   There are extant copies of four editions of this broadsheet, two of them printed at Basel by Johann Bergmann von Olpe, one of them at Reutlingen by Michel Greiff, and one at Strassburg by Johannes Prüss. See Paul Heitz (ed.), *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant*, (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1915)**;** Dieter Wuttke, "Sebastian Brant und Maximilian I: eine Studie zu Brants Donnerstein–Flugblatt des Jahres 1492," *Die Humanisten in ihrer politischen und sozialen Umwelt*, ed. Otto Herding and Robert Stupperich (Boppard: Boldt, 1976); and Stephan Füssel, *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 151.

[66]   *Aesopus moralisatus, latine et italice* (Verona, 1479).

[67]   Pack Carnes, "Heirinch Steinhöwel and the Sixteenth-Century Fable Tradition," *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo–Latin Studies* 35 (1986): 1–29; Paola Cifarelli, "Fables: Aesop and Babrius," *The Classical Heritage in France*, ed. Gerald Sandy (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 425–52; Martin Davies, "A Tale of Two Aesops," *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 7.3 (2006): 257–88.

[68]   Gerd Dicke, *Heinrich Steinhöwels "Esopus" und seine Fortsetzer: Untersuchungen zu einem Bucherfolg der Frühdruckzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), 84–91.

Renaissance versions speaks of a concern with the production of a book that would appeal to every possible reader. Dicke follows up on this claim with a study of ownership and material reading traces (he studies the few extant copies of the Latin-and-German edition and several more copies of later monolingual editions that are based on Steinhöwel's work). He determines that among the owners of these books were physicians, merchants, and members of religious orders, the court, and the guilds. Once more, the conclusions we can draw about the readers of Steinhöwel's *Aesop* remain at the level of speculation. There are not many extant copies of the bilingual edition, and we cannot know with certainty how many copies were printed, or why the work was not printed again in bilingual format after the first edition. Yet, I want to draw attention to these speculations, because they are meaningful in themselves. In Dicke's proposal that Steinhöwel was targeting a variety of audiences there is a resemblance to the all-encompassing readership that early modern editors of multilingual dictionaries envisioned.

In Dicke's concern—for Steinhöwel's concern—for the reader, we can find continuity with the worries of early modern editors. Berschin's and Parker's questions, as well as the questions I have been posing in this book, partake of these concerns, too, because, after all, these questions are ultimately inscribed in the context of literary studies, where the problem of the reader continues to be an urgent one. Consider again, and at more length, Roland Barthes's playful formulation of this urgency:

> A text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination. Yet this destination cannot any longer be personal: the reader is without history, biography, psychology; he is simply that *someone* who holds together in a single field all the traces by which the written text is constituted.[69]

Barthes, of course, is not talking about multilingual translation but about intertextuality, yet his formulation is illuminating. At stake in the unifying place of the reader is nothing less than the unity of the text, the very constitution of the text. Barthes's irony—the irony of postulating a reader who can focus multiplicity, encompass all quotations, and hold together all the traces—highlights the urgency of this unity. This is especially urgent when, as Barthes has diagnosed, the figure of the author (now *dead*) may not work as the unifying space anymore. Barthes's formulation highlights the anxious demand for unity that informs modern (and early modern) definitions of the text. As I have shown in Chapter 1, Renaissance theoreticians of translation felt the urgency to establish the *difficult* requirement

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69   Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," *Image–Music–Text*, tr. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 148.

that there must be a single writing subject in the translation text—even if they had to resort to such figurative solutions as the abduction of the translator, the conquest, digestion, or distillation of the author, the transparency of the new version, or the oblivion of the original. Since early modern times, the possibility of a text that has multiple writing positions is a source of theoretical anxiety. So is, I argue, the possibility of a text that offers multiple reading positions.

It was both urgent and difficult for editors and publishers to determine who would read the multilingual synonyms offered in a multilingual thesaurus, herbal, or geographical treatise. They were beginning to understand that a text should function *regardless of the social position and office* of the reader—and regardless of the *history*, *biography*, and *psychology* of the reader, to add Barthes's terms. However, the different linguistic identities available in the works they were producing seriously complicated such an understanding of texts. Linguistic multiplicity prompted them—as it still prompts us—to think about a variety of readers and possible readings (some of them partial and discontinuous, rather than unified), and they saw this as a problem.

In general, the many languages combined on the pages of multilingual translations invite us to consider that a single reader may not be enough to *hold together* the text. Then, if we cannot postulate a place from which to make a unified reading of a multilingual translation, does such translation still count as a *text*? In the context of translation theory, literary history, modern editions, and cataloguing decisions, it does not. Different versions can count as different texts; some of them may even count as nothing at all, and become unthinkable. But the fact that we do not think of them as texts does not necessarily mean that we should erase multilingual translations from translation histories, from library catalogs, and from the pages of modern editions. It can mean, instead, that we need to question literary and linguistic principles and cataloguing matrixes. Above all, I believe it means that we need to probe the practice-theory disjunction at the base of translation studies.

Case Study: The Many Words and Uncertain Readers of Enrique de Villena; or rather, On the Difficulty of Reading the First Romance Translation of *The Aeneid* (1428)

At the close of this chapter, I would like to discuss one last example of translation practices that have been excluded from the history and theory of translation. The profuse use of synonymic pairs and alternative renderings is one of the most notable characteristics of Enrique de Villena's 1428 translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*. In his text, we recurrently find double alternatives for words and phrases. To offer a few examples, "Priami arx" is doubled into "noble alcaçar, siquiere ylion" [noble palace, or rather Ilion], "Dardaniae" is rendered as "dardanica, siquiere troyana" [Dardanian, or rather Troyan] and "Atridae" as "atrides, es a saber Agamenon e Menalao" [atrides, that is Agamenon e Menalao], and we even find double, and sometimes triple, alternatives for longer phrases. Villena resorts to this translation

strategy to the point that it disrupts the narrative—so much so, that, even though his work is today considered the first complete translation of the *Aeneid* into a Romance language, some critics have been reticent to include Villena's version in the history of Spanish literature. I want to propose that Villena used multilingual translation as a model to conceptualize his task and that, accordingly, he felt comfortable combining different alternative versions. He was, after all, a skilled and productive translator.[70] In the case of the *Aeneid* in particular, he simply did not choose to organize his text around a single position from which to make a unified reading of it, and I believe that a large part of the problems modern critics find in his text are a consequence of this simple choice.

I also believe the doublings in his text are coherent with the context in which he produced the translation. We can find the first doubling already in Villena's dedication of the work. After one year of labor, he had completed the translation and was ready to dedicate his Romance *Aeneid* to Juan II of Navarra, brother of Alfonso V of Aragon. He even wrote a prologue and a dedicatory letter to this monarch, in which he explains that his "learned" [*enseñada*] translation of Virgil's Latin poem will provide a model for a vernacular chronicle that recounts the king's deeds. Only such a model, he adds, and not the base vernacular chronicles of the clerks, can provide a prestigious historical foundation for Juan II's power, while still being accessible to a wide Romance audience.[71] However, in March of 1429, conflicts broke out between the court of Aragon and the court of Castile, where Villena had been employed since 1417. Juan II took advantage of these conflicts to seize the lands and titles that Villena had hoped to inherit from his uncle Alfonso de Aragón, duke of Gandía. Under the circumstances, Villena decided not to present his translation to Juan II after all. Instead, he sent it to Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, poet, renowned patron of letters, and a powerful member of the Castilian nobility. Even then, the dedicatory letter to Juan II was left in place, in case the monarch could be persuaded to return the expropriated lands and titles, as Villena explains in a gloss to the letter.[72] Thus, in the hope of obtaining the lands and titles he claimed (which were actually never granted to him), his translation remained under a double patronage.

The translation can then be said to have taken shape in the context of a double-audience. While Juan II had originally commissioned the work, the marquis of Santillana soon showed an active interest in the translation. What is more, he was

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[70]   In addition to the Romance *Aeneid*, he produced Castilian versions of Dante's *Divina commedia* and Cicero's *New Rhetoric*, the pseudo–Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and he undertook several other projects, including translations of his own treatise on *The Twelve Labors of Hercules*, which he originally wrote in Catalan. See Pedro M. Cátedra, introduction to *Obras Completas II: Traducción y glosas de la "Eneida," libros I–III*, by Enrique de Villena (Madrid: Turner, 1994), xv–xxii; see also Sol Miguel Prendes's analysis of the glosses that Villena added to the translation, in *El espejo y el piélago: la "Eneida" castellana de Enrique de Villena* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1998).

[71]   Villena, *Obras Completas II*, 24.

[72]   Villena, *Obras Completas II*, 8.

quick to claim the role of patron for himself. He stated, in a letter to his son, that he had been "the first to commission translations of such poems as Virgil's *Aeneid*."[73] Rather than seeking to gain a vernacular audience for historical founding narratives, Santillana might have searched to inscribe himself, through Villena's work, in the context of a more elitist, humanist-oriented pedagogical and political program. In the end, Villena prepared his translation for the king of Navarra and the Marquis of Santillana at the same time, and thus, his translation addresses two potential audiences. He wrote, at the same time, for a Navarro-Aragonese nobility, fond of vernacular chronicles, and for a member of the Castilian nobility, who might not have been proficient in Latin but who advocated a humanistic educational and political program. And we can indeed see that, in the prologue, Villena makes explicit references to both an audience of "studious readers" who are learned in allegorical interpretation and rhetorical figures of speech [*leedores estudiosos*] and an audience of Romance readers [*leedores romançistas*], for whom he promises to add special punctuation marks and glosses.[74]

Both of his patrons appear to have valued Villena's work. On the contrary, as I already mentioned, later critics have held a very low opinion of it. Following Ramón Santiago Lacuesta, who had found that Villena's style suffered from serious rhetorical excess and lack of coherence, Peter Russell openly declared the translation "a failure," the product of "a lack of linguistic and literary sensibility," and "full of errors."[75] Valentín García Yebra qualified it as "anti-natural and bizarre" and as the sign of "an early stage, in which Spanish prose was not yet mature."[76] In defense of Villena, I would like to note that none of these three critics seems to have compared the Latin version and the Castilian translation beyond Santiago Lacuesta's "random sample of 200 lines." Their focus was mainly on the history of the Spanish language and of Spanish literary prose, and not on translation techniques. From this perspective, one of the main stylistic problems that they have found is Villena's use of synonyms and multiple alternative renderings.

Their point is certainly a substantial one, since Villena's translation offers double, and even triple, renderings of words and phrases with a frequency that, in the words of Santiago Lacuesta, "can interrupt the syntactic process" and "become annoying."[77] Nevertheless, I want to argue that Villena's use of synonyms and

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[73]   Villena, *Obras Completas II*, xix.

[74]   Villena, *Obras Completas II*, 28–30. Unfortunately, the extant copy does not have the special punctuation marks Villena mentions, and he seems to have finished the glosses only for the first three books of the translation.

[75]   Peter Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la Península Ibérica, 1400–1550* (Bellaterra: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1985), 48.

[76]   Valentín García Yebra, *Traducción: Historia y Teoría* (Madrid: Gredos, 1994), 116.

[77]   Ramón Santiago Lacuesta, "Estudio lingüístico. La lengua de los manuscritos y la lengua del traductor," *La primera versión castellana de "La Eneida" de Virgilio. Los libros I–III traducidos y comentados por Enrique de Villena (1384–1434)* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1979), 618.

multiple renderings has to do less with rhetorical enthusiasm than with a specific translation strategy. I see the frequency with which his translation multiplies words and phrases as an *error* only in the sense that it implies a movement between versions. For, when we take into account the context of fifteenth-century multilingual-translation practices, Villena's doublings can be seen simply as a way of combining different versions—and different reading positions—on the same page. Taking into account the variety of translations that, as we now know, actually placed two or more versions side by side, it is easy to postulate that Villena may have been familiar with such a textual model. Moreover, I see verbal doublings as integral to how Villena conceptualized his work—a translation for a double audience.

We should also consider that the profuse use of *synonymia* in a translation is not a characteristic exclusive to Villena's work. Already in the fourteenth century we can find precedents for this technique in Aragonese literary translations from Latin and French, in which the use of synonymic pairs, or doublets, seems to have been frequent. In a study of specific translations (such as Catalan notary Ferrer Sayol's translation of Paladius' *De agricultura* and an Aragonese nobleman's translation of Bruneto Latini's *Le livres dou trésor*), Dawn Prince has found some constants in this use. She notes, for instance, that frequently, while one of the terms in the doublet belongs to the Aragonese or Catalan dialect (the dialect of the ruling class in the Kingdom of Aragon), the other one belongs to the expanding Castilian dialect. For example, where Paladius has "cortice," Ferrer Sayol writes "escorca *o* corteza," and for the Latin "virgultis," he gives "vergas *o* rramas," and Bruneto's "oisiaus" is rendered as "auzeles *o* aves" in the Aragonese translation.[78]

Synonymia was also a familiar technique for Renaissance translators. Erika Rummel's analysis of Erasmus's early Latin translations from the Greek highlights his use of amplification, in general, and of synonymic doublets, in particular. For instance, to render the word δίκαιον in his translation of Libanius, Erasmus used among other variations the pairs "iustum rectumque," "aequi bonique ratio," and "aequi honestique ratio." And his early-sixteenth-century translation of Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis* grew so much as to have 717 more lines than the Greek version (which had around 1629 lines). Rummel observes, in defense of Erasmus, that it is not easy to convey the meaning of such a polysemous word as δίκαιον (among its possible meanings are those of 'just,' 'lawful,' 'equal,' 'observant of custom,' 'fitting,' and 'precise').[79] Taking a different position, Massimiliano Morini also highlights this characteristic in the *amplified* English translation of Montaigne's *Essais* that John Florio produced at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He, unlike Rummel, finds no strategic justification for the extra 329 words that Florio

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[78]   Dawn E. Prince, "Negotiating Meanings: The Use of Diatopic Synonyms in Medieval Aragonese Literary Translations," *La traducción en España ss. XIV – XVI*, ed. Roxana Recio (León: Unversidad de León, 1995), 79–90.

[79]   Erika Rummel, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 24, 37.

adds to the essay "Of the Caniballes," which he sees as the staple of Florio's writing style, in which "words, phrases, clauses are multiplied in synonymic chains [and] a simple concept is made to occupy a whole paragraph."[80]

Indeed, some sections of Villena's translation grow so much as to double the size of Virgil's original, as the following passage attests:

> ¡O musa, *siquiere* sçiença!,
> recuerda me las causas, *siquiere* occasion, por que la divinidat
> fue ofendida, *siquiere* qual deydat se tovo por ofendida,
> qué te inclinó, *siquiere* movió, doliendo ha ty, juno,
> Reyna de los dioses, traer *ho* bolver por tanctos casos el varon
> de ynsigna piedat y tanctos annader trabajos a él.
> E ¿pueden las çelestiales intelligençias,
> *siquiere* los çelestiales moradores, tanctas conçebir yras? [81]

> [O muse, *or rather* knowledge!
> remind me of the causes, *or rather* occasion, why the divinity
> was offended, *or rather* which deity felt offended,
> what inclined, *or rather* moved you, ailing, Juno,
> Queen of the gods, to bring *or* to turn through so many cases the man
> of insigne piety and to add labors, so many, to him.
> And can the celestial intelligences,
> *or rather* the celestial dwellers, conceive rages so many?]

The passage comes from book one, almost at the beginning of the poem (at the moment of the poet's invocation to the muse). Where the manuscript transcribed by Santiago Lacuesta uses eight lines, Virgil had used only four verses:

> Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,
> quidve dolens, regina deum tot volvere casus
> insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
> impulerit. Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?[82]

> [Muse, tell me the causes, for what injury to her authority,
> and ailing from what, the queen of the gods forced him to revolve in so many
>   downfalls
> —this man extraordinary in his respect for the gods—to go through so many
>   labors.
> Can there be such anger in the celestial minds?]

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[80]   Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 86.

[81]   Enrique de Villena, *La primera versión castellana de "La Eneida" de Virgilio. Los libros I–III traducidos y comentados por Enrique de Villena (1384–1434)*, ed. Ramón Santiago Lacuesta (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1979), 46–47; emphasis added.

[82]   *Aeneid* 1.8–11. Vergil, *Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Vergil*, ed. J. B. Greenough (Boston: Ginn & Co, 1900).

In defense of Villena's translation, and of my instrumental translation as well, I would like to note that this is a particularly complex passage regarding syntax and vocabulary. For instance, the Latin word *quo* can be an interrogative pronoun, direct or indirect, or it can modify a noun. In different contexts, and among other things, it could mean *which* or *who* ('who, with an injured authority'), and it could also mean *why* / *for what reason* ('for what injured authority' / 'for what injury to her authority'). Today, scholars tend to agree on the latter choice. Villena, however, decided to offer both alternatives together: "remind me of the causes *why* the divinity / was offended, or rather *which* deity felt offended." The doubling here is not necessarily, or at least not only, a matter of rhetorical amplification; to him, the text is offering two possible alternative readings.[83] A little earlier in the same line, Villena does something similar at the level of lexical choices when he translates "causas" as "remind me of the *causes*, or rather *occasion*." And almost every time the word "siquiere" [or rather] appears in the text and most of the times the word "o" [or] does, Villena is juxtaposing alternative renderings for a single phrase or word in the original: "muse, *or rather* knowledge"; "inclined, *or rather* moved"; "celestial intelligences, *or rather* the celestial dwellers"; "to bring *or* to turn." Consistently, throughout the rest of the text, Villena uses alternative renderings to make explicit the options from which he had to choose, and from which the readers can now choose, too.

Scholars have noticed that synonymic structures are sometimes used by Villena to provide explanations regarding places and characters in the original (as we saw him do with "Priami arx," "Dardaniae," and "Atridae"). Even more frequently, the doublets combine a word that literally resembles the form of the Latin original with a word that does not resemble it (independently of its actual linguistic origin). He translates, for instance, "fremunt" as "*frem*en, siquiere resuenan entre si" [they *frem*en, or rather resound against each other]; "lucus" as "*luc*o o espesura de arvoles" [*luc*o or thicket of trees]; "scelerata" as "*sçelera*da ho culpable" [*sçelera*da

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[83]   Also in defense of Villena, I want to note that, two centuries later and at the northern end of Europe, we can still find this type of multiplicative translation in John Dryden's rendering of the *Aeneid* (1697), whose version of the invocation shows similar syntactic and lexical doublings:

> O Muse! *the Causes and the Crimes* relate;
> *What Goddess* was provok'd, *and whence* her hate;
> For what Offence the Queen of Heav'n began
> To persecute *so brave*, *so just a Man*!
> Involv'd his anxious Life in endless Cares,
> *Expos'd* to Wants, *and hurry*'d into Wars!
> Can Heav'nly Minds such *high resentment show;*
> *Or exercise their Spight* in Human Woe?

Virgil, *Virgil in English*, ed. K. W. Gransden (London: Penguin, 1996), 143; emphasis added.

or guilty]; "fluctibus" as "*fluct*uaçiones, siquiere ondamjento" [*fluct*uations, or rather waves]; "fortunati" as "*fortuna*dos ho de buena dicha" [*fortunat*e, or having good luck]; "machina belli" as "*machina* de batalla, siquier artifiçio de guerra" [battle *machine*, or rather war artifact]; "serenat" as "*seren*a e apazigua" [he makes it *serene* and pacifies it]; "veneno" as "*veneno*, siquiere ponçonna" [*venom*, or rather poison]. From a visual standpoint, it is almost as if Villena were juxtaposing the Latin and vernacular versions inside the same phrase.

Certainly, as critics have remarked, Villena's use of synonymic doublets and alternative renderings intersects with the medieval rhetorical techniques that he must have acquired and incorporated into his style. While ancient rhetorical treatises had defined amplification [αὔχησις] as the heightening of an effect, or as the elevation of style, twelfth- and thirteenth-century treatises defined it in a much more literal sense: as a technique for expanding a topic and for simply making the text longer.[84] Nevertheless, there are other ways in which verbal multiplication makes sense for Villena as well. He understands translation as a form of making visible what he calls "Virgil's intentions" [*intinçiones*], and what could be defined as different areas of meaning: poetical, historical, spiritual, moral, political, chivalric, social [*estados de gentes*], and chronological [*hedades del omne*]. Scholars believe it is even probable that Villena also assigned an astrological value to his work. Therefore, it can be said that Villena's translation opens up spaces for different interpretations all the way from the translation of the invocation ("O *muse*, or rather *knowledge*!"), which inscribes the work in two different areas at the same time.

Above all I want to argue that Villena, in addition to being familiar with rhetorical techniques of amplification, is also highly conscious of the specific translation strategies that he uses. After all, he could very well produce a concise word-for-word translation, as he seems to have done when he rendered Dante's *Divina commedia* in Castilian for the Marquis of Santillana. Scholars believe that this translation corresponds to the one found in Santillana's library, copied on the margins of a manuscript containing Dante's Italian with Latin glosses.[85] As we can see when we compare the two versions, Villena's version of the *Comedia* shows a very different style from the one we saw in his Eneida:

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[84] Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen age* (Paris: Champion, 1958), 61. For ancient definitions of rhetorical amplification as the heightening of an effect or detail, see Aristotle's *Rhetorics*, I.ix and Cicero's *De Oratore*, xvi. In his treatise *On the Sublime*, Longinus makes explicit the difference between elevation of style, which he recommends, and mere volume (xii.xiii). Quintilian's preliminary exercises of formal amplification of fables, myths, maxims, and commonplaces already seem to point in the direction of a more concrete understanding of *amplificatio* as verbal multiplication (*De institutione oratoria*, I.ix and II.iv).

[85] Pedro M. Cátedra, introduction to *Obras Completas III: Traducción y glosas de la "Eneida," libros IV– XII. Traducción de la "Divina Commedia,"* by Enrique de Villena (Madrid: Turner, 1994), xi–xiv.

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita	En el medio del camino de nuestra vida,
mei ritrovai per una selva oscura,	me fallé por una espesura o silva de árboles obscura,
ché la diritta via era smarrita.	en do el derecho camino estava amatado.
Ahi quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura	E cuanto a dezir cuál era, es cosa dura
esta selva selvaggia e aspra e forte	esta selva salvaje áspera e fuerte,
che nel pensier rinova la paura![86]	que, pensando en ella, renueva el mi miedo.[87]

With the exception of an occasional doublet ("espesura o silva de árboles"), Villena offers almost as many words as the Italian. And even though he uses Italianisms and follows the syntax of the Italian closely, this is a more fluid and linear text than his translation of Virgil. It was most likely prepared as an aid for the marquis, who would use it side by side the original. Since the reader would already have the two versions of the translation in hand, Villena does not need to prepare a text that represents the doubling.

A similar case can be made for Erasmus's and Florio's ability to choose among different translation methods. While we saw Erasmus could produce a translation of Euripides that had 717 more lines than the original, we have also seen he could produce a concise Latin translation of the New Testament, which could be correlated line by line with the Greek. Similarly, while Florio's translation of Montaigne's essay is notably longer than the original, we saw that his *First Fruites* offer equivalent and carefully correlated Italian and English versions. As in the case of Villena, I believe we cannot find an explanation for their verbal multiplication in their stylistic preferences and fondness for rhetorical techniques alone. I believe this multiplication is, above all, a strategic decision that has to do with how they understand translation. Translation involves two or more versions, and when the source and new version are not placed together (that is, when the new version cannot be *read side by side with the original*), it is then necessary for these translators to supply other possible readings. It is necessary for their text to offer double alternatives that can compensate for the physical absence of one of the versions. Therefore, I see Villena's consistent doubling of words and phrases not as a rhetorical fashion but as a specific translation strategy that is meaningful to him. Villena's verbal multiplication may go against ideals for textual unity, but it makes sense when we read it against the background of the multilingual-translation texts I have described in this chapter.

We should not forget, either, that he is addressing double audiences: the Marquis of Santillana and the King of Navarra; learned readers and less skilled Romance readers; a Castilian audience with a taste for a more Latinate prose and a Navarro-Aragonese audience that favored the vernacular. The consistent use of synonymic pairs (in which one word closely resembles the Latin form and the other one does not) can be seen as a formal mark of the double audiences that

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[86] Dante Aligheri, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, ed. Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martínez, vol. 1, *Inferno* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 26.

[87] Villena, *Obras Completas III*, 523.

Villena is addressing. Thus, while it is undeniable that Villena had a taste for verbal multiplication, the doublings in his *Eneida* are not a mere byproduct of rhetorical training. They are the result of a translation strategy intrinsically related to the cultural and political context in which he translates. They reflect his understanding of translation.

It is important that we acknowledge the specificity and cultural significance of Villena's translation strategies and of the textual models available to him in order to understand his work. In my next and final chapter, I argue that this acknowledgement is also important to understand what is at stake when fictional narratives such as *Utopia*, *Gargantua*, and *Don Quixote* present themselves or part of themselves as translations and invite the reader to see different versions and languages on the same page.

The first Booke of

The small Southrenwood doth neuer grow very highe: his braunches or twigges are small, weke and slender, for the most parte so springing vp from the roote: The leaues be greener, longer, tenderer and more iagged and cut, than the leaues of the great Southrenwood, the whiche do vade and fall of at winter, & renew and spring againe in May out of the same old branches, & also frō the new springs. It doth seldom flower in this countrey: it is of a stronger sauour then the great Southrenwood. The roote is tender, creeping alongst y grould, about y which there cōmeth forth diuers outgrowings & new springs.

Besides the two forenamed, there is founde a thirde kinde, the whiche is much like the small Southrenwood in his growing & branches, but his leaues are like the great Southrenwood, sauing that they be somwhat tenderer and not so white. This kinde is of a very pleasant sauour, not muche vnlike the smell of garden Cypres. Wherof shalbe written in his conuenient place.

❧ *The Place.*

The two first kinds grow not in this countrey, but only in gardens where-as they are planted: neither the thirde kinde, whiche is more seldome founde, and lesse knowen then the other.   ❧ *The Tyme.*

They flower in August, and their seede may be gathered in September.

❧ *The Names.*

Southrenwood is called in Greeke ἀβρότονον: in Latine & in Shoppes Abrotonum: in Italion and Spanish *Abrotano*, yet some of them call it *Hyerua Lombriguera*: in high Douch Stabwurtz, Gertwurtz, Garthagen, Shoswurtz, Kuttelkraut, Affrusch: in base Almaigne Aueroone: in French *Auronne*.

The great Southrenwood, is called in Greeke ἀβρότονον θῆλυ: in Latine Abrotonum foemina, that is to say, female Southrenwood: in french *Auronne femelle*: in high douch Stabwurtz weiblin: in base Almaigne Aueroone wijfke.

The small Southrenwood is called in Greeke ἀβρότονον ἄῤῥεν: in Latine Abrotonum mas: in French *Aronne masle*: in high Douch Stabwurtz menelin: in base Almaigne Aueroone manneken, and clein Aueroone.

The thirde kinde seemeth to be that whiche Dioscorides calleth in Greeke ἀβρότονον σικελικόν: in Latine Abrotonum Siculum, which is a kinde of female Southrenwood: the highe Almaignes do call it Wolrieckende Stabwurtz, that is to say, sweete smelling, or sauering Southrenwood.

❧ *The Nature.*

All the Southrenwoods, are hoate & dry in y third degree, & of subtill parts.

❧ *The Vertues.*

The seede of Southrenwood either greene or drie made into pouder, or boy-led in water or wine, & dronken, is very good and greatly helpeth suche as are troubled with shortnesse of winde, and fetching of breath, by meanes of any obstruction or stopping about the Breast, and is good against the hardnesse, bursting & shrinking of Sinewes. It is good against the Sciatica, the difficultie and stopping of vrine, and for women that cannot easily haue their termes, or natural floures: for by his subtill nature it hath power to expell, waste, cōsume and digest all colde moysture, and tough slime and fleume stopping the splene, kidneys, bladder, and Matrix.   A

Southrenwood dronken in wine is good against such venome as is hurtfull vnto man, and destroyeth woormes.   B

The perfume thereof driueth away all venemouse beastes: and so doth the hearbe in all places whereas it is layde or strowen.   C

The ashes of Southrenwood, mingled with y oyles of Palma Christi, rapes, or old oyle Oliue, restoreth the heare fallen from the head, if the head be rubbed there.   D

Fig. 3.1   Rembert Dodoens's *Niewe Herball, or Historie of Plantes* ([Antwerp], 1578); on this page, the section on "names" appears towards the middle

Fig. 3.2 *Colloquia et dictionariolum septem linguarum, Belgigicae* [sic], *Anglicae, Teutonicae, Latinae, Italicae, Hispanicae, Gallicae* (Liège, 1589)
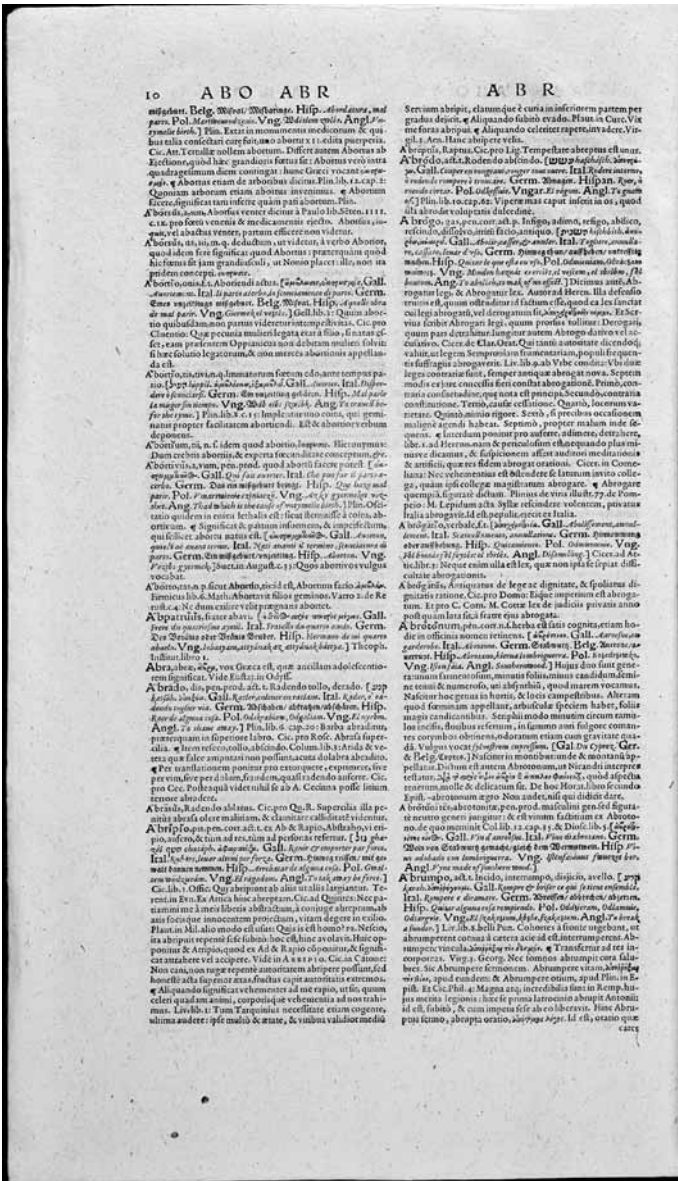
Fig. 3.3   *Dictionarium undecim linguarum … Respondent autem latinis vocabulis, hebraica, graeca, gallica, italica, germanica, belgica, hispanica, polonica, ungarica, anglica* (Basel, 1598)

Fol. 1.

γνῶμαι μονοσιχόι κατὰ ςοιχεῖον ἐκ Διαφοςῶν ποιητῶῃ.

Sentencias de vn renglon por orden de alfa-
beto colegidas de diuerſos Poetas.

Σεντεντιαε vnius lineae litterarum ordine diſpoſi-
tae, ex diuerſis Pnetis collectae.

ΕΙ αγαθὸς ἀνδρας

De los ombres de bien

De bonis Viris

Ανὴρ δὲ χρηςὸς ἥςιν τὸν δυ μιαθαστι.
El ombre de bien nũca aborrece a otro bueno.
Vir autem bonus nunquam odio habet bonum.
γνώμης γὰρ ἐθλῆς ἔργα χρηςά γίγνεται
Al buẽ parecer anexas le ſon las buenas obras.
Recta enim ſententiam recta quoqi facta ſequũtur.
Εθλῶ τὰρ ἀνδρει ἐθλα κάι διδοῖ θεὸς.
Porque al ombre virtuoſo Dios le da las co-
ſas buenas.
Viro enim probo Deus largitur bona.
ζήλου τὸν ἐθλὸν ἄνδρα κάι τὸν σώφρονα.
Imita al buen varon ial que es templado.
Imitare virum bonum atq; temperatum.
Ἔθυς δὲ βάσανός ἐςιν ἀνξρώπαις χρόνος.
La prueua de las coſtumbres de los om-
A   bres
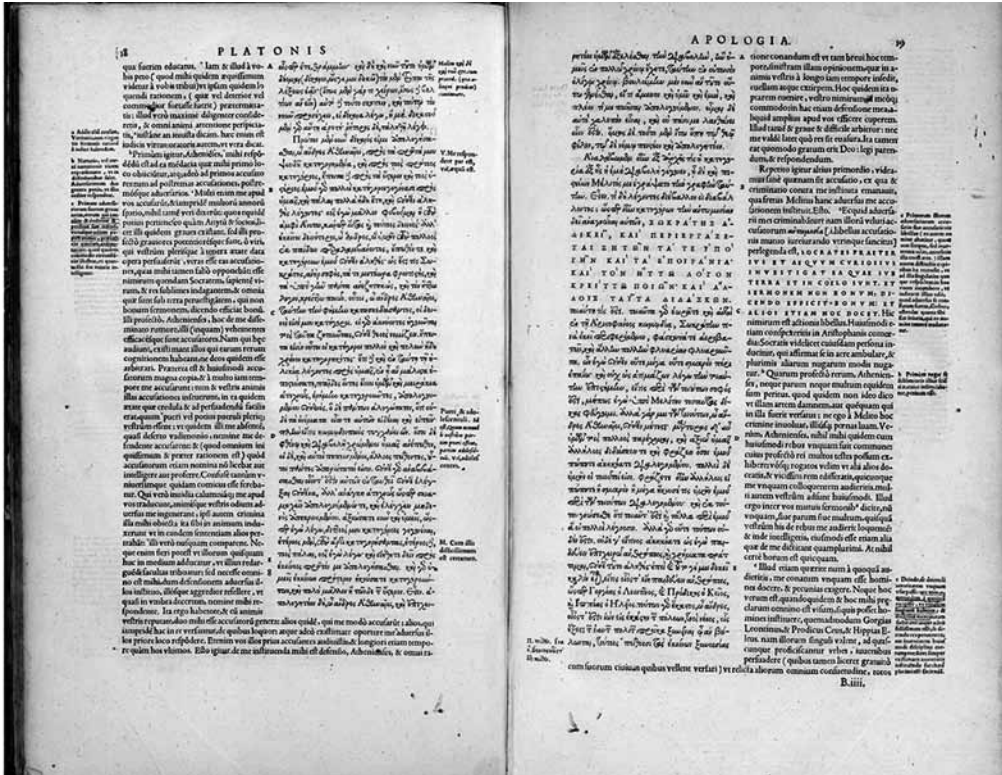
Fig. 3.5   *Apologia* in the *Stephanus Plato*, Greek and Latin in parallel columns, *Platonis opera quæ extant omnia* ([Geneva], 1578)

Il primo libro del
Cortegiano , del
Coute Baldaſſar Ca-
ſtiglioni, a meſſer Al-
fonſo Arioſte.

F RA ME
ſteſſo lun-
gaméte ho
dubitato ,
meſſer Al-
fonſo cariſſimo , qual di
due coſe piu difficil mi fuſ-
ſe , o il negarui quel,
che con tanta inſtanza
piu volte ni hauete richie-
ſto , o il farlo , perche
da vn canto mi pareua
duriſſimo negar alcuna
coſa , & maſſimamente
laudeuole , a perſona, che
io amo ſommamente , &
da cui ſommamente mi
ſento eſſer amato:dall'al-
tro ancor pigliar im-
preſa , la qual io non co-
noſceſſi poter condur a fi-
ne , pareami diſconue-
nirſi a chi eſtimaſſele giu-
ſte riprenſioni , quanto e-
ſtimar ſi debbono.

In vltimo dopo molti
penſieri ho deliberato e-
ſperimentare in queſto,
quanto aiuto porger poſ-
ſa alla diligenza mia ,
quella affettione, & deſi-
derio intenſo di compia-
cer , che nelle altre coſe
tanto

Le premier Liure
du Courtiſan par le
Comte Baltaſar Ca-
ſtillon, au ſieur Al-
fonſe Arioſte.

M ONSIEVR,
i'ay lóg téps
debatu en
moy-meſme
laquelle de
ces deux cho
ſes me ſeroit la plus difficile,
ou de vous refuſer , ce que
pluſieurs fois m'anez de-
mandé , auec ſi grande in-
ſtance , ou bien de le faire :
pource que d'vn coſté me
ſembloit rude & choſe fort
eſtrange de refuſer aucune
choſe , principallement lo-
uable , à celuy que i'ayme
grandemét, & duquel ieme
ſens eſtre grádement aymé:
d'autre coſte , d'entrepren-
dre choſe que ie cognoiſ-
ſe n'eſtre en moy , de pou-
uoir conduire à bonne fin,
me ſembloit n'eſtre conue-
nable à celuy qui eſtime les
iuſtes reprenſions autant
qu'elle ſe doiuent eſtimer.

En fin, apres auoir péſé &
repenſé lóguement ſur ceſte
affaire, i'ay propoſé d'expe-
riméter en cecy de combien
peut aider ma diligéce, celle
mienne affection & deſir
extreme que i'ay de vous
com-

The firſt booke
of the Courtier of
Counte Baldeſſar Caſti-
lio, vnto Maiſter Alfon-
ſus Arioſto.

I HAVE I
long time dou-
ted with my ſelf
(moſte louing
M. Alphonſus)
whiche of the
two were harder for me , ei-
ther to denie you the thing
that you haue with ſuch in-
ſtance many times required
of me , or to take it in hand:
becauſe on the one ſide mee
thought it a verie hard mat-
ter to denie any thing, eſpeci-
ally the requeſt being honeſt,
to the perſon whom I loue
dearely, and of whom I per-
ceiue my ſelfe dearly beloued.
Againe , on the other ſide,
to vndertake an enterpriſe
which I doe not know my
ſelfe able to bring to an ende,
I iudged it vncomly for him
that weyeth due reprooſes ſo
much as they ought to bee
weyed.

At length, after much
debating, I haue determi-
ned to prooue in this be-
halfe , what ayde that
affection and great deſire to
pleaſe can bring vnto my dili
gence, which in other thinges
A iij

Fig. 3.6   *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio*, trilingual edition
(London, 1588)
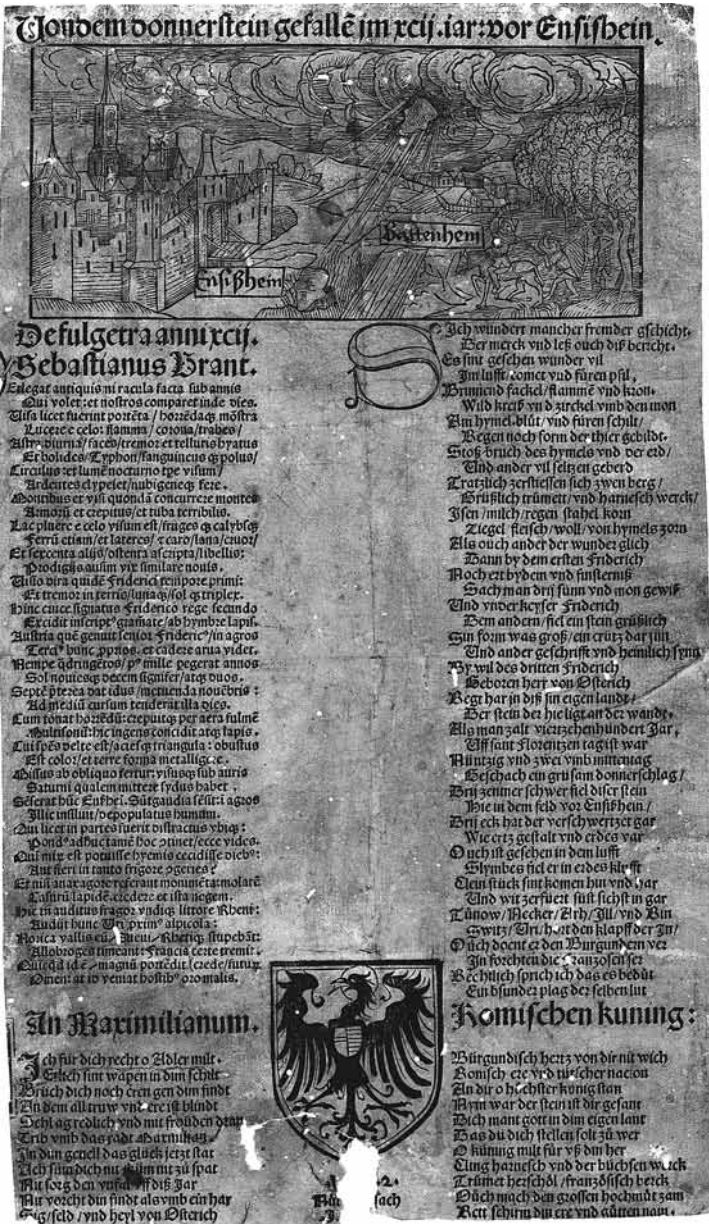
Fig. 3.7   Sebastian Brant's broadsheet *Von dem donnerstein, gefallen im xcii. jar: vor Ensishein* (Basel, 1492), Latin and German

This figure has intentionally been removed for copyright reasons.
To view this image, please refer to the printed version of this book

Fig. 3.8   Heinrich Steinhöwel's bilingual *Aesop* (Ulm, c. 1476)

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Chapter 4
Translation as a Discredited Text-Model in Early Modern Fiction

> And now I do not want to imply that the exercise of translating is not a laudable one; for a man could employ himself in worse things, and less profitable.
>
> —*Don Quixote* II.62 (1615)

This ironic apology for translation is made by the well-known character created by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, and it is addressed to a translator don Quixote happens to meet at a print shop in Barcelona.[1] This translator has completed a Castilian version of a Tuscan book, and he is having it printed at his own expense. He tells don Quixote that the first edition—obviously he assumes that there will be more than one—will consist of nothing less than two thousand copies, and that he expects to gain, at least, one thousand ducats from the sales.[2] Don Quixote is skeptical of the enterprise's success and he warns the enthusiastic translator: "I promise you that when you find yourself burdened with two thousand copies of the book, your body will be so sore that you will be amazed, especially if the book goes astray a little and doesn't lack spice."[3] The literal burden that these volumes will become for the translator is even more impressive if we take into account that, as my previous chapter has shown, translators would often go as far astray as to double the size of the original work.

Cervantes was familiar with the activities of producing and reading translations, and the fact that he makes an ironic joke about this not-so-profitable activity tells us that he expected his readers to be familiar with it, too. The economic and material burden translations could represent were not the only reasons why they were problematic for don Quixote. He was also familiar with translators' frequent

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[1] "Y no por esto quiero inferir que no sea loable este ejercicio del traducir; porque en otras cosas peores se podría ocupar el hombre, y que menos provecho le trujesen." Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Barcelona: Labor, 1973), 2:476. Translations into English are mine, unless otherwise noted.

[2] The expectations of the translator are ambitious by early modern standards. Two thousand copies was probably the largest number that a printer would consider, since after that point, the costs of the labor and materials would make the enterprise unprofitable. Phillip Gaskell estimates that 1,500 copies was probably the threshold for early modern printers. Phillip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 160–63.

[3] "Yo le prometo que cuando se vea cargado de dos mil cuerpos de libros, vea tan molido su cuerpo, que se espante, y más si el libro es un poco avieso y no nada picante." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 2:477.

complaints about the *difficulties* of translating. A few lines earlier, don Quixote had declared to his enthusiastic interlocutor that translating is like "looking at Flemish tapestries on their back side; for although one can see the figures, they are full of threads that make them obscure." He also affirms that, unless the languages involved are Greek and Latin, "translating does not argue wit or elocution, as neither does transcribing or copying one paper from another"—and this is the point at which don Quixote apologetically admits that there may be worse things than translating.[4] These are harsh comments to make to a translator, but I think we can assume this is not the first time he, or any other translator, has heard them. At least we can assume that some of Cervantes's readers had read similar comments before. For when don Quixote compares the texts of translations to tapestries, disregards the work of copyists, and praises Greek and Latin, he is drawing on topics that were recurrent in the prefaces and treatises of early modern translators. As we saw in Chapter 1, in the mid-fifteenth century, Alfonso de Madrigal had already disregarded the act of transcribing, or copying, as opposed to the actual rendering of one language into another. And the comparison between translation and tapestries was often found in prefatory and dedicatory materials.[5]

In fact, Cervantes can be said to have composed don Quixote's speech through a combination of images and motifs recurrent in Renaissance speculative discourse on translation. Cervantes plays with the conventions of this discourse, as he does with many other discursive genres, among which are the traditional ballad, the chivalric, Byzantine, and *Morisco* romances, the Italian *novella*, the *picaresque*, the pastoral poem, the *comedia nueva*, the rhetorical speech, the prologue, and even the dedicatory and laudatory poems, which Cervantes parodied by writing some of them in the name of fictional characters and appending them to the book. What is more, in addition to drawing on the theoretical discourse on translation, he parodies, as I will show, very specific translation strategies. He parodies, for instance, the abundant use of *synonymia* and alternative renderings, which, as

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4   "Pero, con todo esto, me parece que el traducir de una lengua en otra, como no sea de las reinas de las lenguas griega y latina, es como quien mira los tapices flamencos por el revés; que aunque se ven las figuras, son llenas de hilos que las oscurecen, y no se ven con la lisura y tez de la haz. Y el traducir de las lenguas fáciles ni arguye ingenio ni elocución, como no le arguye el que traslada ni el que copia un papel de otro papel." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 2:476.

5   The comparison between translation and tapestries had been used, for instance, by Luis Zapata, in his translation of Horace's *Ars poetica* (1591), by Lazare de Baif, in the prologue to his translation of *Electra* (1537), and by Thomas Hoby, in the dedicatory epistle he wrote for his translation of *The Courtier* (1561). It would be used later by, among others, Huygens (1622), James Howell (1641), and an anonymous translator of Cicero (1644). Nora Catelli and Marietta Gargatagli, *El tabaco que fumaba Plinio. Escenas de la traducción en España y América: relatos, leyes y reflexiones sobre los otros* (Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal, 1998), 239; Theo Hermans, "Metaphor and Imagery in the Renaissance Discourse on Translation," *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 114–15.

we saw in the previous chapter, was frequent among Renaissance translators. As he does so, he invites readers to laugh at verbal multiplicity. What is more, we will see him make fun of translation's multiplicity and use it to create humorous discontinuities in the narrative as well as uncertainty about the meaning and the coherence of the text.

As I will discuss in more detail, the fact that the *Quixote* is playfully presented as a fictional translation from the Arabic has been noted many times before. The many narratological layers that this game generates are perhaps one of the most analyzed aspects of the text. Moreover, this structure has tended to be seen as the inauguration of a new form of fictional representation that goes hand in hand with a modern consciousness and with a modern form of society.[6] Nevertheless, to my knowledge, there have been no studies of the relations between this fictional multiplicity and the rich tradition of collaborative and multilingual translation practices that Cervantes is parodying. My study of medieval and early modern translation practices in Chapters 2 and 3 offers a historical background to better understand this parody, as well as other early modern fictional narratives that present themselves, or part of themselves, as translations. In addition, I now want to show that such playful presentation was already a convention with which Cervantes and his early modern readers were familiar. I do not want to claim that Cervantes necessarily read the specific works I will discuss, but that he is using a formal resource and a set of ideological options available to him, which authors such as Garçi Rodríguez de Montalvo, Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra, Thomas More, and François Rabelais had already used before him. It could be argued that Cervantes read or was familiar with both Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadís* and Ortúñez de Calahorra's *Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros* (both of them are mentioned in the mock-inquisitorial burning of don Quixote's library, in I.3), and it is also arguable that Rabelais read or was familiar with More's *Utopia* (the supposed native land of the giants). There are also other specific instances of fictional-translation to which Cervantes must have had access, such as Fray Antonio de Guevara's *Marco Aurelio* (c. 1524), later printed as the *Relox de príncipes* (1529), which Guevara presents as the translation from Greek into Latin and from Latin into Romance of a manuscript that he had found in Florence, among some books left by Cosimo de' Medici.[7] Nevertheless, the claim that Cervantes had read Rabelais and More is more difficult to make, especially in the case of the latter. It is usually assumed that Cervantes was neither conversant with the works of northern humanists, nor proficient in Latin, and it is very unlikely that he had access to a Spanish version

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[6] See, among others, David Quint, *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times: A New Reading of* Don Quijote (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), x; and José María Paz Gago, "La semiótica ante el Quijote: de los estudios estructurales a los estudios culturales," *Edad de Oro* 25 (2006): 449, 452, where Paz Gago proposes that *Don Quixote* sets the bases for the modern novel and for the postmodern novel as well.

[7] Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Fuentes literarias cervantinas* (Madrid: Gredos, 1973), 188–9.

of More's work.[8] My argument is for a more general type of familiarity with this resource, at the level of *genre* conventions. I want to claim that Cervantes's play with multiplicity is not something he is inventing as he inaugurates a modern consciousness. On the contrary, he is pointing to a textual model already available to him. If modern critics have not recognized it as such it is probably because, as I have shown in my previous chapters, it has been excluded from literary history, since it did not have continuities with the modern model of the unified, monolingual text.

I want to use Cervantes's parody as an entry into a more general exploration: a study of the ways in which some early modern fictional works invoke the practice of *collaborative translation* and the texts of *multilingual translations* as models for interpretive strategies. As my first chapter explained, these models were being rejected by early modern translation theorists. The line of thought inaugurated by humanist translators—Leonardo Bruni, Alfonso de Madrigal, and Giannozzo Manetti, among them—assumes that translation should be performed by a single translator, who is an expert in the two languages involved. It also assumes that the text of a translation must display a single version. While there is a doubling of versions that is intrinsic to the activity of translating (translation involves, at least, a source and a new version), the ideal way of translating is described by humanist theoreticians as a paradoxical synthesis of two versions. For them, the new version must either imitate the original so well that it becomes transparent, or be so fluent that it can replace the original, but, in any case, there should be room for one version only in the translation text. I have argued that such theoretical demands for unity are compatible with the demands for unity that underlie many other discourses and institutions of early modern Europe: not only the demand for poetic unity of action, time, place, and style, but also the more actively enforced demands for one standard language, one faith, one official version of the Scriptures, one king, and one head in the household. I have also claimed that, in the midst of tensions between translation practices and ideological demands for textual unity, translation came to be considered an intrinsically *difficult task* (*res difficilis*). It is in this context, too, that don Quixote compares translations to the back side of Flemish tapestries.

It is also in this context that Cervantes, and Rabelais before him, laugh at translation and treat it as a discredited textual model. While humanist translators had struggled against the problem of translation's multiplicity, by the time Rabelais and Cervantes are writing, the difficulty and inadequacy of translation were common places—to the extent that the simple mention of translation techniques could be self-evidently funny. As we will see, the interruptions, contradictions, and interpretive problems that translation creates are an important source of humor at several points in these authors' narratives. At the same time—and this is where

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[8]   Royston Jones signals 1637 as the year of publication of the first Spanish translation of *Utopia* (which was a partial and highly edited one). Royston O. Jones, "Some Notes on More's 'Utopia' in Spain," *The Modern Language Review* 45.4 (1950): 478.

we will see early modern fiction going one step further than translation theory—jokes about translation practices can offer a unified interpretive position in the text. Thus, continuing with the argument that I have developed in my previous chapters, I will now claim that Rabelais's and Cervantes's parody of translation can be seen as another response to the problem that translation's multiplicity posed for Renaissance thought. I also want to claim that the use earlier fictional narratives make of translation strategies is part of this response as well.

Translation strategies in Chivalric Romances

The *Quixote* was not the first fictional narrative to assume its readers were familiar with the problems of translation. In fact, there seems to have been some conceptual proximity between the notion of narrating stories in the vernacular languages and that of translating stories into these languages. As Barbara Fuchs reminds us, although Chaucer could already use the word *romance* to refer to a story, the term was first and more widely used with the meaning of rendering a text from an ancient language into French (*mettre en romanz*, *romancier*) and into other Romance vernaculars (for instance, the Spanish *romançar*).[9]

As early as the twelfth-century, we can find explicit invitations to consider this connection, for instance, in Marie de France's *Lai du Laüstic*, which opens with a discussion of alternative names for the adventure she will narrate:

> *Laüstic* is its name, it seems to me;
> that is what [the Bretons] call it in their land.
> It is rossignol in French,
> and in straight English, nightingale.[10]

Marie's verses, like the phrases of medieval team-translators, offer several versions of a name, in different languages. Thus, in addition to offering the translation of its name as the very introduction to the narrative, her discussion formalizes an understanding of translation not as a single version but as a relation among several versions. We can see this understanding at work in the epilogue to the *Isopet*, where she presents her own French version as one more version among others, including an English version, which she attributes to King Alfred, and a Latin version made from the Greek:

> This book is called Aesop,
> he who translated it and had it copied,
> turned it from Greek into Latin.

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[9] Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 37–8.

[10] "Laüstic ad nun, ceo m'est vis, / Si l'apelent [le Bretun] en lur païs; / Ceo est russignol en franceis / E nihtegale en dreit engleis." French version in Marie de France, *The Lais of Marie de France*, ed. and tr. Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby (New York: Penguin, 1999), 156.

> King Alfred, who loves it much,
> Translated it afterward into English,
> And I have rhymed it in French.[11]

Marie's version is placed in the context of the English and Latin versions (even the figure of Aesop, whom we tend to consider an author, can be considered here as another translator depending on how we read the first lines). In this context, the opening verses of *Laüstic* can be an invitation for the audience to think of the *lai* in similar multilingual-translation terms.

An Anglo-Norman life of St. Edmund can offer another twelfth-century example of the use of multilingual synonyms in a narrative context. David Trotter has noted that this text gives seven different alternative names for ships (derived from Greek, Norse, Arabic, and Latin), when it portrays the large army that is coming to attack East Anglia:

> By sea they came from all parts
> In *dromunz* and in *chalanz*.
> In *esnekes* and in *hallos*,
> In *bouces*, in *barges* by droves,
> A thousand ships [*niefs*] in one company.[12]

This multilingual *catalog of ships* is, as in Marie's text, well integrated into the narrative and metric structures, and, thus, we can see multilingual translation as an integral part of the composition.

As we move forward in time, we can find narratives that make a more systematic use of translation strategies. The fictional presentation of the story as a translation is characteristic of the long prose *romances* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is common for chivalric romances, for instance, to be introduced as a vernacular version of a Latin chronicle, which had been previously translated from Greek or Arabic. What is more, the narrative structure of chivalric romances appears to be based on this imaginary multiplication of versions. The juxtaposition of numerous similar episodes is the main form of organization in this type of narrative, to the point that it becomes difficult to remember the names of different kings, enchanters, knights, and ladies who act in these episodes, all of whom seem to behave and speak in similar ways. David Quint offers a suggestive description

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[11]   "Esope apelë um cest livre, / kil traslata e fist escrivre, / de Griu en Latin le turna. / Li reis Alvrez, ki mult l'ama, / le traslata puis en Engleis, / et jeo l'ai rimé en Franceis." Marie de France, *The fables of Marie de France: an English translation*, ed. and tr. Mary Lou Martin (Birmingham, AL: Summa, 1984), 252–3.

[12]   "Par mer vindrent de tutes parz / E en dromunz e en chalanz / E en esnekes e en hallos, / En bouces, en barges par tros, / Mil niefs en une compaignie." In David Trotter, "Oceano Vox: You Never Know Where a Ship Comes from: On Multilingualism and Language-Mixing in Medieval Britain," *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History*, ed. Kurt Braunmüller and Gisella Ferraresi (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2003), 15, 28n1.

when he explains how the technique of *entrelacement* (interlace) organizes the numerous variations:

> The romance follows the careers of some eight or ten questing knights, telling a segment of one knight's story before turning to a segment of another's, and thus keeps multiple plots going at once. The plots parallel one another and may share common motifs, and the reader begins to realize that the romance coheres and generates meaning not so much from the endings of the knights' stories, which are hardly in sight, as from the juxtaposition of the stories and their reflection upon one another.[13]

Scholars have tended to explain this feature as the result of a combination of folkloric techniques of *geminatio* and rhetorical techniques of *amplificatio*.[14] I believe that translation techniques (multilingual translation in particular) are also a possible model for this fictional multiplicity. It is not too farfetched, I believe, to see the numerous knights and plots in the story as different, juxtaposed versions of each other. After all, chivalric romances explicitly invite their readers to play with translation's textual structures. This is not to deny, of course, that other interpretive models, such as allegorical exegesis, were at play in the organization of romances. However, although allegory may account for more complex layers of figurative meaning that we can see in a particular knight's adventure and for the abstract, typical nature of their characters and adventures, it does not by itself explain the numerous *literal* variations of characters and plots.

The fictional presentation of a romance as a translation has visible consequences for the narrative structure, the most notable of which is that it creates multiple narrative layers and authorial positions inside the story. Sometimes the names of the supposed Greek and Arabic wise authors are explicitly mentioned, and occasionally these authors become not only narrative voices but also characters in the story. To complicate things further, these authorial figures could, in turn, be recognized and playfully appropriated by those who actually translated the works. For instance, scholars do not know for sure whether Garçi Rodríguez de Montalvo was the author or the translator (from a hypothetical earlier Portuguese version) of the famous Spanish romance *Amadís de Gaula* (1508). They do know that Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra was the author of the later romance *Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros* (1555), yet Ortúñez playfully presented himself as the translator of the story into Spanish, both in his preface and in the title page. What is more, when Margaret Tyler's English version of the first book was published in 1578, the game was taken farther: the title page omitted Ortúñez's name as the *translator* of the story into Spanish and presented, instead, Margaret Tyler as the translator of the story into English. In a way, in the English version, it is her voice we are supposed

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[13]   Quint, *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times*, 5.

[14]   Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, introduction to Garçi Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula I* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1991), 9–119.

to hear in the first lines of the text, before, as we are told, the words of the wise chronicler Artimidoro the Grecian begin to be translated:

> *After that the greate Emperour Constantine had peopled the Citie of Constantinople, with the race of the noble Citizens of Rome, and had reedified the auncient buildings founded by Pansanias king of the Parthes. Among all the Emperours which succeeded in that Empire of Greece, none seemed to have raysed his owne name, or to have made it so famous, as the great and mightie Emperour Trebatio. Whose worthy deedes with the valiant actes of the knights of his time, I will report here, according as Artimidoro the Grecian hath left them written in the great volumes of his Cronicle.*
>
> *The story sayth thus:* That if at any time Fortune, being alwaies uncerteine and variable, shewed hir selfe more freindly to the Greekes, then to all men besides; and if ever the Gecians were feared in all the worlde, it was in the time of Trebatio the sonne of Alicante.[15]

This is a quite literal translation of the beginning of Ortúñez's book. In the Spanish version, too, immediately after the opening words follows the supposed translation of Artimidoro's Greek Chronicle. In Ortúñez's work, we may assume that these opening words are those of the Latin translator, or even those of the Spanish translator Ortúñez pretends to be. In Tyler's English translation, we may assume these are her words. Thus, we can propose that the many layers opened up by the presentation of the text as a translation allow Tyler to place herself in something like an authorial role.[16]

As these examples begin to suggest, in addition to being used as a fictional model to organize the narrative, translation played a role in the actual development of the romance as a genre. Chivalric romances circulated across Europe in numerous translations. The geographical and linguistic displacements of the Arthurian, Trojan, and French *matières* are intrinsic to their earlier history—scholars have followed their movements from England to Spain and back to England, passing through France, Portugal, and perhaps through early contacts with Arabic poets in southern France and Spain, as well as with late re-elaborations of Greek romances. The production of actual translations (from one vernacular to another, and not from ancient languages as their authors playfully pretended) and their massive diffusion after the invention of the printing press are an important part of the history of this *genre* as well.[17] The *Amadís* was perhaps more famous—

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[15]   *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*, tr. Margaret Tyler (London, 1578), Bi; emphasis added.

[16]   For further discussion, see Deborah Uman and Belén Bistué, "Translation as Collaborative Authorship: Margaret Tyler's *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*," *Comparative Literature Studies* 44.3 (2007): 298–323.

[17]   William Entwistle, *The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1925); Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry; the Revival of the Romance of Chivalry in the Spanish Peninsula, and Its Extension and Influence Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).

and certainly much longer—in its French version than in the Spanish one. The above mentioned *Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros* had several later translations in addition to Tyler's. After she translated its first book (1578), English renderings of the second and third book by a certain R. P. appeared in London in 1583 and 1586; Melchor Escapa de Villaroel published an Italian version in 1601; and there are two known French versions, one from 1617 and one from 1780, which was then translated into the German in 1781–1783.[18] I would add that the many bilingual and tetralingual editions of the sentimental novels of *Grisel y Mirabella*, *Cárcel de amor*, and *Arnalte y Lucenda*, which, as we saw in Chapter 3, juxtapose several versions of the story in different languages, can be said to formalize the *translational* nature of romances in general.

In this context, the fictional use that romances make of translation structures can be seen as a self-conscious reference. They are fictionally redeploying some of the actual textual strategies that shaped their transmission and circulation. It is not a coincidence, then, that Cervantes's book mocks translation and chivalric romances at the same time. While readers could draw on their knowledge of rhetorical and poetic strategies to interpret a romance, they could also draw on their familiarity with translation strategies, especially when the text encouraged them to do so. At the most general level, one of the strategies that readers of romances were encouraged to use—and one of the strategies Cervantes will mock—is the juxtaposition of alternative versions, even if the reader cannot keep track of all of them as a whole.

As in the case of multilingual translations, it is this multiplicity that has placed chivalric romances on the margins of literary history. Fortunately, it is also a new interest in their *troubling variety* that has given recent critics a crucial point of entry into the study of romances as a *genre*. Fuchs, for instance, proposes to see their multiplication of adventures, together with their digressions, delays, and ramifications, "as a literary strategy of pleasurable multiplicity"—in a marked contrast to the type of political unity that epic poems can promote. She also sees this variety as a potential form of resistance to notions of completion and authorial control.[19] However, it is undeniable that the call for textual unity that informed Renaissance thought on translation seems to have been equally central to speculative and programmatic reflections on narrative fiction. Like translation's multiplicity, the *variety* inside the plot of romances created problems for Renaissance scholars, who measured it against the prescriptions for unity they had derived from Aristotle's *Poetics*. This is why Cervantes can make fun of romances in the *Quixote* as much as he makes fun of translation.

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[18] Daniel Eisenberg, introduction to *Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros* by Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra, vol. 1 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1975).

[19] Fuchs, *Romance*, 66–9; see also William Childers, *Transnational Cervantes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), in which Childers reads Cervantes's *Trials of Persiles and Segismunda* as a romance that crosses cultural borders and explores the hybridization of identity.

Multilingual Translation in Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516)

Thomas More's *Utopia* does not exactly present itself as a translation, at least not as openly as chivalric romances did, but it points quite directly to some of the specific translation texts I have discussed in Chapter 3. Above all, as we will see, *Utopia* does invite its readers to use some of the strategies they use when they read a translation. We find an important clue in this respect in one of the prefatory writings that accompanied the early (Latin) editions of *Utopia*. This text closely resembles a page from a bilingual translation. We can even say it is a fictional bilingual translation. On the upper section of the page, it offers what is supposed to be the "Utopian alphabet" [*utopiensium alphabetum*], and this alphabet is not presented alone but accompanied by an interlinear superscript transcription in Latin characters. This is followed by a short poem in the vernacular language of the Utopians [*vernacula utopiensium lingua*], whose verses are also transcribed in superscript Latin characters. Finally, below this interlinear arrangement, there is a Latin version of the Utopian quatrain (see Figure 4.1).

By offering equivalent Latin characters for each of the letters in the Utopian language, the text gives readers the tools for checking the transcription of the Utopian words into Latin. Then, by offering the Latin version of this transcription, it also opens up the game for a comparison of the two versions. If we accept the invitation to play, we find there are some clues to correlate them:

> Utopos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
> Bargol he maglomi baccan soma gymnosophaon.
> Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
> Voluala barchin heman la lauoluola dramme pagloni.
>
> Utopos me dux ex non insula fecit insulam.
> Una ego terrarum omnium absque philosophia.
> Civitatem philosophicam expressi mortalibus.
> Libenter impartio mea, non gravatim accipio meliora.[20]

For instance, the first line of the Utopian version has one more word than the Latin, but the repetition of a word with a slight fictional-morphological variation ("chama" and "chamaan") allows us to correlate it with the repetition of the Latin *insula* (in its actual morphological variations: "insula" and "insulam"). The second and fourth lines have exactly the same number of words. The third one does not, but, again we find details that let us correlate words, such as the use of "gymnosophon," which in the previous line, again in a slightly different form, can

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20   The Yale edition of *Utopia* offers the following English version of the Latin quatrain: "Utopus, my ruler, converted me, formerly not an island, into an island. / Alone of all lands, without the aid of abstract philosophy, / I have represented for mortals the philosophical city. / Ungrudgingly do I share my benefits with others; undemurringly do I adopt whatever is better from others." Thomas More, *Utopia*, *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 4 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 18–19.

be easily correlated with "philosophia" and, therefore, should be correlated with "philosophicam" in this line. We can keep searching for other little clues, such as the use of "ha," "he," and "heman" in correlation with the Latin "me," "ego," and "mea"; and the use of the particle "la" as some form of negative ("peu*la* chama" / "ex *non* insula"; "*la* lauoluola" / "*non* gravatim"). I suspect the game can be taken farther, but I believe these examples are enough to show that it does work as a bilingual translation.

In another prefatory writing that accompanied *Utopia* (a letter from Peter Giles to Jerome Busleiden), Giles claims to be the contributor of this piece. A city official at Antwerp, he was More's friend and shared his humanist interests, to the extent that More gave his name to one the main characters in the first part of the book (Petrus Aegidius). Placing himself in between the fiction and the prefatory surroundings, Giles playfully maintains in the letter to Busleiden that Hythlodaeus had shown him the poem after More's departure from Antwerp.[21] His double-version text appeared in the early editions of *Utopia* (1516, 1517, and the two 1518 editions), as did the letters, poems, and even fictional maps of the island that were the contribution of Erasmus, Giles, Busleiden, and several other well-known humanists. As David Harris Sacks points out, these materials place *Utopia* in the context of a "group project—the work of a number of European humanists who not only contributed prefaces, letters, illustrations, and other materials to frame it, but who supervised its press runs for More, who by then was back in England."[22] Unfortunately, Ralph Robinson's 1551 English version did not include translations of most of the prefatory materials that accompanied the Latin editions. The English version has become the canonical text in the context of English literary studies (Robinson's version is still the one cited, for instance, in Harry Berger's influential article on "The Renaissance Imagination," and it re-entered the pedagogical arena in Sacks's 1999 edition), and, therefore, the collaborative dimension of *Utopia* is harder to access in this context, as is Giles's translation.[23]

I want to argue that, with this loss, the text of *Utopia* has also lost a key point of entry into More's work, because Giles's fictional translation helps us see two important points. First, it suggests the audience's familiarity with multilingual translation practices (now that we have seen several examples of multilingual translations, I believe it is easy to argue that his readers must have recognized Giles's text as one of them). Second, and more important, Giles's double-version poem is an indication that, although the narrative of *Utopia* is not strictly presented as a translation itself, it may be necessary to use translation strategies in order to

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[21]   Thomas More, *Utopia*, 23.

[22]   David Harris Sacks, introduction to *Utopia*, by Thomas More (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999), 5; see also Peter R. Allen, "Utopia and European Humanism: The Function of the Prefatory Letters and Verses," *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 91–107.

[23]   Harry Berger Jr., "The Renaissance Imagination: Second World and Green World," *The Centennial Review* 9 (1965): 36–78.

access the fiction of *Utopia*. In fact, if we read *Utopia* with Giles's translation in mind, we can find some indications of this need in More's own narrative, too.

For instance, when More plays with Greek compounds in order to name the island, its cities, rivers, and institutions, he is inviting readers to translate his Greek neologisms. More himself plays this game in a letter he added to the 1517 edition, where he ironically denies that he intended such translations. Playing with the idea that a certain reader had doubted whether the story was real or fictitious, More claims that he used the actual historical names of "Utopia, Anydrus, Amaurotum, and Ademus," which were "barbarous and *meaningless* names." Still in an ironical mood, he gives some more hints about the translation games his book proposes:

> If I had done nothing else than impose names on the ruler, river, city, and island
> such as might suggest to the more learned that the island was nowhere, the city
> a phantom, the river without water, and the ruler without a people, it would not
> have been hard to do and would have been much wittier than what I actually
> did.[24]

This is, of course, a game that learned readers would have readily recognized. "Utopia" can be translated as "nowhere," "Amaurotum" as "phantom," "Anydrus," as "without water," and "Ademus" as "without people." And the story itself points to such witty games, too, when it mentions Hythlodaeus's hypothesis regarding the Greek origins of the Utopian race. Its language, we are told, "which in almost all other respects resembles the Persian, retains some traces of Greek in the names of their cities and officials."[25] This is another playful hint that we would do well to translate from the Greek.

At some points, the translation game becomes even more interesting. The text offers names formed by compounds that resemble Greek but cannot be identified as a specific word. An example can be found in the word *syphograntus*, which is supposed to be an old name that Utopians used for some of their magistrates. Accepting More's implicit invitation to translate, modern scholars have speculated that the name may have such diverse meanings as 'user of copious cups,' 'wise old men,' and 'silly old men,' and they have even proposed some connection to the Greek word for 'pigsty' (*supheos*) and to the word 'sycophant,' which the Utopian word so closely resembles.[26] It is well-known that the very name of Utopia can be translated both as 'no-place' (as if it were a compound of the Greek words οὐ- and τόπος) and also as 'happy place' or 'good place' (as if it were a compound of εὐ- and τόπος).[27] This ambiguity, I believe, enriches the reflection of

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[24]   More, *Utopia*, 250.

[25]   More, *Utopia*, 181.

[26]   See notes in More, *Utopia*, 398–9. James Romm discusses some of these names and the impossibility of interpreting them in "More's Strategy of Naming in the *Utopia*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22.2 (1991): 173–83.

[27]   For instance, Philip Sidney speaks of "Sir Thomas Moore's Eutopia" in *The Defence of Poesie* (London, 1595), D4.

the reader and prompts debate on the book. In one of the prefatory letters appended to the 1517 edition, French scholar William Budé entered the translation game by proposing that Utopia should be named "Udepotia" (the 'never-place,' from the Greek οὐδέποτε, 'never'), and, thus, taking a fixed position with respect to the two possible meanings. The word he proposes, however, limits the ambiguity in a way that does not quite seem in line with More's game. I believe that the game More and Giles proposed is more in line with multilingual translation—as Giles's fictional poem so vividly suggests. *Utopia* opens up the game for a type of translation that ultimately defies the possibility of a single valid interpretation, and, thus, it invites us to consider more than one aspect at a time—it even may invite us to establish a dialog with other *collaborative translators* as we interpret the work.

Moreover, the translation movements we are invited to make as we read Giles's poem and play More's word games rehearse, at the level of words and phrases, a strategy that can be used to deal with larger structures in the work. At the level of the largest textual structures, Harry Berger has highlighted the "ambiguous" character of what he calls the *green world* inside *Utopia* (Hythlodaeus's description of the island), which can be both dangerous and useful, and which is subject to different readings. And he has described the function of the *second world* (More, Giles, and Hythlodaeus's conversation) as that of an "interpretation," which is not self-sufficient and which should actually prompt the reader to "revise the first world."[28] Fifteen years later, Stephen Greenblatt would also see in *Utopia*'s double narrative structure: an "unstable" relation between "two distinct worlds that occupy the same textual space." In a phrase that becomes suggestive when read against the background of early modern multilingual translations, Greenblatt describes the interpretive movement the reader must perform as one of "ceaseless oscillation," in which he or she is "constantly tantalized by the resemblances between England and Utopia."[29] This is similar, I would add, to how we may be tantalized by the resemblances between the Utopian and the Latin versions of Giles's quatrain.

It is true that the places for the reader that each of these two critical approaches proposes are very different. For one thing, while the model for Berger's description is the creation of a unified point of view through perspective techniques in Renaissance painting (as described, for instance, in Alberti's treatise on painting), Greenblatt finds his model in Holbein's anamorphic techniques, which make such a unified point impossible. Berger proposes that the unified position for the reader cannot be found within the text but is determined by it, and he sees this resulting unified point of view as the place from which the relation between the two worlds inside the fiction can be controlled. Instead, Greenblatt claims that if the reader is to find any unified, reassuring point of view, it "must be imposed from without, by an individual or a community with an interest in establishing a fixed point beyond

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28   Berger, "The Renaissance Imagination," 42, 73–5.

29   Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 22–5.

the ceaseless oscillation of irreconcilable perspectives." These analyses are grounded on competing early modern conceptual models. By proposing a unified point of view determined by the text, Berger is aligning not only with Alberti's model but also with the requests of early modern theoreticians of translation. On the contrary, as we saw, Greenblatt grounds his analysis on the alternative model of anamorphic techniques. Nevertheless, in spite of their fundamental differences regarding *conceptual* models, what interests me is the point of contact in Berger's and Greenblatt's analyses. Both critics identify inside the fictional narrative two worlds that seem to work as different *versions* of each other, and none of them finds a unifying point of view *inside* the text.

It is this textual double-structure (be it ambiguous or oscillating) that I believe resembles the organization of bilingual translations invoked by Giles in his playful translation of the Utopian quatrain. This is why I believe we should also consider multilingual translation as a model that can help us think about *Utopia*. In addition to perspectivistic drawing and anamorphic painting, other models of activities contemporary to More and his friends have been used for this purpose (rhetorical and poetic strategies, and the structures of philosophical dialogs, among them). In this context, I believe Giles's double-version poem strongly hints at the importance that multilingual-translation strategies had for More and his humanist circle and, thus, to the importance these strategies have for a fuller understanding of their work. In the context of my discussion of the relations between translation and early modern fiction, Giles's hint offers a unique entry. For, while both his fictional translation and More's translation games can be associated with humor, this humor seems to be of a productive type. Their playful invitation to translate offers a valuable interpretive strategy to the reader.

The Discredit of Translation in François Rabelais's *Gargantua* (1534) and *Pantagruel* (1532)

The situation is different in Rabelais's fictional works, where the invitation to use translation strategies is openly parodic. When Rabelais offers a fictional translation, he does more than encourage the reader to play with ambiguity or a plurality of meanings: he invites the reader to face the complete failure of interpretation. The parody is inaugurated in the very first chapters of *Gargantua*, where we find a translation scene and a fictional translation text.[30] The first chapter offers a detailed description of the discovery of a manuscript that contains the genealogy of Gargantua, and the fictional author tells us he was called to translate this text:

> It was found by Jean Audeau, in a meadow of his near the Arch Gualeau, below l'Olive, on the way to Narsay. Here, as they were cleaning the ditches, the

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[30]   Although second in order of publication, *Gargantua* functions as the first book in the chronological order of the story.

diggers struck with their picks against a great tomb of bronze, so immeasurably long that they never found the end of it. For it stuck out too far into the sluices of the Vienne. Opening this tomb at a certain place which was sealed on the top with the sign of a goblet, around which was inscribed in Etruscan letters, HIC BIBITUR, they found nine flagons, arranged after the fashion of skittles in Gascony; and beneath the middle flagon lay a great, greasy, grand, grey, pretty, little, mouldy book, which smelt more strongly but not more sweetly than roses. In this book was found the said genealogy, written out at length in a chancery hand, not on paper, nor on parchment, nor on wax, but on elm-bark, so worn however by old age that scarcely three letters could be read.

Unworthy though I am, I was called in to inspect it, and, with much help from my spectacles, following that art by which letters can be read that are not apparent—as Aristotle teaches—*I translated it*, as you may see in your pantagruelizing.[31]

Part of the comic effect of the above opening lines comes from the complication of the finding—the book under the flagon, under the sign of the goblet, inside the tomb. This complication can be said to work as an image of the many interpretive layers that the translation process entails. The abundance of practical details, including the spectacles, the script, the material of which the book is made, the decay, the mold, and the smell, emphasizes its materiality and opacity. This description closes the first chapter, and the following chapter opens directly with a sample of the fictional translation:

ai? enu le grand dompteur des Cimbres,
v\ sant par l'aer, de peur de la rousée.
'sa venue on a remply les timbres
)' beurre fraiz, tombant par une housée.
= uquel quand fut la grand mere arrousée,
Cria tout hault : «Hers, par grace, pesche le;

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[31] François Rabelais, *The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel*, tr. J. M. Cohen (London: Penguin, 1955), 42. "Et [la généalogie de Gargantua] fut trouvée par Jean Audeau en un pré qu'il avoit près l'arceau Gualeau, au dessoubz de l'Olive, tirant à Narsay, duquel faisant lever les fossez, toucherent les piocheurs de leurs marres un grand tombeau de bronze, long sans mesure, car oncques n'en trouverent le bout par ce qu'il entroit trop avant les excluses de Vienne. Icelluy ouvrans en certain lieu, signé, au dessus, d'un goubelet à l'entour duquel estoit escript en lettres Ethrusques: HIC BIBITUR, trouverent neuf flaccons en tel ordre qu'on assiet les quilles en Guascoigne, dequelz celluy qui au mylieu estoit couvroit un gros, gras, grand, gris, joly, petit, moisy livret, plus, mais non mieulx sentent que roses. En icelluy fut ladicte geneallogie trouvée, escripte au long de lettres cancelleresques, non en papier, non en parchemin, non en cere, mais en escorce d'ulmeau, tant toutesfoys usées par vetusté qu'à poine en povoit on troys recognoistre de ranc. Je (combien que indigne) y fuz appelé, et, à grand renfort de bezicles, practicant l'art dont on peut lire lettres non apparentes, comme enseigne Aristoteles, la translatay, ainsi que veoir pourrez en Pantagruelisant." François Rabelais, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Pierre Jourda (Paris: Garnier, 1962), 1:12–13.

Car sa barbe est presque toute embousée
Ou pour le moins tenez luy une eschelle.»[32]

[ai? … great conqueror of the Cimbri
v\ … ing through the air, in terror of the dew,
' … his arrival every tub was filled
) … fresh butter, falling in a shower,
= … ith which, when the great ocean was bespattered,
He cried aloud; "Sirs, please to fish it up,
His beard is almost clotted with the stuff;
Or, at least, hold out a ladder to him."][33]

Translators who have worked with this fictional translation agree that it defies actual translation. For instance, when Thomas Urquhart rendered the work into English in 1653, he translated the title of this fictional treatise as "Antidoted Fanfreluches, Or, A Galimatia of extravagant conceits" (in the French version, it is only "Les Fanfreluches antidotes").[34] To the literal translation he added an explanatory phrase that qualifies the treatise as a galimatias, a mixture of confused and meaningless words. In the twentieth century, John Michael Cohen translated the title directly as "Corrective Conundrums," and he added in a note to his translation that "there is very little sense in this riddle, though some critics have found in it references to the Pope, the Reformation, and to certain wars."[35] The Spanish translator Alicia Yllera sees the multiplicity of alternative meanings that the word "fanfreluches" has as an emblem of the impossibility of finding a precise, univocal meaning.[36] And Juan Barja believes that neither the title nor the verses of the fictional translation need to hide any meaning at all. For him, they are intended as a parody of ambiguous writings, which may be interpreted in a thousand different ways.[37]

In its fictional new version, the text certainly remains a conundrum, and a galimatias, to which critics have not been able to assign coherent meaning. Whether Rabelais's narrator-translator could not produce a meaningful new version, or he faithfully rendered the original conundrum as a new conundrum, the fictional translation playfully resists interpretation. What is more, there seems to be no clear connection between this initial text and the rest of the narrative. Both the translation scene and its resulting disconnected new version are an emblem of the extensive parody of interpretive practices that Rabelais will carry out throughout his work.

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[32]   Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, 14.

[33]   Rabelais, *The Histories*, 42–3.

[34]   François Rabelais, *The first book of the works of Mr. Francis Rabelais, Doctor in Physick*, tr. Thomas Urquhart (London, 1653), 13.

[35]   Rabelais, *The Histories*, 42.

[36]   François Rabelais, *Gargantúa*, tr. Alicia Yllera (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999).

[37]   François Rabelais, *Gargantúa*, tr. Juan Barja (Madrid: Akal, 1989), 47n11.

Already in the prologue to *Gargantua*, he ironically plays with the idea that there may be Pythagorean symbols in his book, and he mocks, a few lines later, the allegories that have been forced out of Homer and the Gospel mysteries found to be hiding in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Inside the book, in addition to translation, the narrator makes fun of the symbolic interpretation of the colors of Gargantua's emblem, offering, instead, a philosophical argumentation about the meaning of these colors—only to arrive at exactly the same meaning as the one he initially criticized (chapters 9–10). The book closes with the problem of the prophetic riddle inscribed in the foundations of the Abbey of Thélème, in which Gargantua reads as a sign of the validity of Divine Truth and Friar John sees the description of a tennis match in symbolic language. The parody of interpretive practices is also a constant throughout the rest of the books. Well known examples include Panurge's sign battle with the English scholar Thaumaste (*Pantagruel*, chapters 18–20), such varied means of divination as Virgilian lotteries, dice, interpretation of dreams, the monastic Cabala, and the leaves scattered by the Sibyl of Panzoust (*Third Book*, chapters 10–18), as well as the famous episode of the frozen words (*Fourth Book*, chapters 55–56).

In general, those who have studied Rabelais's work have seen the impossibility of finding a unified, continuous line of interpretation as one of the main characteristics of his fiction. Barbara Bowen sees each chapter as "an autonomous unit, to be appreciated on its own terms rather than in terms of the work as a whole."[38] Michel Jeanneret goes even further when he claims that "even from one episode to the other, and, sometimes, from one phrase to the other, the meanings are discontinuous, contradictory, and irreducible to a unitary vision." [39] François Rigolot has called the work a "marquetterie mal joincte."[40] The image of a *marquetterie*—of a surface decorated with small inlaid pieces, which in the case of Rabelais's text would be playfully disjointed—is certainly suggestive of the interruptions and discontinuities between the versions that are juxtaposed in the texts of multilingual translations.

In fact, in chapter 8 of *Pantagruel*, Marcel Françon has seen a specific allusion to multilingual translations. He sees a playful reference to the polyglot Genoa Psalter of 1516 in the letter Gargantua sends to his son, because this letter advises Pantagruel to "learn the languages with perfection; first of all the Greek, as Quintilian would have it; secondly, the Latin; and then the Hebrew, for the Holy Scripture's sake; and then the Chaldee [Aramaic] and Arabic likewise."[41]

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[38] Barbara C. Bowen, *The Age of Bluff: Paradox and Ambiguity in Rabelais and Montaigne* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 100.

[39] Michel Jeanneret, *Le défi des signes: Rabelais et la crise de l'interprétation à la Renaissance* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994), 142.

[40] François Rigolot, *Les langages de Rabelais* (Gèneve: Droz, 1972), 9.

[41] Marcel Françon, "Rabelais and the *Psalterium Hebreum, Grecum, Arabicum, et Chaldeum* (Genoa, 1516)," *French Studies* 18.4 (1964): 360–61; see also Marcel Françon, "Two Notes on 'Gargantua and Pantagruel,' *The Modern Language Review* 59.3 (1964): 371–4.

Although they are not arranged in the exact same order, these are, indeed, the languages that the Genoa Psalter combines (see Figure 1.4). The allusion works as a background for the joke in the next chapter, where, on meeting Pantagruel for the first time, Panurge speaks to him in *polyglot format*. During a walk outside the city in the company of his people and other students, Pantagruel encounters a man "of handsome built" and apparently descended "of some rich and noble stock," but who looks "as if he had escaped from the dogs, or to be more accurate, like some apple-picker from the Perche country."[42] This man is Panurge, who will become Pantagruel's inseparable companion, but when, intrigued, Pantagruel asks him about his name and business, Panurge only responds that he is in a pitiful state and must first ask for food and shelter. What is remarkable about this answer is that he gives it not only in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, but also in German, Italian, Spanish, Danish, and in two languages that Rabelais invented, one of which Pantagruel recognizes as nothing less than the Utopian language. This is the situation in the first edition of *Pantagruel* (1532), and between the 1533 and the 1534 editions, four more languages were added: Scottish (replaced by English after 1542), Basque, Dutch, and another fictional language, which Epistemon suggests is the Lanternois.[43] The joke lies in that even though Pantagruel and his companions can clearly recognize the sounds of Hebrew, Greek, and even Utopian, they cannot understand Panurge until he speaks French—not only his maternal tongue, but also the main language of the fictional narrative. Gargantua's letter may have recommended the model of multilingual translations, but when we see Panurge put it to use in times of need, the model proves itself a comic misunderstanding.

Terence Cave has seen in Panurge's multiplication of versions a parody of another specific form of multilingual translation: the numerous vocabularies, dialogs, and proverb collections that were being printed across Europe, and whose versions—like those of Panurge—increased in numbers with each new edition. For Cave, the humor of the passage is based on the contrast between this particular form of multilingual works (addressed to an audience of merchants and travelers) and the linguistic erudition that was the staple of humanist education.[44] I have argued in Chapter 3, that multilingual vocabularies, dialogs, and educational aids were addressed to an even more varied audience, and that, in fact, there was a certain anxiety about who the readers of these multilingual works would be. I have shown that the titles and prefaces of these works attempted to address a wide variety of readers, and I have argued that this characteristic speaks of a certain insecurity regarding the many reading positions and linguistic identities that multi-version works offered. I believe this background can help us better understand Rabelais's parody. Panurge's use of multiple versions, some of which are only partially understood by different members of his audience, can be seen as a similarly

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[42]   Rabelais, *The Histories*, 196–7.

[43]   See Jourda's annotations to this passage. Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, 264–70.

[44]   Terence Cave, *Pré-histoires II: Languages étrangères et troubles économiques au XVIe siècle* (Gèneve: Droz, 2001), 28–9, 44.

wide-ranging—and ultimately insecure—attempt, too. Also, it is interesting to note that the uncertainty about the linguistic identity of his audience is anticipated in Pantagruel's initial uncertainty about the social identity of Panurge, whom he suspects to be of noble ascent, even though he looks poor and ragged.

Thus, in Rabelais's multilingual-translation scene, the multiplication of versions offers, at best, the possibility of partial and disconnected readings. The fictional audience inside the text is confused regarding the meaning of Panurge's words and his social position. And if Rabelais's early modern readers accepted the invitation to translate Panurge's different versions, they must have found it difficult, if not impossible, to make sense of the many different versions by themselves. What is more, they must have had trouble *imagining* themselves as part of a single *community* whose members can read the same work in the same language. Until Panurge's French version finally comes along, a particular reader may be able to make sense of one or more versions, but he necessarily has to imagine other readers making sense of some of the other versions, too. In Panurge's failure and Pantagruel's uncertainty, Rabelais ridicules the fact that the reader of a multilingual translation cannot encompass all the versions by himself. As he does in the first chapter of *Gargantua*, Rabelais laughs at translation here, too. While translation theoreticians defined translation as a difficult task, he presents it as a ridiculous one.

Translation and Uncertainty in Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605)

The analyses I have made of medieval and early modern romances, of the early editions of *Utopia*, and of Rabelais's jokes delineate a specific context in which to place Cervantes's parody of translation. I do not mean to imply that More's and Rabelais's narratives are direct sources for his parody (in the way that chivalric romances are). My claim is that, by the time Cervantes was writing, the playful presentation of a fictional narrative as a translation was an available resource, with which both writers and readers were familiar. In witty games or in harsh parodies, these works invite their readers to re-elaborate translation strategies into strategies for interpreting fiction. Readers are asked to profit from the ambiguity that arises in translation and make a richer reading of More's work, or they can laugh with Rabelais at the opacity of translation and at the impossibility of unifying the meaning of a multi-version text. Such invitations create moments in which both translation and fiction become topics of reflection. I want to show that in the *Quixote*, Cervantes makes use of this meta-fictional possibility in order to explore specific concerns regarding the role of fiction in early modern Spain. I pay close attention to these concerns, because, as we will see, they seem to have points of connection with the theoretical problems that translators were addressing (for instance, with translation's inadequacy to comply with principles of unity and with the difficulty for the translator to offer a firmly determined interpretive position in the text). I want to argue that Cervantes uses translation as one of the discursive models from which—and perhaps against which—he defines a new form of narrative fiction.

The first time that the text presents itself as a translation is also the one that most vividly portrays the problems that translation can pose. At the end of chapter 8, in the first *Quixote* (1605), the hero and his Basque opponent are left frozen, with their swords raised and ready to strike. The narrator tells us that the historical source from which the chronicle of don Quixote was being compiled ends "at this doubtful point" and that, therefore, the narrative has to be left pending. The next chapter begins with the information that the fictional author went on a search for another manuscript, in which he could learn how the battle ended and what happened afterward. He finally found a continuation of the story at Toledo, in an Arabic manuscript, and he also found a *morisco* interpreter who translated it for him in little more than a month and a half.[45] It is only after the author polishes and rewrites this translation that the two opponents can move, their swords can strike, and the story can continue.[46]

As critics have noticed, this interruption in the narrative creates a *meta-fictional* interval that opens up many narrative layers, perspectives, voices, versions, and, I would add, uncertain readings. The text playfully invites readers to imagine that there are several fictional authors: the *first author* of the story, who, we soon will learn, was the Arab chronicler Cide Hamete Benengeli; the author of the Castilian version we are reading, whom the narrator will now call the *second author* (since we now know the first author is the Arab one); and there is, in addition, the *morisco* who produces the intermediate version to which the second author will give final form.[47] When we look at the work of trained readers, such as literary critics and scholars, we can see that they have accepted this invitation with much enthusiasm. They have noticed, for instance, that some of the characters function as narrative voices as well, when, later in the book, they tell stories and poems, sing, cite proverbs, or give speeches. There is also, of course, the narrator of the story of the

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[45]   The word *morisco* could be used with the general sense of describing someone or something of Moorish origin. By mid-sixteenth-century, after Muslims living in the Iberian Peninsula had been forced to convert, *morisco* had the more specific meaning of a Muslim who had been baptized and had adopted the Christian religion.

[46]   Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 1:71–3.

[47]   Many critics consider that the term "second author" [*segundo autor*], used at the end of chapter 8, indicates that there are two authors of the Castilian version: the author who retold the story up to chapter 8 and a new author that goes in search of the manuscript. However, when we consider that this is supposed to be a translation, it is much more logical to think that the first author is the one who wrote the source version and the second author is the one who is retelling the story, in translation. After all, actual translators did refer to the author of the source as the "first author," as we have seen Leonardo Bruni do in *De interpretatione recta*: "the best translator will indeed translate himself into the *first author of the writing*, in all his mind and soul and will" [Interpres quidem optimus sese in *primum scribendi auctorem* tota mente et animo et voluntate convertet]. Leonardo Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzzione*, ed. Paolo Viti (Napoli: Liguori, 2004), 84.

husband who was "impertinently curious" (*El curioso impertinente*), and even the *author's pen* speaks at some point in the text.[48]

The seams between the different versions we are asked to imagine are invoked at several points. This happens, for instance, when we hear the title of the story in the voice of the *morisco* translator. The narrator is anxious to learn if the Arabic manuscript he has found is indeed what he is expecting: "I urged him to read from the beginning; and doing it in this way, turning suddenly the Arabic into Castilian, he said it said: *The Story of Don Quixote de la Mancha, written by Cide Hamete Benengeli, Arabic historian.*"[49] We also hear the *morisco* laugh at a joke about Dulcinea he finds on a marginal note. After that, we hear one more version of the battle between don Quixote and the Basque: a detailed description of an illustration of the battle contained in the manuscript. The narrator describes the illustration and reads the names that appear on its title: "Don Sancho de Azpeitia" (the supposed Basque knight), "Don Quijote," and "Sancho Zancas," which the narrator tells us must be a variant for "Sancho Panza," since, as the picture well shows, he has both a big belly [*panza*] and long legs [*zancas*]. Right after the pictorial version follows the new version of the Castilian narrator. In what seems to be a parody of chivalric romances, such as Ortúñez's, we can see the opening remarks of the translator followed by the literal translation of the story:

> *In this story it will be possible to find everything one may wish in the most pleasant one; and if anything good is missing from it, I maintain it is the fault of its dog of an author, and not of any lack in the subject. In any case, the second part, according to the translation, began thus:*
> Upraised and ready to strike, the sharpened swords of the two valiant and angry opponents seemed to be threatening heaven, earth, and the abyss.[50]

From this point, the story continues. After that, we will find scattered mentions of the Arab author and of the fact that we are reading a translation. Even when we move to the second *Quixote* (a continuation of the story, which Cervantes published in 1615), we will still find mentions of Cide Hamete and of the small problems the translator faces. For instance, in the opening lines of chapter 10 in

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[48] For a survey of different narratological structures that critics have proposed, see María Stoopen, *Los autores, el texto, los lectores en el Quijote de 1605* (México, DF; Guanajuato: UNAM; Universidad de Guanajuato, 2002).

[49] "[L]e di priesa que leyese el principio; y haciéndolo así, volviendo de improviso el arábigo en castellano, dijo que decía: *Historia de don Quijote de la Mancha, escrita por Cide Hamete Benengeli, historiador arábigo.*" Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 1:75.

[50] "En ésta [historia] sé que se hallará todo lo que se acertare a desear en las más apacible; y si algo bueno en ella faltare, para mí tengo que fue por culpa del galgo de su autor antes que por falta del sujeto. En fin, su segunda parte, siguiendo la traducción, comenzaba de esta manera: Puestas y levantadas en alto las cortadoras espadas de los dos valerosos y enojados combatientes, no parecía sino que estaban amenazando al cielo a la tierra y al abismo." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 1:76.

this second part, we are told that "when the author of this lofty story is about to tell what in this chapter is told, he says he felt inclined to pass these adventures in silence for fear he would not be believed"; and later in the chapter, when we are already in the midst of the story, we read, "there came three peasants riding three pollinos or pollinas—*the author does not say which*—and it is even more likely that they were borricas" (where, "pollinos," "pollinas," and "borricas" are all alternative terms for 'donkeys').[51] Something similar happens with the names for the 'trees' where don Quixote hides or rests at other points in the story. To give only two examples, in chapter 60, "night found don Quixote between thick encinas or alcornoques—but in this *Cide Hamete is not as scrupulous as he usually is in other matters*"; and in chapter 68, "don Quixote gets himself close to the trunk of an haya, or an alcornoque—*Cide Hamete Benengeli does not specify what tree it was*."[52] In these cases, the narrator indicates that the translation has had to be supplemented—whether by the second author or the *morisco* interpreter, he does not tell.

But, without a doubt, the narrative interruption in the first *Quixote* is the moment where we can most clearly see the seams of the different versions juxtaposed. This is when we first learn that we are reading a translation, which was made by two translators, one who was an expert in Arabic characters and another one who polished the story in Castilian. If, with Thomas Lathrop, we can even "perceive" the manuscript of Cide Hamete Benengeli in some pages of the book, then we can count this manuscript as another version that is made visible in this part of the text.[53] The various versions (the beginning of the battle in chapter 8, the intermediate version of the *morisco*, the illustration, the new version of the battle given in chapter 9) do not present any fundamental differences regarding the content of story. As the narrator tells us, there are only small variations regarding the names of some the characters and "a few small details that could be noted, but which are all of very little importance and which do not affect the truthful report of the story."[54] However, the versions are different in tone and style, and, as Michael

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[51]   "Llegando el autor desta grande historia a contar lo que en este capítulo cuenta, dice que quisiera pasarle en silencio, temeroso de que no había de ser creido"; and later, "venían tres labradoras sobre tres pollinos o pollinas, que el autor no lo declara, aunque más se puede creer que eran borricas." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 2:77, 80; emphasis added.

[52]   "Le tomó la noche entre unas espesas encinas o alcornoques, que en esto no guarda la puntualidad Cide Hamete que en otras cosas suele"; "Don Quijote, arrimado a un tronco de una haya, o de un alcornoque (que Cide Hamete Benengeli no distingue el árbol que era)." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 2:451, 514; emphasis added.

[53]   Thomas A. Lathrop, "Cide Hamete Benengeli y su manuscrito," *Cervantes: Su obra y su mundo. Actas del I Congreso internacional sobre Cervantes* (Madrid: EDI-6, 1981), 694.

[54]   "Otras algunas menudencias había que advertir; pero todas son de poca importancia, y que no hacen al caso a la verdadera relación de la historia." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 1:76.

Gerli explains, these differences can easily be attributed to the fact that each of them represents the perspective of a different fictional author or translator.[55]

Even when critics have not necessarily connected the plurality of perspectives with the fact that the story is supposed to be a translation, they have seen this fictional multiplicity as an invitation to question conventions for writing and interpreting. James Parr, for instance, has proposed that the many versions, voices, and authorial presences that inform the narratological structure of the text work to undermine the credibility and authority of the discourse, and of the printed page itself.[56] Because we are supposed to be reading different versions, written by various authors and translators, the story may be unreliable. Indeed, the story itself points to this unreliability when, drawing on deprecating stereotypes, the narrator tells us that the Arabic origin of the first author "may raise objections regarding the truthfulness of the story."[57] What interests me in particular is that this disruptive multiplicity appears in the midst of a narrative interruption—and that this interruption is represented as a translation scene. It is the description of the translation process (the search for the new manuscript, the *morisco*'s rendering of the Arabic into an intermediate version, and the second author's composition of the final version in Castilian) that creates a gap in the narration, delaying the moment when the hero and his opponent can move again. Translation is, after all, a productive model for both interruption and multiplicity. Translating involves a lag between reading the source and writing the new version; translating involves—at least—two versions, and, therefore, two languages, as well as two writing and two reading positions. If this activity is performed by two or more translators working together, the multiplicity of positions, versions, and languages can come very close to the humorous situation Cervantes imagines.

As I discussed in Chapter 2, collaborative translation had been used frequently in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, and in Toledo in particular, to render manuscripts from the Arabic. As early as the tenth century and as late as the sixteenth, we can find examples of the collaboration of Latin scholars and Greek, Mozarab, or Jewish interpreters. Like Cervantes's *morisco*, the interpreter would produce an intermediate version of the Greek or Arabic source, orally or in the form of an intermediate draft. Like Cervantes's second author, the second translator would produce a more polished final version, in Latin or, later, in one of the Romance vernaculars. In Cervantes's Spain this was not a laudable practice anymore. The second author has to go on a long search before he can even find the

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[55] Michael Gerli, "Perspectiva y realidad: *Don Quijote*, I, 8–9," *Cervantes: Su obra y su mundo; Actas del I Congreso internacional sobre Cervantes* (Madrid: EDI-6, 1981), 629–34.

[56] James Parr, *Don Quixote: An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1988), 30.

[57] "Si a ésta [historia] se le puede poner alguna objeción cerca de su verdad, no podrá ser otra sino haber sido su autor arábigo, siendo muy propio de los de aquella nación ser mentirosos." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 1:76.

manuscript in Arabic characters. What is more, as Cervantes's narrator suggests, Arabic sources are no longer considered the writings of *wise men*, as those working in Alfonso X's scriptorium had called them, but the work of liars. When the second author finally finds the *morisco* interpreter who can help him, he does not need the large financial means of a Peter the Venerable, an Alfonso X, or a Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, either. Fifty pounds of raisins and three bushels of wheat are the pay required for the intermediate version of the story of don Quixote and Sancho.[58] A Jewish *alfaquí*, such as those who once received the financial gratitude of Alfonso X, would probably have charged him even less. We are told in passing that the author could have found an expert in a more ancient language (that is Hebrew), with the implication that he could have found a Jewish translator, too, but in Counter Reformation Spain, it would have not been safe for either the fictional author or Cervantes to use a Jewish interpreter. The Catholic Monarchs and their successors had been invested in the political, religious, and linguistic unity of the Spanish kingdoms. Fernando and Isabel decreed the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. And if Cervantes had written the first *Quixote* only a few years later than he did, he would have not been able to hire *moriscos* either, since the decree of their official expulsion was passed in 1609.

In any case, Felipe II had established a strong policy—all the stronger because it was tacitly accepted and applied—against giving military, judicial, or administrative positions to those who could not prove their *limpieza de sangre* (that is, Christian ascendance on both the paternal and the maternal line). Cervantes's life, claims Francisco Márquez Villanueva, was deeply affected by this situation. The son of a modest physician and the husband of a woman of *converso* descent, Cervantes struggled throughout his life as a semi-professional administrative and small merchant—traditionally *converso* activities—without applying to official positions in the Peninsula or its colonies, because this would have required proof of the purity of his blood.[59] As critics have noticed, Cervantes's work often concerns itself with marginal groups, such as *moriscos*, *conversos*, foreigners, gypsies, convicts, women in general, and prostitutes in particular.

If we take into account the specific translation practices I have described in Chapter 2, we can also see Cervantes's concern with what had become in his times a marginal activity: the practice of collaborative translation. Cervantes playfully invites us to imagine that we are reading a translation, but this is not the more general type of invitation we can find in chivalric romances. He gives very specific details that can help us identify the type of translation that has been performed. As medieval translators had done, the fictional second author finds an Arabic manuscript and he finds an interpreter who can read it. As Henry Bates had once

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58   The interpreter asks for two *arrobas* of raisins, which would be equivalent to twenty-four kilograms (almost 53 lbs), and two *fanegas* of wheat, which would occupy the volume of 100 liters (equivalent approximately to 2.8 American bushels; around 170 lbs).

59   Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "La cuestión del judaísmo de Cervantes," *Don Quijote en el reino de la fantasía: Realidad y ficción en el universo mental y biográfico de Cervantes* (Sevilla: Focus, 2005).

done at Malines, this fictional author provides living and working quarters for the *morisco* during the month and a half it takes him to produce the intermediate version. And as John of Segovia had done, this author makes a polished final translation (if not in Latin, in the dominant Castilian dialect). He can even be said to have placed the versions side by side (if we cannot see the full Arabic and Castilian versions, we are at least able to get glimpses of them in the different retellings of the battle, in the *morisco*'s laugh, and in the descriptions of the illustration and marginal notes found in the manuscript).

This form of intellectual work and book production had been made possible by the collaboration of scholars and writers from different cultures, and it had taken place in medieval and early Renaissance Spanish territories. But in seventeenth-century Spain, the situation is different. The discontinuity that fictional translation produces in the story can be easily associated with the disruptions that collaborative translation could create in the unified linguistic identity of Catholic Spain. Actual instances of team-translation, as it had been known in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, are unthinkable in Cervantes's times—for this collaborative activity presupposes multiplicity, not unity. The mock translation scene in the *Quixote* parodies this practice and vividly points to the gaps between versions—which certainly undermine the credibility of the discourse.

We can have a closer look at this humor in the parody of translation that Cervantes makes at the level of small structures and strategies in the text. It is true that we have to wait until chapter 9 for the narrator to tell us that we are reading a translation, but, if we are familiar with medieval and Renaissance translation strategies, we may realize this as early as his first adventure. I have shown that the combination of several alternative names for the constellations, in different languages, in the same phrase is one of the main strategies that give shape to the Alfonsine *Libro de la ochava esfera*, and that this strategy is used in later translations as well. Scholars have noticed, for instance, that the use of synonymic pairs, in which each of the terms belongs to a different Spanish dialect, was frequent in fourteenth-century Aragonese literary translations from Latin and French. In these cases, one of the synonyms belongs to the Aragonese or to the Catalan dialect (the dialect of the ruling class in the Kingdom of Aragón), while the other term belongs to the quickly expanding Castilian dialect. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, Dawn E. Prince offers examples of diatopic synonyms found in such works as the translation of Paladius' *De agricultura*, by Catalan notary Ferrer Sayol, and the translation of Bruneto Latini's *Le livres dou trésor*, by an Aragonese nobleman. Where, for instance, *De agricultura* has "cortice" [tree bark], Ferrer Sayol writes the doublet "escorca *o* corteza"; for the Latin "virgultis" [twigs], he gives "vergas *o* rramas"; and the French "oisiaus" [birds] of Bruneto's *Trésor* is rendered as "auzeles *o* aves" in the Aragonese translation.[60] The translation that Enrique de Villena made of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in

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[60] Dawn E. Prince, "Negotiating Meanings: The Use of Diatopic Synonyms in Medieval Aragonese Literary Translations," in *La traducción en España ss. XIV – XVI*, ed. Roxana Recio (León: Unversidad de León, 1995), 79–90.

the early fifteenth century, makes ample use of this strategy as well, all the way from the invocation to the muse which he doubles as "O musa, *siquiere* sçiençia" [O muse, or rather, knowledge].[61] And so did later translators, including Erasmus, Florio, and Dryden (see Chapter 3). It should then come as no surprise that the *Quixote*, which playfully presents itself as a translation, makes a humorous use of this strategy.

During his first sally, which takes place in the second chapter, our hero arrives at an inn, which he believes to be a Castle. There—the narrator tells us—don Quixote sees "dos hermosas doncellas o dos graciosas damas" [two beautiful maidens, or two gracious ladies].[62] The comic play with *synonymia* is made clear when we realize that there is a third, implicit 'or,' since these women are *rather*—as the narrator has told us a few lines earlier—two prostitutes on their way to Seville. The game, and the proliferation of meaning, goes even farther and it even works to structure all the rest of the chapter. A few lines later, we find what looks almost like a multilingual synonymic chain. The narrator tells us that the only food available at the inn are some "portions of a fish which in Castile is called abadejo, and in Andalucía bacalao, and in other parts curadillo, and in some others truchuela."[63] This phrase not only resembles the verbal multiplication of Villena. It even resembles the multilingual phrases of Alfonsine translators and compilers, which would give the different names for the constellations in different languages (in Chapter 2 we saw, among many others, the figure "that in Latin is called inflamatus, and in Castilian inflamado, and in Greek caypheos, and in Arabic al-mutahib").[64] It also resembles the multilingual phrases of herbals, which would offer the names of plants in Latin, Greek, English, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, and French. It even resembles Marie de France's notice that the *lai* she recounts is called differently in the language of the Bretons, in French, and in English. Nevertheless, the "languages" that Cervantes's phrase combines are not the *languages of knowledge* that the Alfonsine treatise and William Turner's herbals had used. If anything, the vague geographical indication of "some other parts" in which the fish is called "truchuela" may refer to the not-too-illustrious workplaces of the two prostitutes (since, as we will see, they are the ones who will later use this specific word choice when referring to the fish).

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[61]   Enrique de Villena, *La primera versión castellana de "La Eneida" de Virgilio. Los libros I–III traducidos y comentados por Enrique de Villena (1384–1434)* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1979), 46.

[62]   Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 1:29; emphasis added.

[63]   "[Y] no había en toda la venta sino unas raciones de un pescado que en Castilla llaman abadejo, y en Andalucía bacalao, y en otras partes curadillo, y en otras truchuela." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 1:31.

[64]   "Et otrossí diremos dotra figura que llaman en latin inflamatus. et en castellano inflamado. et en griego caypheos. et en aráuigo al-mutahib." *Libros del saber de astronomía del rey D. Alfonso X de Castilla*, ed. Manuel Rico y Sinobas [facsimile reprint] (Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 2002), 1:12.

The fact that this parody of *synonymia* ends up referring us to the characters of the prostitutes is not a coincidence. This humorous reference points, I believe, to a certain anxiety about the proliferation of meaning and, again, about the indetermination of social identity. Like a prostitute or concubine, whose children may offer a challenge to social categories, the proliferation of alternative names for the fish may create some trouble for the linguistic categorization of the text. The metaphorical connection between prostitution and identity may, in fact, have had a very concrete meaning for Cervantes. Márquez Villanueva has recently argued that Cervantes's sisters, Andrea and Magdalena, who lived in Cervantes's house, acted as *damas servidas*, a role equivalent to that of the Italian *cortigiana onesta*. These women had more or less lasting sexual relationships with men of the nobility, who compensated their favors with presents. In her youth, Cervantes's daughter Isabel de Saavedra was the lover of a Portuguese merchant. Even after her marriage to another man, she was the concubine of Juan de Urbina, who settled her in a house at Madrid and with whom she had an illegitimate daughter. Márquez Villanueva sees a direct connection between the probable *converso* origin of the Cervantes family and the sexual activities of his sisters and daughter, because the suspicion of Jewish descent marked women as "unmarriageable."[65]

Going back to the non-laudable alternative renderings for *abadejo* in different "languages" with this context in mind, I now want to show that they are central to the comic play with linguistic, social, and regional identities that develops throughout the rest of the chapter. The narrator has told us that Castilians call this fish *abadejo*," and Andalusians call it bacalao, and that in other parts it is called *curadillo*, and in some others, *truchuela*. The prostitutes, who are playfully attending to don Quixote as if they were young maidens of the castle, will offer him "truchuela." In his response, don Quixote will elevate the fish to the category of "trucha"—here, there is a complex word play, since *truchuela* was the name of the fish to which the women are referring (cod), but it can also be taken as a diminutive of *trucha* [trout], and it can even be a slang term for young prostitute. However, when the innkeeper finally brings the fish, he calls it a "bacalao," which is done with most dialectal propriety, since, as we have been told a little earlier, the innkeeper is Andalusian. Yet, towards the end of the chapter, the Castilian "abadejo" appears once more, when the narrator uses it to emphasize don Quixote's mistaken word-choice. Now let's see how these different terms are brought together in the text:

> They [the two ladies, or prostitutes] asked him [don Quixote] if, peradventure, his lordship would eat truchuela, for there was no other fish to offer him. "As long as there are many truchuelas," answered don Quixote, "they will serve as one trucha [trout]." … They then set the table at the entrance of the inn, so that he might take the fresh air, and the innkeeper brought him a portion of

⁶⁵   Márquez Villanueva, "La cuestión del judaísmo de Cervantes," *Don Quijote en el reino de la fantasía: Realidad y ficción en el universo mental y biográfico de Cervantes* (Sevilla: Focus, 2005), 56–9.

> badly marinated and worse cooked bacalao, and a loaf as black and grimy as his
> weapons. … While they were occupied in these matters, a pig-gelder happened
> to arrive at the inn, and as soon as he arrived, he blew his whistle four or five
> times, which confirmed don Quixote in his belief that he was at some famous
> castle, and that they served him with music, and that the abadejo were truchas,
> the bread made of white flour, and the whores ladies, and the innkeeper lord of
> the castle.[66]

The alternative names for *abadejo* (or *salted cod*, to add yet one more option to
the *multilingual* synonymic chain) create room for the indirect discourse of the
characters and for their points of view. In addition, because the names belong to
different linguistic registers, they work to mark the identities of the characters, not
only their regional identities but also what we could call their literary identities.
The narrator uses Castilian, the dominant dialect, but the Andalusian innkeeper
uses the Andalusian term. He and the prostitutes are low characters who belong to
the *picaresque* type, and their word choices emphasize this position, too.

   What is more, their choices also work to emphasize the humor of the text. Don
Quixote is not the chivalric knight he believes to be (he does not have an adequate
vision of his position), and, accordingly, the term he chooses is the only one that
is not an adequate translation for "cod." He misreads reality and he mistranslates
"cod" as "trout." And by the end of the passage, the narrator plays one more
joke on him, because he tells us that, in his confusion, don Quixote believes the
innkeeper to be "lord of the castle" [*castellano del castillo*]. In Spanish, the word
used to designate the lord of the castle is "castellano," which is exactly the same
word used to designate someone from the region of Castile. Thus, the narrator is
making a pun on the double meaning of the word, as if he were telling us that don
Quixote mistakes the innkeeper for a lord but also the Andalusian character for
someone who speaks Castilian.

   Thus, even before we are told we are reading a translation, this early play with
fictional multilingual synonyms invites us to imagine different juxtaposed versions
and different linguistic identities inside the story. What is more, the multiplicity
of diatopic synonyms provides a concrete strategy to perform such imaginative
movement. Certainly, Thomas Shelton, the first English translator of *Don Quixote*,
seems to have recognized this strategy. He keeps all the synonyms, and continues
the game by adding one more of his own: "[T]here was no other meat in the

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[66]   "Preguntáronle si por ventura comería su merced truchuela, que no había otro
pescado que darle a comer. — Como haya muchas *truchuelas*, respondió Don Quijote,
podrán servir de una *trucha*. … Pusiéronle la mesa a la puerta de la venta por el fresco, y
trújole el huésped una porción del mal remojado y peor cocido *bacallao*, y un pan tan negro
y mugriento como sus armas. … Estando en esto, llegó acaso a la venta un castrador de
puercos,y así como llegó, sonó su silbato de cañas cuatro o cinco veces, con lo cual acabó
de confirmar don Quijote que estaba en algún famoso castillo, y que le servían con música,
y que el *abadejo* eran *truchas*, el pan candeal, y las rameras damas, y el ventero castellano
del castillo." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 1:31–2; emphasis added.

inn," reads his version, "than a few pieces of a fish called in Castile abadexo, in Andalusia bacallao, and in some places curadillo, and in others truchuela, *and is but poor-john*."[67] Crossing the bridge between fiction and translation, he places his new version together with the many versions of the fictional-translation phrase. What is more, later readers, even when they may not recognize that this is a parody of translation strategies, have been able to recognize the multiplicity of versions and perspectives at play in the text.

We should not forget, however, and I believe this is key for a historical understanding of the *Quixote*, that this multiplicity is, above all, a source of humor in the text. In Alfonso X's times, the multiple names of the stars, in different languages, had been a key translation strategy in the composition of the *Libro de la ochava esfera*. What is more, they were actually an important part of the information that the Alfonsine treatise offered. Later, Villena had used doublets as a meaningful way to address different potential readers. Instead, Cervantes's synonyms end up reducing multiplicity to what we could call a comic *double entendre*—or, better, a *multiple entendre*. Above all, we should realize that, in spite of the imagined plurality of perspectives, the text is actually offering a unified focal point, against which the different identities and versions are portrayed as funny. This focal point is marked by the Castilian word choices of the narrator. He is the one who, at the end of the passage, refers to the fish as *abadejo*. It is the narrator who finally controls the point of view and tells us that don Quixote believes "the *abadejo* were *truchas*." It is also against the narrator's Castilian choice that the words *truchuela* and *bacalao* are marked as the language (the indirect speech/the voice/the point of view) of the prostitutes and the innkeeper respectively. In the end, it is against the Castilian term that the rest of the synonyms acquire the value not only of regional variations, but also of comic literary types.

As we saw earlier, the translation scene in chapter 9 invites us to imagine the implications of reading a collaborative text that has been written by an Arabic chronicler, and then by a *morisco* interpreter, and then by a Castilian author—and to imagine the different linguistic and political relations that can be established among these identities. As I have just described, don Quixote's first sally takes us through the motions of reading a fictional multilingual translation, guiding us through a text that opens up many perspectives at the same time. In both cases, we are encouraged to play with translation structures and strategies. We are not dealing with actual languages (this is only a fictional translation after all, a mock translation), yet we are given some tools to imagine that we can encompass a multiplicity of "languages" and "perspectives."

This is where Cervantes goes one step further than Renaissance theoreticians of translation. As they did, he problematizes translation's multiplicity. Ultimately, the invitation to imagine that the story of don Quixote is a translation from the Arabic, made by a *morisco* interpreter and then re-elaborated into a final Castilian

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[67]   Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, Part 1, tr. Thomas Shelton (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909–1914); emphasis added.

version, is also an invitation to consider multiplicity as a problem, since this fictional multiplication of versions creates ambiguity, interrupts the narrative, and makes the reader uncertain about the trustworthiness of the author and about the truthfulness of the story. More specifically, while Bruni had determined that a correct translation must be produced by a single translator, Cervantes invites us to imagine some of the practical problems we can find when this is not the case. At the time the *Quixote* was written, collaborative translation was politically ridiculous, to the extent that this practice could make readers laugh. This laugh is the key, because it offers the unity that translation's multiplicity denies. We can laugh at the different character's perspectives and at the ridiculous wealth of synonyms, because we are placing ourselves in the centralizing point of view of the Castilian translator. We are finding the unified reading position in the text.
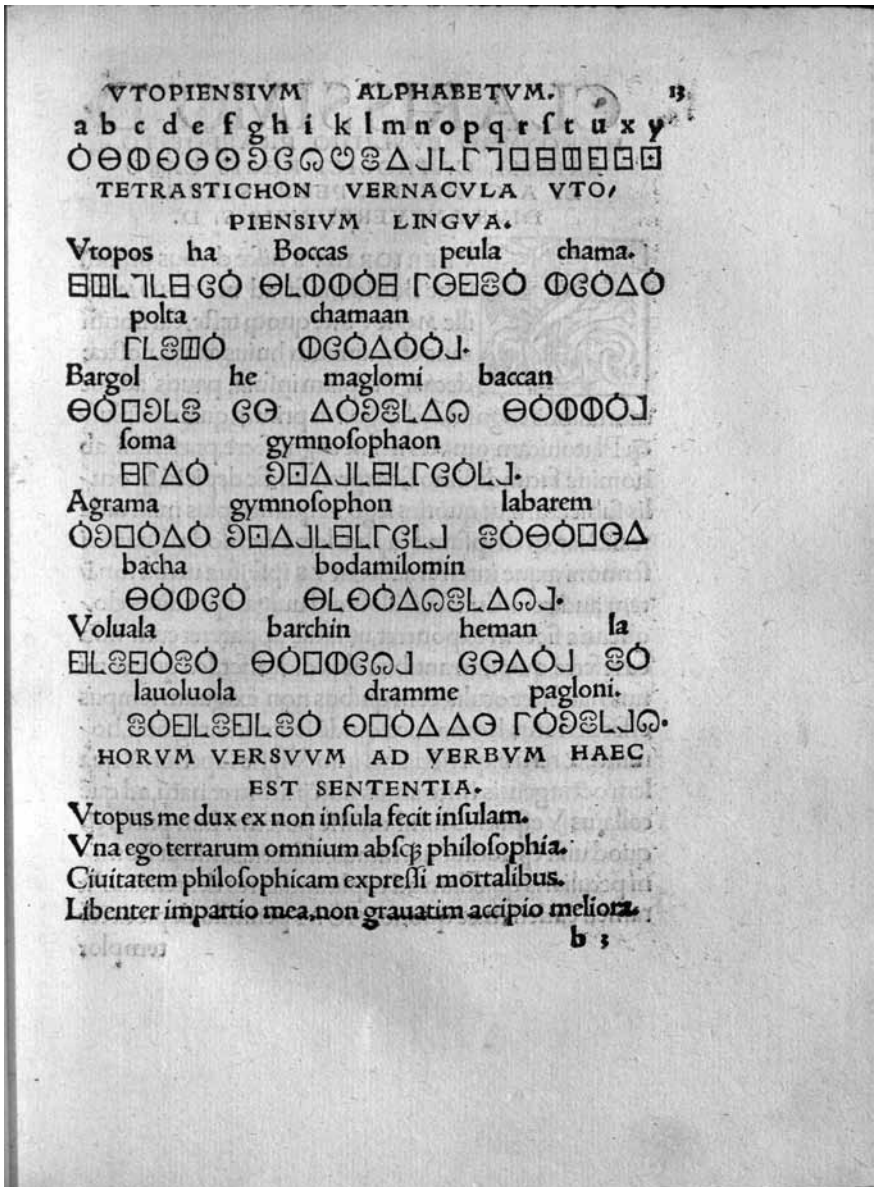
Fig. 4.1   "Utopian Alphabet" and "Quatrain in Vernacular Utopian," fictional bilingual translation in Utopian and Latin, included in Thomas More's *Utopia* (Basel, December 1518)

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Epilogue
Imagining Translation
in Early Modern Europe

In my first chapter, I analyzed ways in which the technique of collaborative translation and the production of multilingual translations were rejected by early modern theories of translation to the extent of becoming *unthinkable*. The many examples of these practices and the case studies I offered in the middle chapters certainly pose a challenge to the theoreticians' demands for one translator and for one version in the translation text. This challenge, I proposed, is worth accepting. For, if, instead of discarding translation as a failed and inadequate practice, we take up the challenge and question the dominant model of the monolingual text, we can then postulate a conceptual framework inside of which it once made sense to produce and to read multi-version texts. This is, I believe, the benefit we can gain from *thinking about the difficulty of thinking translation*.

With this purpose in mind, my last chapter explored the ways in which some early modern fictional narratives dealt with the textual structures of multilingual translation. We saw traces of these structures in the multiple alternative plots that coexist on the pages of chivalric romances. We saw them even more vividly and more seriously redeployed in *Utopia*'s celebration of ambiguity. However, as we moved forward in time, we found these structures being openly parodied and ridiculed in the works of Rabelais and Cervantes. In particular, faced with the problems that translation multiplicity entailed in unified Spain, Cervantes offered a new interpretive strategy to his readers: by presenting his work as a mock translation, he invited them to imagine that a single reader can encompass a multiplicity of alternative versions in different "languages" and integrate them into a single cohesive reading of the work. After all, the work is actually written in a single national language, with which, as I showed, the reader must identify himself in order to understand the joke. In other words, the narrative structures that Cervantes proposes work to ridicule translation's multiplicity, and then they go one step farther: they offer a unified position in the text from where to control this multiplicity. In this way, his book gives a new response to the problem of translation's difficulty.

The weight of this response is such that, in closing the book, I feel I need to consider its implications at more length. In fact, even though critics have not associated this strategy with translation structures, many of them have recognized the double movement through which Cervantes opens up a multiplicity of perspectives and narrative layers but also offers a unified position from which to control them. Leo Spitzer described the abundance of synonyms and alternative names for objects and characters that the *Quixote* offers as a form of "linguistic

perspectivism."[1] And Mikhail Bakhtin identified the representation of multiple "languages" (that is, of different dialects, registers, and genres, both literary and non-literary) as one of the main characteristics of the novel in general, and of *Don Quixote* in particular.[2] Yet, both Bakhtin and Spitzer also made clear that they saw in the text a focal point that allowed for a unified, cohesive reading. Bakhtin defined this focal point in the general context of the formation of a "multi-languaged artistic consciousness." For him, this point represented the critical awareness of a multiplicity of stratified "social languages" inside a unified national language. And sometimes he saw this unifying focus as the formalization of an authorial intention:

> It is as if the author has no language of his own, but does possess his own style, his own organic and unitary law governing the way he plays with languages and the way his own real semantic and expressive intentions are refracted within them. Of course this play with languages (and frequently the complete absence of a direct discourse of his own) in no sense degrades the general, deep-seated intentionality, the overarching ideological conceptualization of the work as a whole.[3]

The unifying writing position demanded by early modern theoreticians is still there. The force of the author's intention is refracted through different planes, but it still controls the work *as a whole*. Spitzer had even grounded the focal point more specifically in Spanish Counter-Reformation ideology, in the struggle to maintain a "unified Christian vision of the world [that] was to fall asunder":

> High above this world-wide cosmos of his making, in which hundreds of characters, situations, vistas, themes, plots and subplots are merged, Cervantes' artistic self is enthroned, an all-embracing creative self, Naturelike, Godlike, almighty, all wise, all-good—and benign: this visibly omnipresent Maker reveals to us the secrets of his creation, he shows us the work of art in the making, and the laws to which it is necessarily subjected. . . . *Qua* moralist, Cervantes is not at all "perspectivistic."[4]

Later critics have continued to point to the unifying textual space that the *Quixote* offers. James Parr has proposed that, behind the play of multiple narrative voices and authorial presences, there is a "supernarrator" (a principal narrative voice encoded in the text) who controls and subordinates the rest of the voices.[5] Anthony Cascardi has claimed that "the generic multiplicity of [Cervantes's] novel,

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[1]   Spitzer, Leo, "Linguistic Perspectivism in the *Don Quijote*," *Linguistics and Literary History: Essays in Stylistics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948).

[2]   See, for instance, Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 262.

[3]   Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," 311.

[4]   Spitzer, "Linguistic Perspectivism," 72–3.

[5]   James A. Parr, *Don Quixote: An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1988), 11.

like the multiple voices and competing perspectives assembled in it, is unified by a governing point of view." This, for Cascardi, is a "theoretical point of view" (a theoretical awareness of the notion of *genre* as a discursive perspective), where all the other discursive perspectives intersect.[6] On yet another plane, David Quint has seen the "thematic and formal unity" of the text in the interweaving of various parallel plots and stories, in the style of chivalric romances. He sees this as a unifying device in the sense that the multiplicity of plots should prompt the reader to find a thematic connection among them.[7] Of course, it is only at a general level that these critical approaches can be considered similar—for one thing, Spitzer, Cascardi, and Quint consider that multiplicity (be it of linguistic and discursive points of views, or of plots and themes) functions as an invitation for the reader to find a unifying position, while for Bakhtin and Parr multiplicity works to refract or de-construct a position that is already unified. Yet, it is significant that, from different perspectives and in the context of very different arguments, these critics coincide in recognizing the tension between unity and multiplicity as one of the central features in Cervantes's text.

What are the benefits, then, of describing this tension in terms of a parody of specific translation practices and strategies? The most immediate one I see is a deeper historical perspective, one that takes more fully into account Cervantes reworking of earlier textual practices, and not only his role as precursor of the modern novel. In turn, when we consider that Cervantes is alluding to specific translation practices and strategies and to specific cultural contexts, we can also see in his work an opportunity to question the unified, monolingual text model. Once we recognize the concrete practices he is parodying and the validity they had in different genres and contexts (and I hope that my middle chapters have given my readers enough tools to do so), we also become conscious of some of the exclusions performed by the forcefully unified histories of national languages and literatures. Among these exclusions is the repression of knowledge about the intellectual collaboration of Jewish, Arabic, and Christian translators. And we have also seen how ideologies of unification underlie the tendency to disregard works that combine different versions, languages, and interpretive traditions, as well as works that, like Villena's *Eneida*, address different audiences at the same time. Above all, when we take into consideration the forgotten textual models of collaborative and multilingual translation, we can begin to question the ethical implications of imagining that a single reader can understand, by himself, a multiplicity of perspectives. We can consider, instead, that we may need to perform readings that are recursive, non-linear, and fragmentary, and that we may need to perform collaborative readings as well.

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6   Anthony J. Cascardi, "Genre Definition and Multiplicity in *Don Quixote*," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 6.1 (1986), 45.

7   David Quint, *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times: A New Reading of* Don Quijote (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), ix–x.

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Index