

## *In Principio Fuit Interpres*

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#### ABSTRACTS

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#### **La structure lexicale des gloses de Raoul de Presles dans la première traduction en français de *La Cité de Dieu* de saint Augustin**

La première traduction de *La cité de Dieu* de saint Augustin, effectuée par Raoul de Presles entre 1371 et 1375, s'inscrit dans un mouvement de traductions glosées de la seconde moitié du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle (cf. Bozzolo/Ornato 1996 et Duval 2007). Mais les techniques des gloses employées à cette époque ne sont pas les mêmes. Ainsi, la traduction de Raoul de Presles est orientée vers le sens et non pas vers le mot. Son but est de rendre plus claire le discours traduit et, en même temps, répondre à l'objectif politique et utilitaire fixé par son commanditaire, Charles V (1364-1380). Dans cet effort de clarté et de lisibilité, le traducteur reprend la traduction dans des gloses. Elles constituent les « expositions » qui accompagnent la traduction de chaque chapitre. Dans ses « expositions », il vise à expliquer les références littéraires, historiques et les nouveaux concepts, surtout théologiques et politiques.

Nous nous proposons une réflexion concernant le lexique de Raoul de Presles dans le but de démontrer que la reprise paraphrastique de la traduction dans les « expositions » représente à la fois un état et une évolution de la langue française à la fin du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous avons pu distinguer chez Raoul de Presles deux types de lexiques que nous avons analysé sur trois niveaux : premièrement le lexique par allusion au monde grec, au monde romain et au Moyen Âge et, deuxièmement, le lexique par catégories des toponymes/anthroponymes, termes techniques et des références historiques et littéraires. Notre analyse s'articule autour des marqueurs paraphrastiques qui introduisent ces types de gloses pour arriver à la conclusion que nous sommes en présence d'un discours bien structuré, d'une rhétorique travaillée, ce qui nous amène à dégager le sens d'une véritable architecture textuelle des « expositions » qui accompagnent la traduction de la *Cité de Dieu*. La présente étude est donc résolument linguistique et s'intéresse particulièrement à la construction du discours dans les gloses du traducteur. Pour exemplifier notre propos, nous apportons des exemples tirés de la traduction de Raoul de Presles pour chacune de ces catégories lexicales. Dans un 1<sup>er</sup> temps, on pourra constater que les allusions au monde grec et romain sont omniprésentes, mais qu'elles ne sont pas introduites et traitées de la même manière. Quant aux références au Moyen Âge, elles confèrent une originalité surprenante à la traduction de Raoul de Presles qui se détache ainsi de la dominante théologique de l'ouvrage traduit en faisant appel à des anecdotes de son temps. Dans un 2<sup>ème</sup> temps, nous proposons une réflexion sur les changements sémantiques des mots dont le sens glisse du domaine théologique vers le domaine juridique et le vocabulaire commun. Nous illustrerons ce mécanisme par le cas du substantif *parjure*. La première traduction en français de la *Cité de Dieu* devient ainsi un lieu de vivacité et de spontanéité lexicale qui n'est plus totalement asservie à la langue source, le latin, ce qui enrichie la traduction au niveau du contenu, du discours et du lexique. Les gloses de Raoul de Presles marquent une évolution de la « langue de traduction » vers une langue savante plus spontanée employée dans les reprises paraphrastiques des « expositions » qui fait que la traduction de Raoul de Presles s'émancipe du cadre religieux vers un discours politique pour rejoindre une perspective historique et littéraire.

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#### **Translating for the Changing Audiences: The medieval South Slavic translation of John's VI Cantacuzenos inter-religious dialogues and their afterlives**

The medieval cultures of Southern and Eastern Slavs are often regarded as a result of a colossal process of translation and adaptation of Byzantine cultural and literary models. Indeed, Orthodox Slavic literatures owe to Byzantium not only their aesthetic principles and discursive practices, themes and imagery, textual patterns and genres, but also a large volume of texts translated from Greek, and circulated in various milieus from the Balkans to Northern Russia for more than seven centuries. Further, within this temporal and spatial frame, translation techniques changed several times to reflect deeper transformations of the ideological and educational strategies in the Slavic cultures. And yet, as most recent studies show, medieval Slavic interpreters had been particularly selective while choosing texts for translation from the Byzantine literature. For example, almost no Greek epigram, satirical work or liturgical drama was translated in the South Slavic literatures; a relatively small number of the Byzantine works belonging to the genre of the theological discourse and doctrinal disputation appeared in Slavic translation.

My paper will focus on one such example – the Slavic translation of the Emperor John's VI Cantacuzenos treatises against the Western Church, the Muslims and the Jews. Written in the second half of the fourteenth century - time of religious confrontations and political turmoil in the Balkans, the texts developed further the typical medieval form of inter-religious dogmatic disputation and mirrored closely the Hesychastic, anti-Papal views of the Byzantine Church.

The translation, done probably by a Serbian in the 1390s, not only presents a genre less popular in the Slavic literatures, but also reflects vital and pressing questions for the fourteenth-century Balkan society and culture. Moreover, the earlier Slavic manuscripts containing John's Cantacuzenos dialogues show compilers' greater interest in the emperor's works against the Western Church, while the later, sixteenth-century codices, copied after the establishment of the Ottoman empire on the peninsula, witness a growing attraction to the anti-Muslims' texts (cf. for instance Ms Gaster 2082, John Rylands Library, Manchester). In my paper I will be looking closely at the cultural policies which provoked the appearance of this translation, as well as the shifts in the cultural framework expressed in the changes of selection and distribution of the emperor's translated works. I will also study the translation techniques used by the Slavic interpreter and the specific rendition of key dogmatic and theological terms and will contextualize them within the *corpus* of theological texts translated in the South Slavic realm during the late fourteenth century. Thus I will further try to establish the function and significance of this translation for the late Balkan cultural and religious milieu and will examine the place of Cantacuzenos' dialogues in the long-lasting medieval tradition of religious disputations. Finally, I will analyze the modifications in the uses and distribution of both Greek and Slavic copies of John's Cantacuzenos works in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries context which reflect dramatic political and religious changes in the late and post-medieval Balkans.

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### **Let the translator join together what the original has put asunder: rendering difficult Latin into Old English**

This paper examines the evidence of several Old English translations of important Latin religious texts, such as the *Rule of St Benedict*, the *Rule of Chrodegang*, the *Capitula Theodulfi*, as well as other minor Old English texts of different genres. Whatever the purposes, methods, or circumstances of translation, there were purely linguistic difficulties that had to be overcome, in Robert Stanton's words, an "apparent gulf between this high-flown conception of divine-human mediator and the gritty mechanics of translating ecclesiastical Latin into comprehensible English."

Both Latin and Old English are inflected languages with many structural similarities. Both allow a considerable syntactic variation that could be exploited by the translators. Although medieval Latin texts were less elaborate in their syntax and style than works in Classical Latin, and although they could potentially have been influenced by the first (vernacular) language of the authors, the fact remains that some Latin structures could not be exactly mirrored in Old English. We know very little about the ways in which Latin was studied in Anglo-Saxon England, and the surviving grammars such as Priscian and Donatus offer very little information on syntax. But one way or another, the speakers of medieval European vernaculars had to acquire an understanding of patterns which were either totally absent or extremely infrequent in their own languages. When faced with such a pattern in a Latin text that had to be translated, they had to decide whether to replace it with a native equivalent or to reproduce the Latin pattern as best they could and hope that their audience would see it as an accomplishment rather than a flaw, a figure rather than a barbarism. There doesn't seem to be an immediate correlation between the Latinity of the Anglo-Saxon writers and their skill as translators: thus, although the two Old English versions of Theodulf's *Capitula* are not very accomplished stylistically, their translators do not make any mistakes grave enough to suggest that they were incompetent in Latin.

There was a great degree of overlapping between the patterns acceptable in Latin and Old English, but this, of course, is no indication of the functions of these patterns – so an exact reproduction of a Latin phrase could constitute a grammatical, but not a functional equivalent. The more grammaticalised the constructions were, the less chance that they were going to be reproduced in translation. In this paper, I examine the instances in which reproducing Latin patterns precisely would present nearly insurmountable problems for Old English translators, and compare the solutions offered by different texts. This investigation focuses on patterns which were either unavailable or very rare in the target language, and some which would be habitually used in different contexts. The writers of medieval Latin, even if they themselves were speakers of Germanic or Romance languages, were well aware of the opportunities offered by the "loose" structure of Latin. Generations of students spent years learning to construe Latin poetry, and the best of them learned to write it themselves. Prose, especially the dry and succinct genre of religious rules, was very different, but it still offers many examples of split phrases (e.g. *qui prima hora uenerit diei; artifices si sunt in monasterio* etc.). The purpose of my paper is to examine how Old English translators respond to such linguistic challenges and whether their treatment of such constructions affects the Latinate status of the vernacular prose that they produce.

Alexandra Barratt, University of Waikato

### **The Sinful Wretch, Saint Malchus, and Dame Eleanor Hull**

Dame Eleanor Hull (c. 1390-1460) was a devout gentlewoman who translated two texts from French into English: a commentary on the Penitential Psalms (ed. Barratt) and an unpublished collection of prayers and meditations. The *Gilte Legende (GiL)* is an English prose translation made in 1438 from the French *Legende Doree*. Hamer's EETS edition (2006-) is the first complete edition of this important Middle English text. Its colophon declares:

And here also endith the lives of seintis that is called in Latynne *Legenda Aurea* and in Englissh the *Gilte Legende*, the which is drawn out of Frenche into Englissh the yere of oure lorde a .Ml. .CCCC. and .xxxviii. by a synfulle wrecche whos name I beseche Ihesu Criste bi his meritis of his passionie and of all these holie seintis afore written that hit mai be written in the boke of everlasting life. Amen. (Hamer, II, 1036)

Hamer has suggested that the Sinful Wretch might have been a woman, specifically Dame Eleanor Hull who is the only woman translator whom we know to have been active around 1438. Indeed she is a strong candidate from several points

of view. This paper will explore some of these, with particular reference to the translation of Jerome's life of Malchus the Captive Monk, one of the legends added by the English translator to the *Legende Doree*.

Jerome's Latin presented a formidable challenge to the Middle English translator; the resulting translation is quite free, not to say incorrect. Any translator must have had compelling reasons to undertake so demanding a task and these might be found in the personal circumstances of Dame Eleanor Hull. She was married to a much older man and bore him only one child, Edward, born maybe c. 1410. John Hull died in 1420 or 1421, when Eleanor was maybe 25. She never remarried. Presumably married life did not appeal, though as an heiress and mother of a young son it was not open to her to enter a religious community or become an anchoress. In any case, she seems to have exercised her secular responsibilities at court and on her lands with energy. So a story about a monk who in captivity and under duress enters a 'chaste marriage' with an already married woman, who herself suggests this strategy and asserts she has no wish to resume her pre-existing marriage, could well have appealed. As for Dame Eleanor's spiritual advisor, Roger Husewyff, the story of Malchus might have seemed even more apposite. Husewyff had been heading for an ecclesiastical career but then became a common lawyer. He was nominated as a sergeant-at-law in 1424 but declined, took up his studies again and was ordained in 1430. So the story of a young monk who abandons his vocation (with disastrous results) but then rediscovers it might well have appealed. He and Dame Eleanor seem to have enjoyed a lifelong friendship, which could have been framed in the same terms as Malchus' relationship with his fellow-captive and sister-wife.

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### **Saints' lives and miracle stories between translation and re-writing: from Bede to Ælfric.**

The aim of the present paper is to explore the ways in which some of the chapters of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* on saints' lives and miracle stories (for example those devoted to St Alban, Fursey, or Drihthelm just to name a few) have been re-elaborated - borrowing from Genette's terminology (1982) - in two rather different hypertexts: on the one hand in the anonymous Old English translation of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, on the other in the *Homilies* and in the *Lives of Saints* written by Ælfric. If, at least at a first glance, one could say that Bede's accounts of miracles, spiritual experiences and models of sanctity undergo a process of actual translation and transposition in the *Old English Bede*, the same cannot be said for Ælfric's *Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*, where in fact such episodes rely on Bede as a source but are expanded and re-elaborated to meet the needs of the homiletic genre and are perhaps closer to the idea of re-writing than to translation. As Bethurum (1932: 519) rightly points out, Ælfric's translations are rarely literal; he "omitted all that did not contribute to effective story-telling", thus showing himself independent of his sources and at the same time more interested in producing a hypertext that suited the audience for which his writings were intended (Clemons 1966: 187). For the purposes of this paper it could also be interesting to point out that, although the *Old English Bede* has sometimes been described as the product of a rather pedantic act of translation (Bately 1988), at a closer look it may turn out to be not so close a rendering of the source-text as one might first think. Writing in 1962, Whitelock argued that coherent principles of selection of the source-text are at the basis of the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*: the translator systematically modified the source-text, in terms both of omission or condensation of what was probably deemed unimportant, and of expansion or modification of some passages for the sake of clarity. Moreover, some of the stylistic features that characterise the *Old English Bede* could be interpreted as an actual rhetorical strategy on the part of the translator, rather than being a symptom of a poor, often too literal, translation. In the light of the different stylistic elements mentioned above, the miracle stories that will be discussed in this paper acquire an identity of their own in each of the two hypertexts and become a reflection not only of the source-text, but also of the cultural context that produced the translations themselves. As Itamar Even-Zohar (1978) often points out, the analysis of specific translational phenomena can be a very useful tool for interpreting the cultural system of which the translation itself is a product. A comparison between the two Old English renderings of these episodes (and between the hypertexts and their hypotext) therefore calls into question different issues, such as the relationship between the concepts of translation and re-writing, the issues of purpose and function of miracle stories and saints' lives in different contexts (historiographic vs. homiletic), as well as the questions as to whether or how far these episodes have evolved across time and across the translations.

Catherine Batt, University of Leeds

### **The *Epistre au dieu d'Amours* and *The Letter of Cupid*. Christine de Pizan, Thomas Hoccleve, and Vernacular Poetics in Dialogue**

A history of Middle English literature is arguably a history of translation. As context is often considered key to interpretation, one might think it an advantage to know the date of composition and authorship of both a text and its translation. Christine de Pizan composes her *Epistre au dieu d'amours* in 1399, and it finds Middle English adaptation in Thomas Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid* of 1402, and yet, critical discussion with a focus on authorship and agency has come to contradictory and contested conclusions about the poems' tone, especially with regard to the handling of rhetoric about women in Hoccleve's text, and the question of to what extent he is sympathetic to or scornful of Christine's feminist project. With the notoriously slippery language of antifeminist tropes at issue, the danger is that interpretation comes to depend overly on a pre-judging speculation over extra-textual evidence of Hoccleve's good will, and this serves to obscure rather than illuminate the particular concerns of the individual poems.

This paper takes as its point of departure the concept of translation as simulacrum that John Johnston (himself drawing on the work of Benjamin and Deleuze) has developed, whereby a sense of translated works as in themselves 'original',

in that they carry a new set of meanings, displaces a traditional methodology that assesses a translation against its source as one would gauge a copy's fidelity to an original. From the perspective of translation as simulacrum, what Hoccleve owes to or does to Christine's poem is not the primary concern. Thinking about how both poems are actively in dialogue with late-medieval vernacular rhetorical positions and functions, and how each helps to construct the overlapping literary traditions in which they participate, allows for more open and dynamic readings of their strategies. Christine is, I think, primarily interested in language as an institution, and seeks to remodel and reform it. By means of, *inter alia*, its innovative reworking of the figure of the God of Love, its implicit reworking of the ethos of the *Roman de la Rose*, and its institutionalising of pro-woman terms of instruction and good conduct, in both academic and courtly contexts, the *Epistre* explicitly reconstructs what Bourdieu calls 'legitimate language', and it is Christine's particular investment in the politics of remodelling that, I would argue, falls casualty to Hoccleve's different project. Hoccleve appears more interested in co-opting the language of Christine's poem to serve his own broader engagement with the status of different registers (official and otherwise), with the intention of, if not self-consciously actively constructing, certainly addressing, the possibilities of an English vernacular poetics through the 'official' uses of language familiar to him. To this end, Hoccleve borrows the language of the *Epistre* to carry on a conversation with Chaucer and Usk about the instability and anxieties of literary production and authority.

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### **Making new texts from old: the use of sources in the Old Norse Jóns saga postola**

Of the literature translated from Latin into Old Icelandic in the Middle Ages, hagiography undoubtedly constitutes the predominant group. Translation, which initially fulfils the need for religious texts as a means of moral education, becomes the first step in the creation of new texts from pre-existing ones. In fact, each vernacular substitute of the Latin source constitutes an original approach to the same subject matter, and becomes an open text, subject to further revision under the process of transmission. Thus, translation involves at the same time a process of selection of the material which is determined by the purpose and the readership for which the new texts are intended. This is a practice related to compilation, which is from the beginning an important aspect of the process of translation.

In this paper I will focus on the making of the saga about John the Apostle and Evangelist in relation to the Latin sources. The saga has been transmitted to us in 4 main redactions. The first three are preserved in manuscripts from the 13th century, and are mostly based on the *Vulgata* and the *Vita* by Pseudo-Mellitus. For supplementary material the translator also relied on other sources: for instance it is directly stated in the text that the anecdote in chapter 9 is based on Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The fourth redaction of the saga (c1350-1400) contains a lot of additional material compared to the other three redactions, partly deriving from sources that are as yet unidentified. It is stated in the text that additions in the *Vulgata* section come from Petrus Damianus and Pope Leo the Great, and ch. 2, based on a text like the *Legenda Aurea*, is supplemented with commentary from Gregory the Great. Finally there is a *Tveggja postola saga Jóns ok Jacobs*, which is preserved *in toto* in the manuscript *Codex Scardensis* (c1350-1375). In this highly compilatory work the lives of the two brothers are interweaved, with emphasis alternatively placed on John or James. The main body of the narrative is based respectively on the Pseudo-Mellitus' *Vita* and the *Passio Sancti Iacobi Apostoli*. Additional material come from other authors such as Eusebius, Vincent of Beauvais, Honorius Augustodunensis, Augustinus and others specifically mentioned in the texts. The last section of the saga, concerning James, has two sources in common with *Karlamagnúss saga*. Moreover, it shares with the fourth redaction the peculiarity of containing scaldic poetry about the apostle. Finally, it is not unlikely that the older sagas on the two apostles already available in Icelandic have been used along with the Latin sources for the compiling of this composite text. By comparing the different redactions of the saga and the original use that each redaction makes of source material I hope to be able to show how the building up of *Jóns saga postola* exemplifies the process of creating new texts from pre-existing ones which is typical of medieval written culture, where the various processes of translation, adaptation, compilation and redaction are not easily distinguishable.

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### **De la traduction à la littérature savante (Paris, fin XIVe siècle)**

Les traductions des textes de savoir en français à la fin du moyen âge se présentent essentiellement comme des commentaires en langue vernaculaire des autorités latines, empruntant tout à la fois la forme et la matière des commentaires latins sur lesquels ils s'appuient. La logique du commentaire et la recherche de fidélité à la signification de ces textes perçus comme vrais et authentiques amènent plus généralement les traducteurs à ajouter au texte à traduire et à compléter en français leurs sources latines, d'une manière toute différente des commentateurs latins qui les précèdent. C'est sur cette pratique des traducteurs que portera cette communication, en s'attachant plus particulièrement au milieu parisien des années 1370 et à l'œuvre de certains des grands traducteurs de cette époque. Nombre de ces traducteurs ont utilisés en effet leur travail de traduction pour mieux développer, sous différentes formes, une œuvre que l'on dirait volontiers personnelle. C'est le cas par exemple de Nicole Oresme, évêque et savant traducteur d'Aristote, ou du juriste Raoul de Presles, traducteur d'Augustin, qui enrichissent tous deux leurs traductions d'un abondant commentaire en français où s'insèrent d'importants développements des traducteurs sur des sujets de prédilection, tels le développement bien connu de Nicole Oresme sur la rotation de la terre dans le *Livre du ciel et du monde d'Aristote*, ou encore le traité de comput que l'on trouve dans la traduction de la *Cité de Dieu* de Raoul de Presles et qu'il faut peut-être bien attribuer au traducteur même. C'est le cas également de l'œuvre du médecin Évrart de Conty qui appuie pour

sa part son œuvre littéraire sur son travail de traduction, réutilisant sa traduction des *Problemata* pseudo-aristotéliens dans ses *Échecs amoureux* et dans son *Livre des Eschés amoureux moralisés*, œuvre littéraire savante appartenant à la tradition du *Roman de la Rose* et qui a l'originalité de constituer en français le premier commentaire vernaculaire d'une œuvre littéraire vernaculaire. Cette communication, à travers ces différents cas de figure, discutera des développements d'auteurs-traducteurs au sein ou en marge de leurs traductions, et tâchera de montrer comment et pourquoi la pratique de la traduction nourrit en ces cas la réflexion savante vernaculaire et sert directement la production savante en français à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

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#### **Translating the Feminine in a Fifteenth Century Devotional Miscellany**

British Museum, Royal MS 18.a.x is a fifteenth-century devotional miscellany clearly intended for women. It contains several pieces including excerpts from *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, *Three Kings of Cologne*, a treatise on the ten commandments, selections from saints' lives, a disputation on the body and soul, and so forth. The codex, however, is not a true miscellany—it is a deliberate anthology, following an internal structure, with elements specifically chosen from each source meant to highlight and illuminate other parts of the whole.

In this paper, we will be looking at translation as a type of socio-cultural statement—translation as a theory or hypothesis concerning the source text and the source cultures—as well as traditional translation from one language to another. This miscellany exhibits both styles. Some of these pieces are “true” translations from other languages, such as Latin and Italian, into Middle English. Beyond these, however, all of the texts are in a sense “translated” from their original, purer, and more masculine form, into a new text that is altered in its content and placement with a specifically female audience in mind. In this paper, we will address adaptation and translation in Royal MS 18.a.x and demonstrate how a woman's literature is constructed through the authorial choices—both compiler and audience are revealed through the choice, excisions, order, and placement of each element of the anthology. More specifically, the contents of the anthology directly reveal attitudes toward fundamental concepts of norms, strategies, and values, and especially the gendered quality of these.

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#### **“West is East: The Irish Saracens in *Of Arthur and of Merlin*”**

Among the more striking incidents related in the 13th-century Middle English poem *Of Arthur and of Merlin* is an invasion of England by an army of gigantic Irish pagans. *Of Arthur and of Merlin*'s textual history is complex. It is evidently translated from the French *Merlin*, though the precise identity of the version that furnished the source material for the English translator is unknown. The English poem's depiction of the Irish represents one of the more intriguing points of divergence between the English and French versions. The Middle English poem figures the Irish as gigantic, ‘hepen’ and pagan, repeatedly referring to them as Saracens who swear by ‘Mahoun’. The French text, by contrast, depicts the Irish as gigantic, but it does not suggest that they are in any way barbarous or even pagan. The English translator appears to have considerably altered the depiction of the Irish in his source text, heightening their alterity and painting them in a more uniformly negative light. Although, the term ‘Saracen’ was routinely applied to enemies other than the Saracens themselves throughout the Middle Ages, it was generally limited in its application to non-Christians. In this light, it is surprising that the numerous recent studies of the place of the Saracen in medieval English literature have largely neglected *Of Arthur and of Merlin* which, intriguingly, uses the term in the context of a historically Christian people.

This paper argues that the depiction of the Irish in the poem reflects a complex of ideas about Ireland developed around the time of the Angevin invasion of that country in 1169. The *Arthur* poet may be responding to the accusations of religious waywardness and doctrinal laxity that had been levelled against the Irish at that time. After all, Henry II's invasion of Ireland was thought to have been sanctioned by a papal bull that praised the enterprise as a means of returning the Irish church to orthodoxy. An often neglected facet of the Irish writings of Gerald of Wales is how frequently he brings the rhetoric of the crusades to bear on his descriptions of what he perceives as Irish heterodoxy. Furthermore, Gerald repeatedly links the Irish occident and the orient as the furthest extremities of the world, abounding in marvels and rendered barbaric by their isolation. The suggestiveness of such comparisons could only have been amplified by the fact that the *Topographia Hibernica* and the *Expugnatio Hibernica* were produced and disseminated in the years around the Third Crusade. Situated at the western extreme of the known world, Ireland's remoteness and apparent exoticism invited comparisons with the East upon which apologists for the Angevin conquest of the country were quick to capitalise. By situating the points where *Of Arthur and of Merlin* diverges from the French *Merlin* within a wider cultural-historical context, this paper argues that the crusader rhetoric deployed in the poem reflects a hitherto neglected current of thought about the Irish in medieval England.

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#### **Early Middle Eastern saints in Middle English vernacular *exempla*: the case of St James Intercisus.**

Medieval English *exempla* – stories told to illustrate sermons and homiletic literature – often refer to obscure saints from the Middle East dating back to the Patristic period. Many of them are based on the *Legenda Aurea*, compiled c. 1260-75 by the Dominican Iacopo da Varazze (James of Voragine). This Latin text, the most famous medieval

collection of saints' lives, was translated into numerous vernacular languages, such as the French *Légende dorée* (1348) and Caxton's *Golden Legend* (1483), one of the first books to be printed in English.

A good example of the genre is the story of St James Intercisus, a Persian martyr who died in 420 AD during a persecution. His unusual surname, sometimes translated as 'the Mutilated', means literally 'Dismembered', since he was hacked into thirty pieces, beginning with the fingers. There is an ancient church dedicated to him in the Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem. After the First Crusade, the martyr's head was taken to the Abbey of Cormerey (near Tours) in 1103, which may account for the entry of St James Intercisus into the *Legenda Aurea*. The story appears in several Middle English compilations, not only in Caxton's *Golden Legend* but also in the earlier fifteenth-century *Jacob's Well*, the allegorical sermon series. As this occurs in chapter 63 of *Jacob's Well* it is not accessible in the EETS edition, which stops at chapter 50, and so can only be read in the unique manuscript (an edition of the *exemplum* has been prepared to accompany this paper). Although the majority of *exempla* in *Jacob's Well* were taken from the Latin *Alphabetum Narrationum* (c. 1307) – which also exists in an English version called *An Alphabet of Tales*, though the anonymous *Jacob's Well* did not use it – the story of St James Intercisus is not found in either of these texts. While the author of *Jacob's Well* mentions no source for the *exemplum*, he most likely took it directly from the *Legenda Aurea*, a work which he occasionally cites (though not here) under the name *Legenda Lumbardica*.

In addition to being a remarkable allegorist, who developed the image of the well all through the 95 chapters of this very long treatise, the English writer took great pains with his style. In the story of St James Intercisus, for example, he adapts the legend to his own purpose and manages to add an original touch by having the martyr reply to his torturers in a series of English rhyming couplets, producing a dramatic effect unlike anything found in the Latin and French versions. The *exempla* make up only one part of *Jacob's Well*, a text which represents several layers of translation and rewriting from English, French and Latin sources, some of which go back to much earlier Latin and Greek models, as in this case. But why should an English sermon writer expect his audience to show any interest in such an obscure Persian saint? In reality, the historical context of the story was largely irrelevant to both the preacher and the public of the fifteenth century. The example was chosen in order to illustrate the moral of the sermon: here, in chapter 63, the theme is Fortitude and Perseverance, qualities amply demonstrated by the martyr in the slow process of being hacked to death.

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#### **Translation As Incomplete Rewriting: The Case of *Beowulf***

Including both poetry and prose, over the last hundred years *Beowulf* has been translated into one or another modern language on the average of once every two years. Why? I propose to explore two major linguistic and cultural reasons, limiting my illustrations to Modern English poetic versions. First, I will focus on the special illocutionary properties of the original Old English text, and the ways in which translators' choices of form, diction, and syntax have engaged those properties. Such stylistic effects in the source text are impossible to re-create to a translator's complete satisfaction, but, because *Beowulf* appears to many readers to have been written in an earlier version of Modern English, translators continue to try. Old English is indeed its etymological ancestor, but it is not its cultural or stylistic parent. Hence my second point, which rests on the premise of this conference: a translation must always be a cultural rewriting, no matter how well it creates a modern version of the text's original culture.

A good example of this is the half-line "hwa þæm hlæste onfeng" 52b, concerning the ultimate destination of the body of the hero Scyld Scefing in his ship-burial at sea. Literally the poem says that no one knows "who received that [hlæste]." Before selecting a modern "equivalent," the translator's problem is to assess fully the cultural weight borne by this Old English word, which has been variously translated as "freight," "cargo," "burden." Does the word include the treasure heaped upon Scyld's chest? The word also turns Scyld's body into an object. Does that imply a statement about the soul of this pre-Christian character? Whatever choice the translator makes, it rests upon assumed answers to such questions, which answers themselves rest, in turn, upon assumptions about the theological views and purposes of the poem as a whole. It is impossible to translate without interpreting.

Arguing that individual word-choices are always guided by a translator's interpretation of the whole text, I will examine specimen passages central to modern readings of the poem. I will discuss the successes and deficiencies of the best translations of these passages in engaging the illocutionary and trans-cultural aspects of recreating *Beowulf* in Modern English, and the interpretive assumptions behind them. The difficulty of fully resolving these two fundamental issues virtually guarantees that new translations of *Beowulf* will continue indefinitely into the future.

Gabriele Cocco, Università di Padova

#### **The Old English 'Translation' of *Apollonius of Tyre***

Amid some pivotal religious and legal texts from Anglo-Saxon England, the first section of Cambridge CCC Ms. 201, pp. 131-45, contains the sole Old English version of the prose text of *Apollonius of Tyre*. The story of Apollonius of Tyre, set in the classical, heathen Mediterranean world, deals with love and adventure. Yet, it also tells amusing episodes of piracy, shipwreck, separation and reunion, and supernatural interference. Whether composed originally in Greek or Latin, the tale enjoyed vast acknowledgment from Late Antiquity to the Low Middle Ages. Numerous manuscripts containing the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* had wide currency in Medieval Europe since the sixth century. This is witnessed by the remarkable endeavour to translate and adapt the tale into so many European vernaculars. Thus far, scholars have ventured several hypotheses to identify the Latin source of Old English *Apollonius of Tyre* though it has not been determined with certainty. The tale of Apollonius entered English literature at the beginning of the

eleventh century and is a sample of Anglo-Saxon prose on a profane subject. It is a landmark in Medieval literature as it is both the first 'translation' of the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* in vernacular and the earliest English 'romance'.

There is a large lacuna in the middle of *Apollonius of Tyre* (about a third of the text is missing). Palaeographical evidence shows the clear hand of a single scribe who copied out the text from an antigraph manuscript now lost. As suggested by Simpson (1983), a close scrutiny of the style of Old English *Apollonius of Tyre* discloses that at least two translators worked on the text. The purpose of this paper is to look at the way in which the translators approached the Latin source(s) to render it into Old English. It will consider some stylistic features such as additions, mistranslations, omissions and paraphrases of the original source(s). Attention will also be drawn to the translators' effort to render distinctive classical issues in a language which did not have exact equivalents. Their 'filtration' into the Old English frame of mind is another remarkable aspect, especially if one considers the making of thirteen *hapax legomena* just for such a short narration. In addition, the character of Apollonius differs somewhat from the Latin original. The king of Tyre becomes an *ealdormann* whose behaviour and deeds are endowed with the distinctive literary flavor which was once prevailing in Anglo-Saxon England.

Therefore, one is still entitled to wonder why the worldly tale of Apollonius was of any interest in a scriptorium of fervent Christian zeal and why *Apollonius of Tyre* is found in Cambridge CCC Ms. 201 among religious texts. As a result, one may also query whether the lacuna in the manuscript is an ill-fated accident or the result of a later ecclesiastical censorship. All in all, the pagan story of Apollonius of Tyre had to be of towering literary as well as linguistic interest, even beyond the vast number of homilies or Saints' lives, to justify such an unusual longing for 'translation-practice' by some pious hands.

Joyce Coleman, University of Oklahoma

### **Thomas Usk and the Registers of Translation**

Scholars have come increasingly to understand the political, gender, and genre issues involved in a late medieval English writer's choice of language. Less attention has been paid, however, to the intellectual impact, the "get-it" factor in language choice. That may be because the relationship seems straightforward: Latin was the language of academic instruction, with Latin content trickling down through French into English over the fourteenth century, the vernacular always subordinate to and underwritten by the authority of the ultimate latinized source.

English translators of prestigious Latin works eased themselves into their texts with a set of standard self-defenses. The intended audience needed English because they lacked maturity or education; and since the work had come into Latin from Greek or Hebrew or Arabic, why couldn't it move the next step into English? Such tropes served to justify the "full light reules and naked wordes" of the *Treatise on the Astrolabe* that Chaucer translated for "lyte Lowys" his son; the Lord's partisanship on behalf of nonlatinized English people in the "Dialogue ... on Translation" that prefaces Trevisa's *Polychronicon*; right through to justifications of biblical translation. Apologies pile up about the difficulties of purveying the complexities of Latin into rude English.

One commentary of the late fourteenth century, however, unexpectedly embraces rudeness, attributing greater intellectual impact to the English basilect. In his *Testament of Love*--itself derived from Latin sources with French and English influences--Thomas Usk praises the "colours riche" and "noble thynges" offered by enditers in French and Latin. Put into an English that attempts to replicate that sophistication, however, the works are not so much too difficult for English audiences, Usk argues, as too remote. Usk seems to anticipate much later arguments about the burdensomeness of "English Latin." Latin and French, he says, are "kyndely to [the] mouthes" of those raised to speak them, but English authors should "shewe our fantasyes in such wordes as we lerneden of our dames tonge." Unlike the elegant terminology of clerks and Frenchmen, the "rude wordes and boystous" of common English "percen the herte of the herer to the innerest point, and planten there the sentence of thinges."

Although generally despised for his politics, Usk is, oddly, one of the most sensitive contemporary commentators on the role of English in late medieval England. This paper will explore the complex relationship Usk traces among language choice, knowledge, spirituality, and aurality.

Stefania D'Agata D'Ottavi, Università per Stranieri di Siena

### **Chaucer's multi-level translation of *Filostrato* in *Troilus and Criseyde***

It has by now long been recognized that *Filostrato*, composed by Boccaccio about 1330 and the main source of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, was known in the Italian original to the English poet who, in the words of one of the best students of the poem, Barry Windeatt, 'must have worked with a copy of the Italian in front of him as he created the draft of his poem' (B. Windeatt, 1992, p. 50), the assumption of a French translation of Boccaccio's work as an intermediary having never been satisfactorily proved. The relationship between *Filostrato* and *Troilus and Criseyde* has been the object of many studies (among others, C.S. Lewis, 1932; R.O. Payne, 1963; N.R. Havely, 1980; D. Wallace, 1985; C. D. Benson, 1990; B. Windeatt, 1992; W. Ginsberg, 2001). In particular, David Wallace has compared the grammatical and syntactical structures of the two works very closely and Barry Windeatt has analysed the corresponding stanzas of the two poems in order to emphasise similarities and differences.

In the light of these very interesting studies, I propose to present the results of a comparison between the places where Chaucer is closest to Boccaccio's original work in order to show the various ways in which he slowly gets away from *Filostrato* after following it closely for some lines, usually the first two or three in each stanza, and to attempt an interpretation of this slow estrangement from the source. On the one hand the English poet appears to be interested in

showing his referent (which he never mentions explicitly, though insisting on the fact that his poem is a translation) by rendering it 'literally' into English up to a certain point, and then diverging from it in order to make it clear that his poetry is taking a course that is, at least in part, different, while, on the other, a different idea of 'translation', with respect to our own conceptions of it, emerges from Chaucer's multi-level approach to Boccaccio's text.

Close inspection shows that the direction the removal from the original takes points toward a dramatization of the personality of Troilus and to an attention to the philosophical aspects of his story that are relatively neglected by Boccaccio, even if we do not consider the more 'philosophical' lines which are an addition- but a very significant one- to *Filostrato*: Troilus's constant inquiry into the nature of love, his frequent discussion of the laws of nature, his pessimistic outlook, even in the happiest moments of his love for Criseyde, which is perfectly consistent with the frequently announced tragic outcome of the story, are quite far from the emphasis on sexual love which is characteristic of Boccaccio's poem.

From these features, which I propose to analyse in detail, it seems possible to conclude that whereas Boccaccio is pursuing the creation of a new literary genre, not of course, the old 'romance', but some sort of novel *ante litteram*, and is worried about the relative 'purity' of his story, Chaucer is interested in exploring the personality of Troilus within the framework of all the aspects of the culture of his time which allow him to fully display the development of his character's melancholy imagination.

Pieter De Leemans, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

#### ***Un amateur dans la cohorte des traducteurs du grec? Notes on the Greek-Latin translations of Peter of Abano***

Peter of Abano (ca. 1250 – 1316) is mainly known as an author of medical, philosophical, and astrological texts. His major works, which were all published in 1310, are the astrological/astronomical *Lucidator dubitabilium astrologiae* (edited and studied by G. Federici-Vescovini), the immense commentary on pseudo-Aristotle's *Problemata Physica*, the *Expositio problematum Aristotelis* (currently being edited by an international team of scholars, a.o. from Leuven – see, e.g., the 2008 PhD thesis by Gijss Coucke), and the *Conciliator*, in which Peter confronts medical and philosophical authorities. Moreover, Peter of Abano is the author of several translations from Greek into Latin; he translated several works by Galen, perhaps for his own use only (cf. the 1986 study by M.-T. d'Alverny), as well as, as it seems, three collections of *Problemata* (by Cassius Iatrosophista, by pseudo-Alexander, as well as the so-called *Problemata Inedita* – see the studies by L. Olivieri and P. De Leemans). Whereas Peter's translation of Cassius and of the *Problemata Inedita* is only known through self-quotations in other works, two manuscripts (one fourteenth-century manuscript from El Escorial and one fifteenth-century manuscript from the Vatican) contain his translation of pseudo-Alexander. In my paper, I will focus on this translation in order to sketch Peter's translation method and to compare this method to the one(s) used by twelfth- and thirteenth-century translators of Aristotle. This will enable us to determine whether Peter of Abano is really, as it was stated by d'Alverny, "un amateur dans la cohorte des traducteurs du grec".

Elizabeth Dévière and Michelle Goyens, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

#### **La médecine en traduction: Barthélémy de Messine, Pietro d'Abano et Évrart de Conty, un trio inextricable**

Ensemble de questions de philosophie naturelle, les *Problèmes* aristotéliens consacrent plusieurs chapitres à la médecine. Au Moyen Âge tardif, cette spécificité de l'œuvre lui valut notamment l'intérêt du médecin padouan Pietro d'Abano, qui s'efforça d'en éclaircir le contenu dans un commentaire (ca. 1310) fondé sur la traduction latine de Barthélémy de Messine. Lorsque ce dernier exécute sa traduction des *Problèmes*, vers 1260, l'Occident latin dispose déjà d'une abondante littérature médicale ainsi que d'une terminologie spécifique, essentiellement promue par les traductions latines des 11e et 12e siècles. On peut dès lors se poser la question de savoir dans quelle mesure Barthélémy de Messine a veillé à utiliser la terminologie médicale de son temps. Aussi, dans le cadre de cette communication, nous analysons les choix de traduction effectués par Barthélémy à propos du vocabulaire médical. À cette fin, nous comparons ses choix de traduction avec un corpus représentatif du vocabulaire médical circulant au moment où Barthélémy entreprend la traduction des *Problèmes*. Les traductions arabo- et gréco-latines fournissant à cette époque les premiers instruments de transmission et de renouvellement du savoir médical, notre corpus comporte essentiellement des traductions sélectionnées selon plusieurs critères qui seront définis. Autour des traductions médiévales gravitent d'autres types de textes tels les commentaires et les œuvres encyclopédiques. Parmi ceux-ci, nous nous penchons en particulier sur le commentaire de Pietro d'Abano à la traduction des *Problèmes*.

Évrart de Conty traduisit les *Problèmes* en moyen français vers 1380, en se basant sur la traduction latine de Barthélémy et le commentaire de Pietro d'Abano. Il doit rendre en langue vernaculaire les concepts pour lesquels les auteurs cités pouvaient s'appuyer sur une solide base. Des recherches récentes ont montré qu'Évrart de Conty élabore un nouveau vocabulaire, en forgeant maint néologisme, conservé jusqu'aujourd'hui dans un grand nombre de cas : citons par exemple des termes comme *probleme*, *inflammation*, etc., dont la première attestation est due à son texte. Mais notre traducteur s'inscrit bien sûr dans une période où beaucoup de concepts de la médecine ont déjà trouvé leur expression en français, grâce aux travaux de prédécesseurs tels que Henri de Mondeville, dont la *Chirurgie* a fait l'objet d'une traduction anonyme, la *Chirurgie* d'Albucasis, les *Amphorismes Ypocras* de Martin de Saint-Gilles, etc. Nous voudrions donc, dans un troisième volet, qui se doublera, vérifier dans quelle mesure le traducteur « vernaculaire » est tributaire de ses textes source, la traduction de Barthélémy et le commentaire de Pietro, pour le choix de la terminologie médicale, et par ailleurs mesurer à quel point il s'est appuyé sur le travail de ses prédécesseurs et contemporains. Cette étude permettra dès lors de confronter les méthodes de la traduction vers une langue savante à

celles de la traduction vers le vernaculaire, d'une terminologie qui s'inscrit dans un milieu défini de savants qui l'utilisent à des fins spécifiques.

Claudia di Sciacca, University of Udine

### **Vulgarising Christianity: The Old English Version of the *Elucidarium***

The *Elucidarium sive Dialogus de summa totius christianae theologiae* is an anonymous Latin prose dialogue and comprises three books, dealing with theology, the problem of evil, and eschatology respectively. The text has been variously dated and ascribed. Current scholarship has assigned it, albeit not unanimously, to Honorius of Autun, a prolific and influential writer whose identity remains uncertain, but who must have been active in England during the episcopate of Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033-1109). Indeed, it has been convincingly argued that the *Elucidarium* was written in England c. 1100 and that the character and purpose of this text are best understood in the light of the reform movement in eleventh-century England. In particular, the work has been considered a (rather drastic) simplification of Anselm's scholastic thought designed to provide Anglo-Saxon monks with the essentials of the Christian faith. The *Elucidarium* was exceptionally popular throughout Europe for centuries, as is attested by the number of both Latin witnesses and translations or adaptations into many West European languages. This paper is going to focus on the earliest English version which is contained in a miscellaneous codex from c. 1125, ms. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, ff. 4-169, and consists of two excerpts from the first and second book of the *Elucidarium*.

These two extracts have attracted scholars' attention primarily for their linguistic interest, being among the latest compositions in Old English or, as some scholars would have it, the earliest in Middle English. Their relationship with the Latin original has not hitherto been the subject of a close scrutiny, being hastily labelled as a close translation of the source excerpted and adapted to provide homiletic material. Moreover, research on the two vernacular pieces has so far overlooked any accurate consideration of the manuscript context in which they occur.

The present paper proposes to carry out a detailed contrastive reading of the Old English text with the Latin source, showing that the former is in fact a selective and free rendering of the latter. The creative adaptation of the Latin text mostly consists of omissions and simplifications, which is in line with the simplifying treatment of the other sources throughout the Vespasian manuscript. This codex incorporates a vast collection of catechetical, educative, and homiletic material, and has recently been described as a monastic production originally intended for an exclusively monastic audience, perhaps especially novices. Notably, such an audience has been advocated also on the basis of the treatment of the source-texts of the collection, which would allegedly have been adapted and manipulated so as to eliminate what was felt as not relevant for strictly monastic recipients as well as unnecessary doctrinal complexities. A holistic approach to the two *Elucidarium* extracts within the context of the manuscript containing them can therefore afford stimulating insights into the rationale of the translator's choices and strategies. Furthermore, such a re-contextualisation of the Vespasian extracts would encourage a better assessment of the putative role of the *Elucidarium* within the reform movement in late eleventh-century England, in general, and in the popularisation in the vernacular of Anselm teachings, in particular.

Ivana Djordjević, Concordia University (Montreal)

### **What does it mean to be an *English hero*? *Guy of Warwick* in Anglo-Norman and Middle English**

In the dominant academic narrative about the emergence of national feeling in medieval England the Auchinleck manuscript (Edinburgh, Advocates' Library, MS 19.2.1) has long occupied a highly prominent place. The chronicle and romance texts in this celebrated miscellany, so the argument goes, were not only carefully selected for their potential for nationalist exhortation but also specially edited in order to fulfill this task as effectively as possible. The argument is most often applied to the romance of *Guy of Warwick*, seen by many as the central text in the entire manuscript – its emotional core of sorts. As many of these texts, including *Guy*, are translations from Anglo-Norman, the shift from the language of the colonizers to that of the colonized was seen as a crucial element in the consolidation and strengthening of national feeling. (The seminal statement of this argument, by Thorlac Turville-Petre in his 1996 book *England the Nation*, has been taken up both by literary historians and by translation scholars, e.g. Sarah Gordon, who agrees, in the proceedings of the 2004 Medieval Translator Conference, that “pride in English as the language of translation seems linked to *Guy's* pride in England and to the narrator's representation of him as an English knight.”) In recent years, however, scholars of Anglo-Norman literature have increasingly sought to modify this account by pointing out that the pronounced Englishness of Middle English romances, including *Guy of Warwick*, is often lifted straight from their Anglo-Norman originals. The paper I propose to present participates in this reevaluation of the argument that equates language and ethnicity in the complexly multilingual society of medieval England. Given the importance of Englishness in the Anglo-Norman redactions of *Guy's* original, the romance *Gui de Warewic*, I suggest that the relationship between language and national pride in the first two or three centuries after the Conquest is much less linear than is sometimes assumed. Just as there is no perfect fit between the sense of belonging to England the land and to the “English” nation, there is no perfect fit between national pride and the language in which it is expressed. Moreover, “Englishness” is itself a multifaceted and somewhat elusive concept. Thus, for example, Turville-Petre claims that even when translation into English merely takes over a national feeling already present in an Anglo-Norman text, it modifies this national feeling in the direction of greater social inclusiveness – the assumption being that a more socially inclusive understanding of the nation is somehow more properly “English” than an Englishness focused on the social elite. However, a closer look at the different redactions of *Guy of Warwick* romances in the two languages shows that this is simply not the case. In

my paper, I will look closely at how the meaning of “Englishness” is constructed in Anglo-Norman and Middle English narratives of Guy’s adventures, and use my findings as the basis for a reconsideration of Guy of Warwick’s status as the preeminent late-medieval *English* hero.

Patricia L. Drews and Jenny Rebecca Rytting, Northwest Missouri State University,

#### **Dialect Translation in the Manuscripts of *The Reeve’s Tale***

J. R. R. Tolkien, in his seminal article on the Northern dialect in *The Reeve’s Tale*, suggested that the various scribes did not get Chaucer’s linguistic joke and often eliminated Northern forms as they copied his text, thus translating much of the language into their own, more familiar diction. Therefore, Tolkien provided a “reconstructed” text of the Northern passages from the tale, in which he combined Northern forms from various manuscripts. He also located the dialect of these passages in a specific region in the north. Most scholars now reject Tolkien’s conclusions and his reconstructed text, as do we, but the text still has value as a test-case of the most extreme Northern dialect postulated as Chaucer’s own creation.

In this paper, we aim to analyze the Northern passages from several manuscripts of *The Reeve’s Tale*. While many scholars since Tolkien have examined various features of Chaucer’s use of dialect, we are taking a new approach by combining data from the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology, to which we have adapted the “fit technique” explained by *Atlas* editor M. Benskin. We plan to scan relevant dot maps from the *Linguistic Atlas* and use GIS to create polygons showing the usage of specific dialect forms. We will then use polygon overlay to find the area (if any) where all of the forms are found. Repeating the process with various manuscripts will extend the scope of our study. This analysis will determine whether the Northern passages in any given manuscript can be identified as belonging to a specific location or, as we expect, they represent more generalized, artificially constructed dialects. In addition, we will examine the relationships between the various scribes’ use of Northern forms and their own primary dialects to see if it is possible to sort out some of the particular Northern influences on individual scribes as revealed by their various translations of Chaucer’s dialectical language in *The Reeve’s Tale*.

Elisabeth Dutton, Worcester College, Oxford

#### **Bilingualism and translation: the voice of early Tudor stage directions.**

Marvin Carlson’s *Speaking in Tongues: Languages at Play in the Theatre* reminds us of the importance of the interplay between actors’ lines and the ‘side text’ when studying drama; Linda McJannet’s *Voice of Elizabethan Stage Directions* explores the significance of Latin stage directions which, though gradually replaced in Renaissance drama by vernacular stage directions, nonetheless continued to exert influence on the form and grammar of this ‘side text’. Renaissance English stage directions translated the meaning of their Latin predecessors with remarkable slavishness, often imitating their grammatical forms in ways which strained English syntax. The proposed paper will build on McJannet’s observations by relating them to the late-medieval drama, the scripts of which exhibit stage directions which are generally mixed in language and style – within a play, there may be some stage directions in Latin, some which translate Latin into English, and some which mix the two languages.

Stage directions can also be the location of a more direct proximate relationship between Latin and English: for example, in Skelton’s *Magnyfycence*, in a scene in which French is mocked as the language of courtly pretension, the Latin stage direction *Et faciat tanquem exuat beretum ironice*, ‘and let him ironically pretend to doff his cap’, controls the action but also the following line, which effectively glosses it: ‘Decke your hofte and cover a lowce’. This moment of translation not only renders Latin into the vernacular, but also translates speech into action.

The audience watching the play in performance are only aware of the second of these acts of translation; an ‘audience’ reading the play are fully able to observe the first. A very significant difference between the Renaissance plays which McJannet discusses and the late-medieval plays which will be the focus of this paper is the fact that the latter, written in the days before the professional playhouses, were often disseminated as much on the page as on the stage. As a result, the stage directions of late-medieval plays can function in quite different ways from their Renaissance counterparts, and have greater status. In late-medieval drama, stage directions often contain narrative aspects – not simply ‘Hic entrat’, but also then ‘et dicat’ - which create a sense of an ‘enveloping monologue’ and a narrative which resists the autonomy of dramatic characters with free-standing speech. The narrative voice, paradoxically, is only ‘heard’ on the page, though its directions control the action in performance.

The translation and negotiations between Latin and English within this enveloping monologue will be explored in the proposed paper, which will thus consider the extent to which Latin is an authoritative force controlling dramatic action in late-medieval drama, particularly the secular interludes which circulated in print. Stage directions, which may not be authorial, may sometimes have been added into a script as it was prepared for publication, and may recall aspects of a past performance of a play, to help a reader, rather than making suggestions to direct a future actor. The framework for the proposed paper will be a sense of the stage direction as a site of translation from word to action: between the play-text and its reader, and between the script and the actor, and the audience.

Marsha L. Dutton, Ohio University

#### **Saints Refusing to Leave: Aelred of Rievaulx’s *Saints of Hexham* as an Inverted *Translatio***

*The Saints of Hexham*, the most personal and least studied of the works of Aelred, abbot of the Yorkshire Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx from 1147 until his death in 1167, probably began as a homily to be preached at the 1155 translation of the relics of five largely forgotten seventh- and eighth-century bishops of the church of Hexham, in the North of England. This treatise, with its jumble of ancient bits of biography and history, miracles, and stories of Aelred's own family members, does not, however, recall or commemorate the lives of the bishops. Aelred himself has very little knowledge of their lives other than what he has been able to copy from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and many of the miracles he recounts are those of Wilfrid and Cuthbert rather than of Eata, Acca, Frethbert, Alchmund, and Tilbert. When Aelred does tell stories about these ancient men, he tells of their refusal to have any portion of their relics removed from the church where they have spent their lives and deaths. Aelred authenticates their identity and presence at Hexham, for the most part intact in their caskets, and ascribes to them a tradition of active protection of the church of Saint Andrew in which they are enshrined, of the Augustinian canons now resident there, and of the townspeople. Of particular significance in defining the importance of these bishops is Aelred's identity as a boy who grew up in Hexham as the son, grandson, and great grandson of its priests. This history makes Aelred uniquely qualified to authenticate the relics of those bishops and to explain their continuing presence in the mid-twelfth century. The work is thus an inverted *translatio*, written to verify the identity and symbolic meaning of the bishops and to insist that far from having been brought to Hexham from some other place, their forcible resistance to being stolen has kept them in the church and city where they spent their lives serving God.

Erik Ekman, Oklahoma State University

### **Translating and Not Translating: Latin in the Vernacular Histories of Alfonso X**

The *General estoria* and the *Estoria de Espanna*, two extensive historical compilations commissioned by King Alfonso X of Castile in the 1270s are among the first extensive works written in the Iberian Peninsula in romance vernacular and form the basis of later Christian vernacular historiography in both form and content until the late fifteenth century. As early vernacular texts they introduce a great deal of vocabulary from Latin, explain new concepts to vernacular readers and generally a forge a vernacular identity and subject voice vis-a vis the past and their source texts. However both texts also include a significant number of direct Latin quotes from their primary sources: the Bible, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, various classical historians as well as contemporary commentators. The compilers of the *General estoria* and *Estoria de Espanna* systematically present citations in Latin, translate them and expound on their meaning and importance to their historical project. This paper explores the way in which the compilers choose not to translate certain parts of their source texts, their possible reasons for doing so and the effect this has on the creation of a contemporary vernacular identity. By interrupting their narrative to expound their source texts directly the Alfonsine compilers adopt the voice and techniques of the exegete, rather than the historian. This shows their close reliance on exegetical texts and practices and more importantly the close relationship between *historia* as the narration of the events of the past and also as the first and primary sense of a text to be expounded, along with allegory, morals and anagogy. Narration and interpretation are those closely related in the *General estoria* and the *Estoria de Espanna*.

Ludmila Evdokimova, Institut de la Littérature Mondiale, Moscou

### **Jean de Vignay et Jean Ferron dans le travail sur le *Libellus de ludo scachorum* de Jacques de Cessoles: deux types de traduction au milieu du XIVe siècle**

La comparaison des deux traductions françaises du *Libellus de ludo scachorum* de Jacques de Cessoles (fin du XIIIe siècle), celle de Jean de Vignay (1340? pas plus tard que 1342) et celle de Jean Ferron (1347), permet d'opposer deux types d'approche à l'original: la première est plus traditionnelle, caractéristique du Moyen Age, la seconde est marquée par l'avènement de l'époque humaniste. Jean Ferron conserve le tissu narratif de l'original: il n'insère pas dans sa traduction de longs passages sans équivalents avec l'original, quoiqu'il passe parfois à une paraphrase abrégée. Jean de Vignay (comme on l'a déjà remarqué), introduit dans sa traduction plusieurs passages sans aucun rapport avec l'original. Ainsi, pour Jean Ferron le texte de l'original apparaît dans une certaine mesure «figé», alors que pour Jean de Vignay il représente la matière sujette à des modifications diverses, en accord avec la pratique de traduction répandue au XIIIe – première moitié du XIVe siècle. Les digressions ajoutées par Jean de Vignay à sa traduction permettent de reconstituer le contexte historique dans lequel elle est créée et de caractériser ses vues politiques; dans notre communication nous analysons certaines d'entre elles – celles qui n'ont pas été commentées – et nous précisons la datation de cette traduction. Les traductions de Jean Ferron et de Jean de Vignay sont différentes à d'autres égards. Le premier traducteur comprend mieux les citations des poètes de l'Antiquité, contenues dans le *Libellus* de Jacques de Cessoles, et il les interprète plus correctement (bien que sa traduction ne soit pas exempte des erreurs). De plus, Jean Ferron conserve les *exempla* extraits des auteurs anciens; sa traduction des *exempla* prouve qu'il admire les mœurs des anciens. Jean de Vignay altère le sens des citations des poètes anciens, il n'a aucune idée du contexte d'où elles sont extraites. Dans sa traduction, il omet certains *exempla* qui concernent la vie et les mœurs des anciens.

L'intérêt pour l'Antiquité que la traduction de Jean Ferron laisse remarquer, est intimement lié, semble-t-il, à son désir de conserver le tissu narratif de l'original, sans le détruire par de longues digressions. Comme A.Collet le suggère, cette traduction est faite probablement dans la cour du pape Clément VI, protecteur des *studia humanitatis*. L'ambiance qui y règne inspire à Jean Ferron l'admiration pour les anciens et, à la fois, l'attention au texte qui conserve les témoignages du passé. Jean de Vignay est un écrivain de l'époque reculée. La vision de l'original comme un ensemble non figé des

dits et des *exempla*, que sa traduction reflète, s'accompagne chez lui avec l'absence d'intérêt pour l'Antiquité – et plus largement – pour le passé tel quel – qui n'est pas lié avec le présent.

Ambra Finotello, Bangor University

**The expression of English identity in three Middle English translations of the Old French *Estoire de Merlin***

The ideas of nations and nationality have long been a point of scrutiny for historians and social scientists, resulting in a number of contrasting theories as to whether these two phenomena emerged in the Middle Ages or in the modern era. In recent times, this debate has become a fervent topic amongst scholars of medieval literature, with a growing interest in literature as the ground in which the antecedents of national sentiment were first manifested.

My paper focuses on three Arthurian romances dating back to the fourteenth and fifteenth century: *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, Henry Lovelich's *Merlin* and the English *Prose Merlin*. These texts are Middle English translations from the thirteenth-century Vulgate *Estoire de Merlin*, the Old French prose romance that deals with the story of Merlin and with the Arthurian Legend. However, these translations are not straight-forward: the original material was reshaped according to the personal perceptions of the authors regarding the Arthurian story, and many elements in the narrative were adjusted to suit the tastes of the new English audience. In particular, *Of Arthour and of Merlin* (c.1300), the oldest Arthurian romance written in the English vernacular, presents a number of characteristics supporting the idea that an English agenda lies behind the composition of the text and the variations it contains, so as to appeal to an audience consisting exclusively of English people.

My paper seeks to investigate how the liberties taken by the translators of these three romances convey a sense of national identity in a period of great linguistic and cultural turbulence. Comparing selected passages of these romances with the *Estoire*, I hope to show the various ways in which the texts moved away from the conventions of French romance, providing an English counterpart to their French source and contributing to the formation of medieval English identity. Finally, as the date of the composition of the romances ranges from the very beginning of the thirteenth century to the 1480s, my paper will examine the ways in which these three romances demonstrate the progress of English national sentiment through the late Middle Ages. By investigating the texts from an English perspective, I aim to reveal their role in the development of Middle English romance and encourage an impartial re-assessment of their literary/historical merit.

Damian Fleming, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

**... et *interpres* fuit Hieronymus: St Jerome's Hebrew Names and Bede**

Of all issues of translation throughout the middle ages, none is more paramount than biblical translation. And for the Latin West, biblical translation means St. Jerome. But my title's play on the title of the conference is of course not accurate. Jerome was not the first translator—he was working in a world filled with competing translations of scripture, based on different editions of the Hebrew text, or based on translations themselves. Jerome's philological approach to biblical translation was in many ways radical, and was eyed with suspicion by many of his contemporaries (most notably St. Augustine). In attempting to transmit the knowledge of the Hebrews to the Latin west, one of the issues he had to deal with was the interpretation of Hebrew names. There was a long tradition, rooted in the Hebrew text itself, of attributing special significance to the literal interpretation of Hebrew names. One of Jerome's most widely copied, disseminated, and excerpted works is his "Books of Hebrew Names," a dictionary of sorts of all the Hebrew proper names which occur in the Old and New Testaments. Jerome essentially translated an already existing Greek text, which was greatly influenced by the allegorical Alexandrian school, and thus included many non-philological, "fanciful" interpretations, or "violent" interpretations, as Jerome himself calls him. He translated this book early in his career, when he was only a budding student of Hebrew and was rather faithful to his Greek source, and included these "violent" interpretations. However, Jerome tried to control their use in exegesis by pointing out their non-philological basis. His efforts did not succeed. As the text was copied and excerpted, Jerome's limiting comments were lost, and these dubious interpretations wound up being widely disseminated, appearing as prefatory material in early medieval gospels and in epitomes of his work. Nevertheless, Jerome found one solid supporter in the Venerable Bede, the early Anglo-Saxon author. Although all his surviving works are composed in Latin, he is said to have endeavored to translate the Gospel of John into Old English, and was a vehement supporter of Jerome's notion of translating according to the Hebrew original, or the "Hebrew truth" as they call it. Bede is so committed, he frequently provides philological details about the Hebrew language—down to the level of orthography—in his biblical commentaries. Most of this is lifted straight from Jerome, but he occasionally makes original deductions about the Hebrew language. One of the issues Bede is passionately vocal about is the use of "violent" interpretations; he objects to these vehemently, and even invokes the phonetic system of the Hebrew language (which he only knows of second-hand) to defend his view. Bede, perhaps alone among medieval exegetes, appreciates Jerome's concern about the fanciful interpretations and rejects them. Bede appreciates and even takes on Jerome's role as *interpres*—as the conduit—between the Latin world and the Greek and Hebrew worlds.

Reka Forrai, Central European University, Budapest

**Papal initiatives in the spreading of Greek knowledge in the medieval West**

Literary canons are rooted in the social system. Thus, the translator's achievement is a signpost of new beginnings not only in literary history. It often marks shifts in cultural paradigms or signals political turning points. In this paper, I

want to investigate the ways changing political and cultural policies of the medieval papacy were often backed up by a new set of translations. Whether as commissioners or dedicatees, from Late Antiquity onward, popes figure in many translators' prologues. Translators' connections to the papal court varied widely: some were papal officials, some diplomats engaged also in interpreting--sometimes even popes themselves were active translators. Both long- and short-term collaborations occurred, either solely in the form of epistolary contact, or actual physical presence at the curia.

Any enumeration of such instances has to go back to Jerome's correspondence with Pope Damasus, and their shared concern for codifying the canon of biblical texts in Latin. The list continues with Dionysius Exiguus, who worked for Popes Hormisdas and John I to produce translations of important synodal decrees and canons.. Rusticus, editor and translator of several council acts, was actually nephew of Pope Vigilius and his travel companion to Constantinople. Two popes in the late sixth century, Pelagius I and John III, themselves translated the *Apophtegmata patrum*. Bonifatius Consiliarius, translator of the miracles of Saints Cyrus and John, seems to have been a Roman cleric connected to the court of Benedict II in the seventh century. In the eighth century, Pope Zacharias himself translated Saint Gregory's dialogues, though in the opposite direction, from Latin to Greek. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, the most prolific translator of the Carolingian period, was close collaborator of three ninth-century popes: Nicholas I, Hadrian II and John VIII. The two arguably most important figures of twelfth- and thirteenth-century translation movements both had important connections at the pontifical court: Burgundio of Pisa dedicated his translation of John of Damascus to Pope Eugen III, while William of Moerbeke was penitentiary of Pope Clement IV, completing much of his Latin Aristotle while at the papal court at Viterbo. This latter pontiff was also patron of Roger Bacon, who offered to translate for him the pseudo-aristotelian *De impressionibus coelestibus*.

Patronizing and, at the same time controlling the flow of Greek writings, was most of the times of primary interest for the papacy. Texts were used for strategies of building up cultural identity: appropriation of items of the Greek legacy via translation reflects in fact a rivalry with the political entity of Byzantium. In the same manner, claiming exclusively for the papacy the role of mediator between Latin and Greek culture reflects the anxiety for cultural control on Western Christian literary production. Translations from Greek to Latin were used as spiritual weapons not only in the rivalry with Byzantium, but also in competing with other Latin political and cultural entities, such as the major royal courts of Europe.

Silvia Fumian, Università di Padova

#### **Traduire, interpréter ou commenter? L'illustration du Psautier Lat. 772 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France**

Selon les mots de Grégoire le Grand les images sont les livres des illettrés: elles permettent de donner forme visuelle à idées et événements autrement brûlés pour les personnes avec peu ou aucune culture. Une distinction est nécessaire, cependant, en ce qui concerne les images dans les livres enluminés: leur but n'est pas seulement d'éduquer les gens non cultivés, mais aussi de ravir les gens qui peuvent lire et comprendre les textes. Les images dans les manuscrits se posent donc dans une relation privilégiée avec le texte. Elles constituent non seulement la traduction dans une langue autre, mais souvent elles sont aussi un véritable commentaire visuel du texte même.

En ce sens, c'est exemplaire l'illustration d'un texte tel que les Psaumes: parce que il s'agit d'un texte destiné à la dévotion privée, il est un point de vue assez intéressant d'examiner la relation établie entre le texte et la façon dans laquelle l'image se pose par rapport au texte. C'est précisément parce que «*in principio fuit interpretis*» que l'image n'est pas une simple traduction du texte sur un plan visuel, mais implique à l'origine une interprétation par le miniaturiste. Ceci est bien illustré d'un côté de l'illustration *ad verbum*, dans laquelle le texte des psaumes – le texte non narratif par excellence – est transposé sur la page avec des illustrations qui traduisent littéralement le sens; de l'autre côté, cela est démontré par la présence d'une pleine page avec miniatures qui accompagnent les épisodes de l'Ancien Testament aux épisodes du Nouveau Testament, selon une interprétation christologique des psaumes. En ce sens, comme l'a dit Lucy Freeman Sandler, «l'illustration du Psautier travaillait en tant que contrepartie pittoresque de la glose et du commentaire verbal, en soulignant, en enrichissant et en expliquant le sens du texte».

Un exemple d'une telle relation entre le texte et l'image est offert par le manuscrit Lat. 772 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, réalisé pour un membre de la famille Gonzaga pendant les années trente du XVe siècle. Il s'agit d'un Psautier liturgique – utilisé doc pour la dévotion privée – que au principe de chacune des huit sections dont il est constitué a, à côté de pages avec initiales illustrées *ad verbum*, une série de miniatures à pleine page où épisodes de l'Ancien testament sont appariés à épisodes du Nouveau Testament. Feront l'objet de cette intervention l'examen de la complexe illustration de ce manuscrits, véritable véhicule et instrument de méditation et de dévotion, pour saisir, d'un côté, les liens avec une tradition séculaire d'illustration des psaumes et, de l'autre, pour comprendre les relations avec la tradition exégétique.

Anamaria Gellert, University of Pisa

#### **All the walles with colours fyne/Were peynted, bothe text and glose": Words and Pictures in Chaucer's *Cook's Tale* and *Miller's Tale***

The privileged role of the word in Western medieval culture, based on the centrality and authority of the divine *logos*, contributed to relegating images to an ancillary position. By its likeness to natural objects, the image could create the illusion of reality, a simian mockery of God's creation. Moreover, it was regarded as dangerous for the unlearned who were not always able to distinguish between the image and its prototype. Although inscriptions sometimes accompanied pictures in church decorations, in the Middle Ages, the privileged site of the interplay between words and images were

the illuminated manuscripts. Schapiro (1996: 212) has argued that medieval art was the art of the book *par excellence* both because its subjects were mostly taken from the Scriptures and because book illustration was the principal site of stylistic innovation. Hindman and Farquhar (1977), Lawton (1983), Battaglia (1994), Driver (2004) and other scholars have shown that pictures functioned not only as decorative and organizing, index-like elements of the text, but also as visual glosses which helped to shape its meanings. If one accepts the notion that the rendering of words into pictures is a translation from one semiotic system into another, one must also bear in mind that *translatio* and *interpretatio* were then, as are now, strongly interconnected. Since each codex, just as each printed edition, is an important testimony of the taste, thought and values of its editor, paratextual elements like miniatures and woodcuts function both as a “threshold” to and as a comment on the text reflecting a moment in its semiotic productivity.

In this paper I aim to offer an insight into the fifteenth-century reception of Chaucer’s *Cook’s Tale* and *Miller’s Tale* through the analysis of the relationships between words and images in the illuminated manuscripts and illustrated *incunabula* of the *Canterbury Tales*. It is an attempt to account both for the dialectic of production and reception, and the historical continuities and discontinuities in the fifteenth-century response to Chaucer’s tales. The illustrations of the Miller’s and Cook’s tales are discussed as conscious efforts to deflect Chaucer’s satire of the upper-middle classes and of most of the religious figures while emphasising the negative aspects of the lower classes. The editorial choices are analysed within the historical and cultural context marked by the system of censorship established by Bishop Arundel’s *Constitutions* (1409), which was directed against Lollard heretical writings and extended, at a later moment, to literary texts in vernacular.

Matthew Boyd Goldie, Rider University

### **Medieval Global Linguistics: Phonetics, Morphemes, and Language Families in Travel Literature**

Travel literature and geographical texts were popular throughout the Middle Ages and survive in a large number of manuscripts. One area of critical analysis of these texts tries to account for the popularity of these books, analyzing audience desires to read or hear about wondrous events and to learn about the bounty and diversity of the earth and its creatures. Also present was a desire to see in distant regions what was believed about Christian history and eschatology: about the Garden of Eden, Jerusalem, Prester John, and more. Medieval audiences also wanted to learn about other civilizations: some with faiths similar to Western ones, others provided examples of peoples who were more morally upright than the West, and still others were made up of monstrous races.

When writers of travel and geography encounter foreign civilizations, they frequently discuss their languages, and the results are often surprising. A book such as Marco Polo’s *Devisement dou monde* for instance, mentions very little about linguistic differences beyond noting in tags that people in a certain region “have a language of their own” despite the fact that Marco is very interested in the cultural differences among them. However, *The Book of Sir John Mandeville* and Gerald of Wales’ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, which are more typical of medieval travel literature, concentrate more fully on not only other languages but their relationships to Latin and European vernaculars.

In this paper, I will discuss the passages in travel literature where the authors address linguistic difference, state their reasons for including samples of languages, and register their perceptions about the relations among different global languages. For instance, in Mandeville the narrator reproduces a number of alphabets in order to fill out the picture of each civilization he describes, and he comments on the relative familiarity or strangeness of the alphabet and its sounds to his readers. In the *Itinerarium*, Gerald notices certain similarities among Greek, Latin, Welsh, and British words, leading him to speculate about homologies among the languages. Several matters, however, complicate his discourse on phonetics and morphology, including that his discussion appears within the context of a highly moving story about a priest’s encounter with a civilization inside or on the other side of the earth. Nevertheless, Gerald uses this wondrous story about the priest’s childhood recollection, though highly fantastical, as an occasion to speculate in a learned and scientific manner about language families.

The questions I seek to answer in an analysis of travel literature are: What roles do the discussions of language play in travel literature in terms of the texts’ representations of other peoples and cultures? What expectations did Western audiences have about foreign languages and relations among languages? Did discussions about non-Western languages and the people who spoke them reinforce Western audience expectations about other civilizations and what they expected to find in travel literature, or did they challenge these expectations?

Veronica Grecu, Université de Bacau

### **Double auctor- Double art : traduction/ tradition/ trahison au Moyen Age**

La devise « *In principio fuit interpret* » ravive les controverses que soulèvent la question de la traduction vernaculaire et le statut du traducteur au Moyen Age. Au XIIIe siècle, St. Bonaventure note, dans un commentaire censé décrire les possibilités de réaliser un livre, que les métiers de scribe, de commentateur, de compilateur ou d’auteur se ressemblent, car ils supposent à la fois un travail de création et une répétition, en vue d’une *translatio* des textes antérieurs. Si ces affirmations mettent en évidence la complexité du métier de « créateur de livres », elles attirent également l’attention sur le statut ambigu du traducteur, d’autant plus qu’il ne fait pas partie de sa présentation

On pourrait, certes, croire que la description du « scribe » correspond à celle d’un *fidus interpret*, car il reprend les mots de sa source sans y opérer le moindre changement. Cependant, le travail du « compilateur », de même que celui du « commentateur » présentent de nombreuses similarités avec les méthodes employées par le traducteur qui, maintes fois, procède à un assemblage de données diverses auquel les autres, les « illettrés » n’ont pas accès, tout comme il fait appel

à l'interprétation pour résoudre les obscurités du texte source. Le traducteur s'avère occuper une position mitoyenne, instable, car il est l'intermédiaire entre deux langues et deux cultures différentes et se sent partagé entre la fidélité envers le modèle, le devoir envers ses lecteurs et sa propre conscience artistique. L'ambiguïté de son statut nous invite, en outre, à une réflexion sur les rapports que le traducteur entretient avec le créateur de son modèle.

Le travail du traducteur réitère celui de l'auteur, car il doit interpréter, transformer, encoder et traduire en mots un texte mental qui a pris forme lors de la lecture du modèle. Cependant, leurs situations sont différentes, car le traducteur n'écrit pas pour exprimer ses pensées personnelles, mais pour représenter les pensées d'une autre personne, filtrées par sa propre conscience. Le traducteur explique ce que l'auteur constate. Bien que l'adaptateur, comme l'écrivain, traverse toutes les étapes de la création artistique, tout porte à croire qu'en réalité il ne fait que jouer le rôle de l'auteur.

En prenant appui sur quelques romans courtois français et leurs adaptations en moyen anglais, nous nous proposons d'analyser la relation dialogique que le traducteur entretient avec le créateur de sa source. En nommant son prédécesseur, il devient son co-auteur tout au long d'un travail de traduction, qui acquiert les traits d'un *art double*. Néanmoins, si ce syntagme peut suggérer la collaboration des deux artistes, dont les arts se sont réunis dans une œuvre nouvelle- la traduction, il peut aussi dissimuler les intentions trompeuses du traducteur animé par le désir de transformer et de dépasser son modèle.

C. Annette Grisé, McMaster University

### **Englising Marie's Tears, Bridget's Pilgrimages, and Catherine's Doctrines in Late-Medieval Devotional Compilations**

In previous papers for Medieval Translator conferences I have examined the influence of Catherine of Siena's revelations and texts on the late-medieval devotional tradition in England, and how longer accounts of the revelations and lives of continental holy women (such as Bridget of Sweden, Marie of Oignies, Mechthild of Hackeborn, and Catherine of Siena) are broken down into easily transmittable excerpts that function like textual relics for their readers. In this conference paper I will consider the context of the devotional compilation and the ways in which they translate and adapt materials from continental female visionaries into English contexts. I can provide a number of examples, but plan to focus my analysis on three pre-Reformation printed texts. The first book is John Fewterer's *Myrroure or Glasse of Christes Passion* (itself a translation of Ulrich Pinder's *Speculum passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi*), which includes a discussion of Marie of Oignies and beguines near the beginning of the text. The second is Thomas Godfray's editions of the *Golden Epistle* (attributed to St Bernard), which included extracts from Bridget of Sweden about the active and contemplative lives, and an excerpt from Walter Hilton's *Mixed Life*, as well as in some editions *The Following of Christ* (re-translated by Richard Whytford after Lady Margaret Beaufort and William Atkinson's earlier English version of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*). Thirdly, Henry Pepwell brought together a few sections from Catherine of Siena's legend as part of his collection of treatises containing Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin Minor* and some of Hilton's minor works, but best known for its inclusion of extracts from *The Book of Margery Kempe*. All three compilations bring together well-known Middle English devotional texts and extracts with translations of patristic writings and continental works, placing them within a new context that emphasizes current devotional interests. Notably integrating the life and passion of Christ and instructions on living a pious life, these texts re-energize aspects of the holy women's texts. Moreover, they position them within a developing canon of devotional materials that are becoming available to the vernacular audience through the translation and scribal efforts of the monastic writers. I will consider the new context as well as the strong emphasis on the function of translation in these works to draw conclusions about the role of continental holy women in the Middle English devotional tradition.

Elisa Guadagnini CNR Opera Vocabolario Italiano

### **Cicéron et Boèce en Orient: quelques réflexions sur la Rectorique de Jean d'Antioche**

*La Rectorique de Marc Tullies Ciceron* est la traduction du latin en français d'un traité rhétorique divisé en deux parties dénommées dans l'ordre *vielle* et *novelle art*: conformément à l'usage du XIIIe siècle le *De Inventione* de Cicéron est défini *vetus*, tandis que la *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, qui lui est attribuée, est appelée *nova*. L'oeuvre est une traduction intégrale des deux traités, divisés respectivement en deux et quatre livres, précédés d'un prologue qui décrit les origines et la finalité de l'art rhétorique, la figure de Cicéron et les partitions principales du texte, et suivis d'un chapitre sur la méthode de traduction adoptée; après l'*explicit* se trouve un court traité sans titre de logique aristotélicienne dans lequel j'ai pu reconnaître des *excerpta* du premier et du second livre du *De topicis differentiis* de Boèce. Ces diverses entités textuelles se constituent comme des parties d'un projet de livre unitaire, qui a été rédigé par *Johan d'Antioche* à Acre en 1282 dans le milieu de l'Hôpital: son commanditaire est en effet Guillaume de Saint-Étienne, qui deviendra en 1296, à Chypre, commandeur de l'ordre. La collocation de la *Rectorique* à Acre à la fin du XIIIe siècle ne surprend pas: comme le notait déjà Laura Minervini, elle entre en série homogène avec d'autres textes quant au genre et à la langue. Je me propose de décrire synthétiquement les traits distinctifs de cette oeuvre dans son milieu culturel, en tenant compte tout spécialement des résultats et des hypothèses formulées par l'équipe de savants de l'Université de Louvain qui à partir des années 80 a étudié la *Rectorique* en tant que témoin de la rencontre entre le droit romain, récemment redécouvert, et le droit coutumier de tradition germanique.

Amanda Holton, St Hilda's College, Oxford

**[I.] warmed by the fidelity of time,/ Make with his sun-ringed head a dusky rhyme' (Richard Wilbur): the translation, refiguring and intransigence of rhyme in the late-medieval and early Tudor English love-lyric**

This paper will consider whether the rhyme-characteristics of short English lyric love-poems from the early fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries are affected by the poems' sources.

It will briefly summarise the patterns in use of rhyme-words and rhyme-groups which I have observed from a study of around a thousand late-medieval and early Tudor love lyrics, all complete 'courtly' love poems of no more than forty lines with a male first-person speaker. This study has examined a number of different aspects of rhyme from the thematic to the grammatical. It has considered whether particular clusters of rhyming words persist intact over time, whether they come to be discarded altogether, or whether individual items within the cluster change, and what the implications of this are in terms of changing ideas about love. It has also examined the grammatical and etymological features of rhyme-words, showing, for example, that although more and more rhyme-words were derived from French over the course of the fourteenth century, in the fifteenth century this was sharply reversed, with many more rhyme-words descended from Anglo-Saxon being brought into play, and with a particular growth in the use of personal pronouns as rhyme-words. This is especially striking given that the most important and prolific love-poet in English in the fifteenth century, Charles d'Orléans, was, of course, French.

After setting out these patterns, the paper will then proceed to investigate against this context how the rhyme-characteristics of poems which are translations or versions of other texts are affected by characteristics of the source-texts. How far are poems translated from French or Italian influenced by the specific rhyme-groups of their sources? Can a source incite a writer to use rhyme with very different characteristics from well-established and current English rhyme-groups? Even where rhymes and rhyme-groups are not imported directly from the source-text, is there a covert influence on the parts of speech or etymology of the rhyme-words chosen? Is it possible to establish that different writers are more or less resistant to rhyme-suggestions in their sources, a particular difficulty where so many Middle English lyrics are anonymous?

The paper will concentrate in detail on a small selection of lyrics, focusing particularly on poetry by Chaucer, Charles d'Orléans, Wyatt, and Surrey.

Brenda Hosington, University of Warwick

**'In principio typographiae fuit interpres': The Crucial Role of the Translator in the First Two Decades of English Printing**

The world of early English printing has been the subject of an increasing number of studies over the past quarter century, while the development of research tools such as the Hand Press Book (HPB) database, established by the Consortium of European Research Libraries, the Incunabula Short-title Catalogue (ISTC) edited by Lotte Hellinga, and of course the online English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC) has enabled us to learn far more about incunabula, in particular. Yet little has been written on the singular contribution of translators and translation to this field since H. S. Bennet made what he called a 'trial list' of translations into English printed between 1476 and 1560 and included a chapter on translation in his 1952 *English Books & Readers 1475-1557*. Today this situation is being rectified by the 'Renaissance Cultural Crossroads' catalogue project at the University of Warwick, which is recording and annotating for the years 1473 to 1640 all translations into and out of all languages printed in England and all translations into English printed on the Continent. The present paper proposes to discuss the variety of incunabula translations found in the corpus and what they reveal about the role of the translator in spreading knowledge and culture in the years between 1473, date of the publication of the first book in England, itself a translation, and 1500, date officially marking the end of the incunabula period.

Printers and book-buyers in England in this early period relied very heavily on the import book-trade for most of their books, as has been well documented. Among those imported books many were translated into English. The 'Renaissance Cultural Crossroads' project to date has found over seventy for the first two decades of printing. The translators, be they also a printer, as in the case of Caxton or Pynson, a cleric, or an aristocrat with time on his hands and a good library, like Earl Rivers, made foreign texts (Classical, medieval or contemporary) available to those whose only language was English. These works represent a variety of fields, text types and translation practices. They cover a range of subjects, both religious and secular. Many are translations of translations (usually French, German or Italian translation of Latin texts). Many are accompanied by paratexts discussing the work itself or the translator's methods of translating it. The corpus therefore constitutes a rich mine of information about the crucial role played by the translator and his art in the first two decades of English printing.

Jonathan Hsy, George Washington University

**Originary Tongue: Language Contact, John Gower, and Barking Dogs**

In medieval representations of cross-linguistic encounters, barking dogs and animal utterances appear surprisingly often. When Wace depicts the Conquest, he claims the Normans perceive the English as barking dogs, and neither group understands the other's language; in other texts, French-speaking English travelers misunderstand each others' words and revert to primordial origins ("la langue torne a englois"), employing animal sounds to communicate. In the fourteenth century, Eustache Deschamps writes French ballades incorporating snippets of English vernacular; in these poems English and French speakers harass each other, characterizing the other party as dogs ("Franche dogue...pel de mastin"). This paper examines how cross-linguistic exchange and animal utterances - widespread concerns in

Anglo/French literary traditions - inform the interplay between languages in John Gower's trilingual oeuvre. The Latin *Vox Clamantis* famously allegorizes Kentish rebels as barking dogs and beasts, but what remains less explored is how a long-standing dog/speech conjunction underlies the poem's Latin/English wordplay, metrical innovations, and onomatopoeia. Cross-linguistic interaction similarly shapes Gower's French ballades: the lyric poet believes that tender "paroles" can change the "visage" of a mute, savage beast - but the lover is thwarted by an inhuman, reticent "dame" who barks her responses in monosyllabic English. If we attend more carefully to bilingual communication in Gower's work, we gain a fuller sense of how Latin/vernacular and inter-vernacular exchanges are encoded in literary form. We not only see animal utterances as much more than superficial markers of social difference, but we also discern how polyglot poets sought to delineate the contours of animal sounds and human vocalization, testing the very boundaries - and origins - of language itself.

Cathy Hume, University of Leeds

### **The Middle English *Metrical Life of Job*: Poem Dressed Up As Paraphrase?**

The Middle English *Metrical Life of Job* appears in one fifteenth-century manuscript, Huntington Library HM 140, and is a rare example of a fifteenth-century poem on a biblical theme. It has received next to no critical attention since Lawrence Besserman's 1979 *Legend of Job in the Middle Ages*. The *Life of Job* was very probably written, and certainly copied, after Archbishop Arundel's ban on biblical translation into English in 1409 which, as Nicholas Watson has shown, was a comprehensive ban extending to free adaptations. Very unusually for a Middle English biblical poem, it is extensively glossed in the margin with Latin verses from the Vulgate. But the body of the poem combines biblical, apocryphal and apparently original material in a way that is much more familiar in late medieval biblical poetry, and is very far from being a direct translation of the Biblical Book of Job.

This paper will consider how the English *Life of Job* and its Latin glosses function together. Is the glossing intended to give the misleading impression that the poem is a close English translation or paraphrase of the Book of Job? This intention is implied by some gestures within the text of the poem, which asserts that specific details are mentioned in the 'bible' and at one point has Job speak two Latin verses from the Vulgate.

Alternatively, is the absence of glosses beside some apocryphal material - such as God rebuking Job for his hard words to his wife - intended to mark out that material as potentially heterodox? And does this, in turn, suggest that the glosses are not authorial but a later addition by a nervous owner of the manuscript? Since the poem is clearly marked up for oral delivery, should we consider the possibility that it could have been used in preaching by a priest who had been authorised to use it? The paper will begin by considering the evidence of the poem and its manuscript, and how they can be situated in the cultural climate of fifteenth century England. It will go on to raise questions of wider interest about the real impact of the ban on biblical translation on vernacular poetry; and about how glossing interacted with poetic texts and complicated their status as translation, paraphrase or free adaptation.

Atsushi Iguchi, Open University of Japan

### **Translation and Conversion: The Politics of Pedagogy in Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale**

In Middle English translation studies, the distinction between secular and devotional works seems to have been kept relatively intact: while scholars working on the Wycliffite Bible or devotional and theological treatises tend to work within the framework of censorship imposed by the late-medieval ecclesiastical authorities, those who explore the poetics of secular authors such as Chaucer, Gower and other romances have focussed on the 'rhetorical' and original aspects of these poets. Behind this dichotomy, I think, lies the time-honoured distinction between the 'Hieronymian' and the 'Ciceronian' modes of translation. Most devotional and theological treatises, according to this dualism, are extremely faithful to their original texts, adhering as they are to the rigid, exegetical norms set out by Jerome. By contrast, secular literary works have been considered to be relatively free from such textual and interpretative constraints, at times rising to poetical felicity that scholars are ready to attribute to works of translation by Chaucer and Gower. At first sight, this separation seems only fair: after all, 'secular' poems and 'religious' treatises have a very different set of purposes, functions and intended audiences, and thus deserve to be read by critics with different textual and hermeneutical traditions in mind. However, paying too much attention to the two different modes of translation prevents us from assessing those translated texts which are neither Hieronymian or Ciceronian. Besides, there are a number of literary works that stride both the secular and religious traditions of textual transmission. One such genre is hagiography, which was capable of both edifying and entertaining a wide range of audiences. In this presentation, I would like to bridge the gap between the translation strategies of secular and religious poetics by considering a piece of hagiographical work that resonates with theological implications: Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale.

Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale has so far been subjected to rigorous critical analyses, some of which have successfully uncovered Chaucer's translation techniques by closely comparing it with its source texts, namely the *Passio S. Caeciliae* and the *Legenda aurea*. Among other studies, S. L. Reames' 1980 article has teased out the theological implications of Chaucer's hermeneutics in retelling the story of St. Cecilia, associating it with Augustinian theology and the late-medieval idea of the relationship between God and man. I think the theological content of the Second Nun's Tale deserves more thorough investigation than it has, for close comparison between the Second Nun's Tale and its Latin source texts shows us that Chaucer might not have been so 'pessimistic' about the role of humankind in God's salvation scheme as Reames claims. I would also like to discuss other devotional works such as Aelred of Reivaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum* (12 C; ME translation 14C) and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (14C; ME translation 1410),

both of which feature St. Cecilia and contain the issue of contemplation and lay empowerment. The Cecilia legend represents the harmonic unification of action and contemplation by staging a drama of conversion. By considering the composition of the Second Nun's Tale in the nexus of contemporary theological discourse, I want to explore how much space Chaucer's 'translacioun' (or *interpretacio*) creates for lay involvement with the politics of pedagogy, preaching and conversion.

Catherine Innes-Parker, University of Prince Edward Island

### **Translation, Authorship and Authority: The Middle English *Lignum Vitae***

While the act of translation itself is already a form of interpretation, generally for a different audience than that to which the original was addressed, there are varying degrees to which a translator will feel 'authorized' to alter a text which he is translating. Some translators openly acknowledge their 'lesser' role, appealing to the authority of the original author, while others take wider liberties, sometimes overwriting and adapting to the extent of obscuring the original text and its author to the point that it is nearly unrecognizable.

The history of the translation of Bonaventure's *Lignum Vitae* illustrates these varying patterns of translation clearly. The *Lignum Vitae* was translated into at least six vernaculars: Dutch, German, Spanish, Italian, French, and English. While most vernacular translations acknowledge Bonaventure's authorship and stay relatively close to the original Latin, the Middle English "translator" alters the original so radically that it can hardly be called a mere translation. The text is not attributed to Bonaventure, and the title is changed to *The passion of our lord*. The "translator" adapts the content for a radically different audience from Bonaventure's original Franciscans, writing for "lay peple that ben of rude undirstonding." He cuts out sections that rely on sophisticated theological or meditative concepts, and adds narrative detail from the gospel stories upon which Bonaventure's meditations are based. He adds a lengthy section on the doctrine of transubstantiation, which he clearly feels his readers need to understand. He alters the affective tone of the text as well, focusing instead on the language of sin and repentance. Finally he alters the central metaphor of the text, omitting all reference to the apocalyptic Tree of Life upon which Bonaventure models his text. Instead, he substitutes the two pieces of wood that the devout reader should always bear: the works of Christ in his heart, and continual penance in his body. His is not the tree of life, but the tree of the cross.

The radical nature of the Middle English adaptor's alterations are even more clearly seen when compared with the surviving French prose translation. Although the prose translator uses the title "L'Arbre de la croix" (the Latin circulated under at least seven titles, including this one), he attributes the text to Bonaventure, and alters little. What he does alter is clearly based on the needs of his audience, *les simples*, who might read or hear his text. He adds a word here and there to heighten the affective tone of the text; he adds a detail here and there to clarify biblical narrative. However, like Bonaventure, he assumes that, overall, his readers/hearers will be familiar with the biblical texts and contemplative practices upon which his book is based, although he does not seem to expect the degree of theological sophistication that Bonaventure takes for granted. My paper will compare the Middle English adaptation with the French translation in order to examine the issues of translation, authority and authorship that constrain the French translator but not the Middle English adaptor. I will also explore the problem of audience and how the specific audiences for whom the texts were written affect the translators procedures and adaptations.

Jacqueline Jenkins, University of Calgary

### **Mad for Margery: Translating Kempe for the Modern Stage**

From at least as early as Henry Pepwell's determination to recast Margery Kempe as 'a devoute ancre' in 1521, readers of Kempe's book have, with surprising ease and remarkably little hesitation, re-worked Margery to suit their own purposes. Though the chameleonic Margery, it must be said, originates in Kempe's own account of the medieval mystic, wife, and laywoman, modern translators, in particular, notoriously recreate Margery in their attempts to make her life and lessons relevant—even parallel—to contemporary audiences. For instance, one might well ask how the character described in the extant manuscript of *The Book of Margery Kempe* could find a home in both the Carthusian lending library (as what now survives as BL MS Additional 61823), and the sexual identity of Bob, the central character in Robert Gluck's *Margery Kempe* (1994).

A significant recent development in the way modern audiences encounter Margery Kempe is Dana Bagshaw's linked triptych of plays: *Cell Talk: A Duologue between Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe* (published by Radius Press, 2002), *Tried and Tested* and *Mad for God* (both available from the author's website). *Cell Talk* is the most commonly performed version of the play: as of 2008, it had already had six separate productions, playing in fifteen locations since 2002, and is available for sale as a DVD recording. Easier to produce and stage, and manageable in length—the whole set of plays would run more than four hours—and requiring only two cast members, *Cell Talk* lends itself to small scale productions, requiring little in the way of setting, costume or props. But all the plays have been produced, and performed in front of substantial (though somewhat exclusive) audiences, and continue to be purchased, read, performed, and watched. In this paper, I will consider several related issues, beginning with the question of how Bagshaw's work can productively contribute to discussions of the translation of medieval texts for contemporary readers, and continuing through a consideration of the plays' target audience and the playwright's own critical position. Throughout, I will remain attentive especially to the status of Bagshaw's work as performance/s, and to the performative aspects of *The Book of Margery Kempe*, in general, and the pious performances of its central character, Margery, in particular.

Ian Johnson, University of St Andrews

### **Middle English Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Translation and Mouvance in Meditation and Manuscripts**

Addressing a central theme of this conference, that of ‘translation as the representation of ideas and texts in different media’, this paper discusses trajectories of textual translation (and their inter-relations) in two key media of medieval culture: the medium of the manuscript and the medium of the meditating imagination. It does so with specific reference to a tradition of translation of immense importance not only in England but throughout Europe –that of the Latin pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and its multiple vernacular renderings. The findings and ideas in this paper are connected with an ongoing research project on the corpus of Middle English pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ.

*Geographies of Orthodoxy: Mapping the English Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ, c.1350-1550* is a joint Queen’s University Belfast-St Andrews project funded by the UK’s Arts and Humanities Research Council. *Geographies of Orthodoxy* is managed by John Thompson (Queen’s) as Principal Investigator, with Stephen Kelly (Queen’s) and myself as Co-Directors. *Geographies* engages with questions that, we hope, will significantly reshape our understanding of late medieval vernacular and religious textual translation and culture through detailed codicological and textual analysis of the entire manuscript corpus of English pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ, a tradition that seemingly defined orthodox literary models of Christological representation between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The project excavates the reading practices/behaviour of patrons and readers of vernacular pseudo-Bonaventuran texts and will, we hope, yield and interpret wide-ranging evidence of continuity and change in the behaviour and structure of textual communities from the later Middle Ages to the Reformation.

Amongst the concerns of the project, then, are the variegated codicological contexts and meditative possibilities of translations. It is in the free-willed yet textually-supervised imaginations of readers and hearers (engaging with unique manuscripts) that the process of *translatio* is self-consciously continued, completed and bears fruit. So, what does it mean, for example, for a seemingly orthodox Life of Christ as an imaginative (re)translation of gospel materials that it shares the same manuscript as dissenting or heterodox texts? What furtherances of the project of ‘translating-as-meditating’ were open to the expository imaginations of vernacular readers of Christ’s Life and Passion? Tellingly, the fifteenth-century *Mirror to Devout People*, in playing on the word ‘drawe’, a common term for ‘translate’, shows how devout imagining was regarded as akin to translating: ‘these be the wordes...whyche I haue drawe here into englysche tonge, ...yytt [yet] hyt may be drawe ful loonge in a soule that can deuoutly thynke & dylygently beholde the werkys of oure lorde...inwardly & wysely’. In discussing particular instances and contingencies of translation and *imaginatio* in texts and codices this paper hopes to re-imagine some of their possibilities and *mouvances* and thereby shed some light on the translational repertoire of a vital tradition, its texts and its readers.

Boyda Johnstone, Fordham University

### **Text Becoming Image: The Abbey of the Holy Ghost in British Library MS Stowe 39**

The early fifteenth-century treatise *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, a Middle English translation from Middle French, is part of a small but popular group of late-medieval English devotional texts intended for those whom Nicole Rice identifies as “spiritually ambitious” laity, who wished to reap the benefits of the monastic life while remaining outside the cloister walls. These texts fulfilled the needs of the laity while upholding the clergy as the ultimate authority in matters spiritual, attempting to harness lay piety in the tumultuous religious climate of the late Middle Ages. This paper will explore the peculiar version of *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* in British Library MS Stowe 39 as a particularly threatening example of a book intended for the ‘spiritually ambitious.’ I will argue that while clearly designed for women, this version of *Abbey* experiments with the mediums of text and image within the devotional realm, perhaps challenging male religious authority.

While scholars have well-documented the adaptation of the *Abbey*-text itself from the original Middle French version into a more mystically-focused English, Stowe 39 is a version of the text which has rarely been noticed at all (indeed, it is not included in Peter Consacro’s authoritative 1971 critical edition of all extant manuscripts of *Abbey*), and its negotiation of the mixed media of text and image make it a particularly interesting example of the fluid and dynamic nature of the devotional subject. Addressed only to “systers” rather than the “brepren and sustren” of most other extant versions, Stowe 39 is the only extant *Abbey* manuscript to contain a deluxe, double-folio color illustration of the main topic of the text at hand, an abbey of nuns. The nuns in this abbey are dutifully and cheerfully at-work, pushing wheelbarrows and teaching their laybrothers, though these roles are not extracted from the text itself; indeed, this illustration does not simply reproduce the images described in the text, but it changes the roles of the nuns and encourages a more creative ‘reading’ of its counterdiscursive message. The active reading which this image demands is echoed throughout the rest of Stowe 39, as the other main devotional text is also adapted to the medium of art in facing illustrations. The process of illustrating devotional texts involved both extraction and reinterpretation, and this paper will examine the effect of this process on the medieval lay female reader, for whom this manuscript was likely intended. In the context of fifteenth-century controversies over female and lay devotion, does BL MS Stowe 39’s version of *Abbey* encourage deviation from or conformity to the normative ecclesiastical paradigm? While the text itself supports the ultimate authority of the clergy, it is possible that this attractive version of the text, enforcing an exceptionally attuned and concentrated reader, enervates clerical control.

Stephanie Viereck Gibbs Kamath, University of Massachusetts

### **Translating Antiquity's *Auctors* into Allegory**

Dante's representation of the *auctor* Virgil as his guide at the commencement of the *Commedia*'s journey remains the most celebrated medieval instance of an authority of antiquity being transformed into an allegorical character, but it was not the only vision to 'translate' a classical *auctor* in this fashion, nor was it necessarily the vision most widely circulated during the fifteenth century. Guillaume de Deguileville's 1331 *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* features Aristotle as a character within its allegorical drama, engaging in a debate with the personification of Divine Wisdom reminiscent of university disputation. Deguileville's 1355 revision expands upon this device, inserting an encounter between the narrator and Ovid, augmented by the interpolation of fragments from Ovid's Latin verse into their conversation. Surviving manuscripts show a range of markings, rubrics and illuminations, which indicate the interpretative care both passages demanded from readers. Such verbal and visual representations are well worth analyzing in relation to the contemporary late medieval 'second wave' of Aristotelian translations, which included more vernacular translations, into French and English, than ever before. New fourteenth- and fifteenth-century commentaries and adaptations relating to Ovid's corpus, encompassing multiple French translations of the *Ars* along with English tale collections, also yields a rich field for comparative research.

In addition, Deguileville's textual reception was itself shaped by cross-vernacular translation sensitive to the treatment of antiquity: in particular, the 1426 English verse translation of the expanded *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* produced for Thomas de Montacute, the Earl of Salisbury, demonstrates a notably classicizing interest in the *auctors* envisioned in Deguileville's allegory. In English verse, Aristotle suddenly speaks words of Latin (as well as English) and praises the glory and renown of Rome and Athens; new details about the Aristotle's sophistic fallacies also appear in the academic discourse delivered by the personification of Reason. The encounter with Ovid is similarly enhanced in English translation by the addition of mythographic details characterizing the setting; moreover, Ovid now brings a book to the narrator, gives his name in the Latin form of Ovidius, and elaborates upon the nature and value of his potential teaching. This paper will examine how Deguileville's representations of encounters with authoritative figures from antiquity reflect the cultural settings in which his allegories were composed, read, and translated. The aim will be to identify the resonance of these representations with greater trends in the translation of Aristotelian philosophy and Ovidian poetry into the classrooms, courts, and cloisters of late medieval France and England.

Omar Khalaf, Università di Siena

### **The Old and Middle English *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*: a comparative analysis in the light of the Translations Studies' theoretical framework**

The aim of my paper will be the individuation and comparative analysis of the strategies of translation used in two different medieval English recensions of *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*. The choice of these texts is due to the potentially interesting perspective their comparison may open to a diachronic study of the linguistic strategies used by translators, belonging to different periods of the English Middle Ages.

The first recension of the *Letter* is contained in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A. xv (foll. 107r-131v). It is part of the *Nowell Codex*, whose thematic *fil rouge* has been hypothesized to pivot on the concept of the "marvellous". It dates back to around the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the beginnings of the 11th century and it has always been labeled as an ungainly translation; only relatively recently has it been reevaluated by Orchard, who individuated some peculiar features of translation which will be the starting point for my analysis. The other recension dates back to the end of the 15th century, and is contained in Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F. 172 (foll. 138r-146v), together with other Latin Alexandertexts. It has received scarce attention by scholars – its only edition was published in 1978. In it, a thorough study of the sources was done, yet as for the relationships between the Latin and the Middle English versions, the editors restricted themselves to considering it an awkward and inaccurate "verbum ad verbum" translation. This statement, based upon an exclusively stylistic evaluation of the text, does not consider the reasons underlying the translator's choices, related to the reception this kind of text had in that particular cultural reality. In order to understand the processes of reception these two redactions underwent and the modifications the two translators operated in their works, my analysis will be based upon the descriptive approach to norms proposed by Gideon Toury within the theoretical framework of *Descriptive Translation Studies*. Toury's advances are aimed at individuating the norms – choices done by the translator – adopted during the process of translation, in order to fit the text to the demands of a given culture in a given society: the translator uses precise strategies in order to adapt the text to be translated to the public he/she addresses. In particular, I will try to show that the translator of the Old English *Letter* operated some modifications in the text in order to underline the concepts of *pegnscipe* and kingship; as for the Middle English text, I will use the Translation Studies as direction to verify the editors' considerations on the quality of the translation (see above). The investigation on the dynamics of translation used in these two texts will constitute the basis for the analysis of the processes of reception this text underwent in the course of two distinct linguistic and cultural phases of the English Middle Ages, and whose results will be proposed in my paper.

Jakub Kujawinski, Adama Mickiewicz University, Poznan

### **Traduction aux origines d'une question historiographique: encore sur l'Ystoire de li Normant (d'Aimé du Mont-Cassin).**

La *Historia Normannorum* d'Aimé du Mont-Cassin (XIe siècle), dont la composition est bien attestée par les sources cassiniennes de cette époque, est la seule parmi les textes historiographiques de l'Italie normande, dont la version originelle latine ne nous soit pas parvenue. L'identification, dans les années 30. du XIXe siècle, de sa traduction française dans un recueil des traductions des oeuvres historiographiques, transmis dans le ms. fr. 688 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (XIVe siècle), fut un événement très stimulant pour les études sur la conquête normande du Sud de l'Italie. Pendant un siècle qui suivit (entre 1835 et 1935) on prépara trois éditions du texte et on publia une série d'articles, dans lesquels on chercha d'estimer le valeur de la traduction comme un témoin du texte latin perdu et le valeur de la chronique d'Aimé elle-même. Si les chercheurs au XIXe et dans la première moitié du XXe siècles s'intéressèrent vivement du problème des rapports entre la traduction et l'originale (et en cherchèrent de les reconnaître en faisant des sondages dans les autres traductions recueillies dans ce manuscrit, pour lesquelles il est possible de les confronter avec les versions latines), l'historiographie plus récente s'est limitée à se servir de l'*Ystoire de li Normant* simplement comme d'une source pour l'histoire de l'Italie méridionale au XIe siècle. En effet, les études précédentes ne épuisèrent pas toutes les possibilités lesquelles le contexte codicologique nous offre pour analyser la traduction d'Aimé. Ils manquent encore des études approfondies sur l'ensemble des traductions du manuscrit considéré. C'est pourquoi les conclusions proposées jusqu'à maintenant ne sont pas définitives.

L'intervention que je propose a deux buts. En premier lieu, je veux offrir un bilan des recherches modernes sur la *Historia Normannorum*, lesquelles, inévitablement, se sont appuyées sur la traduction du texte, mais au même temps ont montré des approches divers à question de la transmission de la chronique d'Aimé. En suite, on propose de reconsidérer l'*Ystoire* comme le témoin du texte latin à la lumière des mes recherches conduites sur la collection entière des traductions du manuscrit fr. 688 de la BnF, lesquelles m'ont permis de reconnaître mieux les stratégies et les usages du traducteur anonyme. L'analyse complète du recueil rend possible, je crois, de circonscrire avec plus précision les limites de l'interprétation de l'*Ystoire de li Normant*. Sa traduction doit être considérée le témoin important de la chronique latine, fiable en ce qui concerne le contenu de l'originale, conservé presque intégralement (on peut y croire parce que le traducteur n'a pas d'habitude de tailler ou abrégé le texte traduit, au contraire, il se montre disposé à l'enrichir). Toutefois, la traduction, elle ne nous permet que approximativement d'analyser les aspects particuliers du texte d'Aimé, comme, par exemple, sa vision du monde circostante, ses conceptions politiques, son langage, ses interprétations des événements contemporains.

En fin, le cas de la *Historia Normannorum* d'Aimé pose une question méthodologique, celle qui concerne les instruments d'estimation d'une traduction, dont le texte original n'est pas connu. Mon intervention veut contribuer aussi à la réflexion sur ce thème.

Rena Nechama Lauer, Harvard University

### **The Hagiographies of Paul the Deacon of Naples: Comparison, Contextualization, and Computational Methods**

Among the vast corpus of medieval Latin hagiography stand two tales sharing a number of thematic similarities, including very early examples of the motif of a wretched sinner gaining heavenly forgiveness – and eventual sainthood – by the intercession of the Virgin Mary. These two legends, the *Vita* of Mary of Egypt and the Legend of Theophilus the Penitent, share another characteristic: they are attributed to the same translator who interpreted these late antique Greek accounts for a medieval, Latin-speaking audience. In a vaguely-worded preface to the *Vita* of Mary of Egypt, this translator – a little-known ninth-century Neapolitan deacon identified by scholars as Paul the Deacon of Naples – claims both translations for his own. While the few scholars working on these texts have uniformly accepted this attribution without question, surprisingly none have yet to undertake a systematic comparison of the two works, despite the fact that they both survive in the Latin and in a number of Greek versions, instead preferring to examine each legend individually, and here only on a limited scale.

My contribution to the study of these hagiographies is both philological and historical. Using a method of computation-based philological analysis recently developed at Harvard, I will evaluate the attribution of the translations to Paul the Deacon of Naples on internal merit alone, by comparing the Latin versions of the *vitae* of Mary of Egypt and Theophilus with each other, as well as each text to its purported Greek antecedent. This allows us to note similarities in translational style between the two tales, and provides the basis for a critical assessment of whether or not a single translator is responsible for both works. Indeed, as this paper will show, the style of translation in the two works is *not* the same. The translator of “Mary of Egypt” preferred a literal method, adhering closely to the syntax and word-choice of the Greek, rarely injecting his own idiom or ideas. The translator of “Theophilus,” on the other hand, exhibits a degree of lexical flexibility, adhering far less to specific Greek words, while also freely inserting entire sentences which express his own theological opinions.

While these data do not entirely negate the traditional attribution to Paul the Deacon, they do raise questions at the intersection of philology and historical context which must be addressed. For instance, by exploring subtle changes in plot line, word choice, and borrowings from other sources, I begin to locate these Latin translations within the cultural milieu in which they were produced. For example, in the Latin “Theophilus,” we are able to see a subtle polemic against Muslim theology which is certainly not present in the Greek original. In sum, this study's purpose is two-fold: to uncover new information regarding the historical context of the translation of two little-studied hagiographical texts, while exploring the potential of a new computer-based methodological approach to philological study.

Peter Loewen, Rice University; Robin Waugh, Wilfrid Laurier University

### **Translation Practice and Music in Herebert's Translation of "Gloria, Laus, et Honor"**

An influential argument concerning William Herebert's Middle English poems, which appear in his *Commonplace Book* (c. 1314), is that they represent only intermittent successes as finished works of art because he frequently stuck so closely to the form of his Latin original that the Middle English results come over as forced and stilted. The problem with this argument is that it is patently untrue. Herebert acquits himself of the charge of pedantic accuracy by reiterating the almost universal dictum of medieval translators that he translates "sense for sense" rather than "word for word." He then follows this dictum. Moreover he often inserts whole meanings entirely of his own invention into his texts at certain junctures. Although these interventions frequently relate to the original's meaning only tangentially, they nevertheless tend to produce a finished, and quite complex, effect. In fact, these changes amount to instances of exegesis, and it is clear that this approach to translation supports Herebert's avocation as a Franciscan preacher, especially when one considers his songs in the context of the preacher's commonplace book in which they occur. By exegesis we mean that he actively interprets the text that he is working on through the act of translation, and while engaging the source's music in his cause. For instance, the idea of the crucifixion as a kind of joust or fight (a standard theme of medieval sermons) recurs as an image in several of Herebert's poems, even when it does not appear in his chosen original. The most obvious instance of the image occurs when he reconfigures Isaiah 63: 1-8 as a dialogue between angels and Jesus, with the latter as a "lordling that comes from the fight." However, a more subtle use of the image occurs in his translation of Theodulph's Palm Sunday hymn, "Gloria, Laus, et Honor." In Herebert's version, the palms are turned into "bówes," that is "boughs," a term reminiscent of bows meaning bows and arrows as weapons, and these "bówes" "come against thee [Christ]" in a remarkably aggressive image. The image also marks a highly individual interpretation by Herebert of Jesus: in his version of the knightly crucifixion, also a commonplace of Middle English poetry, the Saviour fights not with the devil as in so many of the other versions but with the sinful side of humankind, often conveyed by Herebert as humankind in general. This interpretation of Christ's fight accounts for two major changes to the sense of "Gloria, Laus, et Honor": the concentration of the poem on innocence and on song. With regard to innocence, Herebert adds the idea that the children of the refrain for this hymn are "clean of thought"—a description utterly lacking in the original. The repetition of the refrain after every verse of the hymn would underline this assertion. Moreover, Herebert then adds to the first verse of the hymn itself the idea that the Saviour comes to humankind "without wound of sin," again a major alteration of the hymn's original meaning. As for song, it is difficult to imagine that Herebert could have worked out his translation of "Gloria Laus" without thinking about the music to which he had learned to sing it, and the original hymn includes many terms for voiced worship of the Lord, "laus," "prece," "voto," "hymnis," etc. Significantly, Herebert tends to consolidate these terms down to "song," a term that has connotations of more secular celebration (lines 10, 13, and 16), while, in its vernacular form, the music adds to the new rhetorical effect of the song itself by essentially converting it from a liturgical hymn into a sacred carol. As a carol, the music helps to shape Herebert's interpretation of the Latin text. The fact that "Gloria, Laus" is a processional hymn, meant to accompany the liturgical reenactment of Christ's procession into Jerusalem, must have added weight to his new interpretation because the carol, too, was a secular ensemble dance. The collusion of sacred with secular dance song, a powerful tool of Franciscan homiletics going back to St. Francis himself, must have helped Herebert communicate with his lay audience—using music that resounded the authority of liturgy on behalf of a vernacular text that communicated spiritual values. Therefore, Herebert includes the Latin incipits from the original Latin chants in the margins of his poems in his *Commonplace Book* because he wants readers to bear the original texts in mind, in both semantic and musical terms, while they read and sing his translations. Exegesis is explicit, multi-layered, and sophisticated.

Ivan Mariano, Université de Fribourg

### **Rôle des interprètes et interculturalité : Regards sur les négociations entre la chrétienté latine et la chrétienté grecque aux conciles de Bâle et de Ferrare-Florence (1431-1439)**

Le concile de Bâle s'ouvre en 1431 à l'appel du pape Martin V, comme le prévoyait le décret « *Frequens* » du concile de Constance (1417). Outre les réformes religieuses ou l'extirpation de l'hérésie, de nombreuses questions de l'époque y sont discutées. Une place importante est faite également à la question de l'union entre la chrétienté latine et la chrétienté grecque. Lors du 2ème concile de Lyon, une union avait été signée par des représentants des deux chrétientés. Or, l'Empereur byzantin fut désavoué à son retour et l'union rejetée. Les rapports diplomatiques entre les deux chrétientés connaissent un regain d'intérêt au XVème siècle et cela d'autant plus que les Ottomans se font de plus en plus pressants autour de Constantinople. L'Empire byzantin est réduit à bien peu de chose. Les négociations entre les deux chrétientés reprennent sous Martin V.

Malgré le conflit qui va naître entre le pape Eugène IV qui succède à Martin V et le concile de Bâle (conciliarisme), des négociations avec la chrétienté grecque en vue de l'union vont être entreprises par les pères de Bâle. Le choix du futur lieu qui doit accueillir les discussions pour l'union va cependant engendrer une scission au sein même de ce concile. Et, à la suite de nombreux rebondissements, le pape ordonne le transfert définitif de l'assemblée bâloise à Ferrare. Les Grecs se décident à suivre les plans pontificaux. Les conciles de Bâle et de Ferrare-Florence sont deux événements majeurs du XVème siècle. La diplomatie est un élément central et les problèmes liés à la langue sont nombreux.

Ainsi, nous proposons d'analyser le rôle joué par les interprètes lors des discussions en vue de l'union des deux chrétientés. Pour ce faire, nous interrogerons les sources latines et grecques de cette époque. Il existe des textes très riches décrivant le poids des interprètes lors des débats. Actes officiels, chroniques, lettres de personnages présents,

offrent des éléments de réponse qui éclairent notre perception de la communication lors de ces conciles. Certains passages vont même jusqu'à faire l'éloge des qualités de nos interprètes ainsi que de leur précision au moment de traduire. Qui comprend le grec parmi les Latins et surtout qui maîtrise assez les deux langues pour servir d'interprète aux pères du concile ? Et parmi les Grecs ? Qui sont ces interprètes ? Quelle est leur origine ? Comment ont-ils acquis leurs compétences ? Les langues vernaculaires sont-elles parfois utilisées ? L'italien ?

Le fait de s'intéresser à deux conciles et non uniquement à celui de Ferrare-Florence laisse apparaître de nombreux points importants qui débouchent sur une meilleure appréciation du poids des compétences linguistiques lors de ces négociations. Ainsi, lors de discussions où chaque mot cristallise l'attention et la sensibilité de l'Autre, l'interprète sert de pont entre deux cultures qui s'affrontent et cherchent à se comprendre. C'est donc autour de cette série de questions que nous construirons notre communication.

Takami Matsuda, Keio University

### **The *Kalender of Shepherdes* and the Printed Books of Hours**

The *Kalender of Shepherdes* (hereafter *KS*) is a miscellany of some 80 mostly short verse and prose texts including a calendar, the tree of vices and virtues, *Visio Lazari*, a regimen of health, as well as some prayers and elementary catechism, illustrated with a variety of woodcuts. After its initial publication as *Compost et calendrier des bergiers* (1491), it went through nearly 40 editions in French and no less than 12 editions in English (first published in 1503) by the end of the 16th century. Despite its popularity, it has received only a limited attention among literary historians and its place in late medieval literary culture still needs to be clarified. For that purpose, this paper looks at the evolution of both textual and paratextual elements that make up the *KS*, in relation to the late 15th- and early 16th-century printed Books of Hours published in Paris and Rouen for the French and English market. The printed Book of Hours includes various devotional and didactic texts that are added to its main liturgical contents, such as additional intercessory prayers, catechism, indulgence, and the so-called Salernitan verse on the health of the body. By such additions, what was originally a prayer book for the laity began also to assume a more didactic role, incorporating pragmatic wisdom for daily life into the daily cycle of prayer and devotion. A similar development is also seen in the *KS*. Because of its compilatory nature, its contents, both texts and woodcuts, are revised whenever a new edition is published. By tracing these changes, especially between the French and English versions, one can see that when the *KS* became available in English, it began to shift gradually from a miscellany to a more conscious compilation of didactic and pragmatic nature, especially with the addition of short admonitory verses and the expansion of the sections on the regimen of health and astrology.

Some of the texts in the printed Book of Hours are also found in the *KS*. In the printed Book of Hours, the calendar of each month is often accompanied by the poem on the twelve ages of man, a calendar verse, or a mnemonic verse on the feast days, either in the French original or in the English translation. In the *KS*, these optional texts are used, along with some additional texts of similar nature, to make up an extended almanac section which places the liturgical cycle of the year into a larger universe of Christian morality and cosmology. Some of the prayers and catechismal matters in the *KS* are also extant in some printed Books of Hours, subjected to revisions under the Reformation in both publications. We can also detect the influence of the page layout of the printed Book of Hours with border woodcuts, in some sections of the *KS*.

Such observations indicate that the *KS*, influenced by the contemporary Books of Hours in terms of its contents and structure, shares with them the tendency, more prominent in the English editions of the *KS* than in the French, to cater for the need of the laity who pursues the 'mixed life' of secular duty and devotion. As it does so in a more overtly pragmatic way focusing on both spiritual and bodily health of man, it could serve as a suitable companion volume to the printed Book of Hours for the late medieval readers.

Andrea Meregalli, Università di Milano

### **The Icelandic Version of the Legend of the Three Kings in *Reykjahólabók***

The story of the Magi (*Helgir þrír kongar*) is the first of the twenty-five legends composing the late medieval Icelandic legendary known as *Book of Reykjahólar* (manuscript: Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Perg. fol. nr. 3; edition: *Reykjahólabók. Islandske helgenlegender*, udg. af A. Loth, København 1969/70). Due to a lacuna in the codex, the beginning of the legend of the Three Kings is lost, but the greatest part of the text is preserved.

In the last fifteen years this legendary has been the object of increasing investigation (M.E. Kalinke, *The Book of Reykjahólar. The Last of the Great Medieval Legendaries*, Toronto etc. 1996), which has shed new light on the activity of the translator and compiler Björn Þorleifsson. While it was previously believed that Björn's achievement was a rather free translation of the Low German *Passionael* (O. Widding and H. Bekker-Nielsen, "Low German Influence on Late Icelandic Hagiography", *Germanic Review* 37 (1962), pp. 237-262), it is now clear that he must have used a wider range of sources, mostly of German origin. Various analyses have been devoted to single legends, too, thus adding new details to a better understanding of the whole work (e.g. Kalinke's contributions on Augustine (1994), Anne (1994), Lawrence (1994), Stephen (1995) and Oswald (2005); G. Salvucci (ed.), *La saga di San Nicola da Tolentino*, Tolentino 2004).

Nevertheless, the legend of the Three Kings has been rather neglected. The purpose of this paper is therefore to analyse this text and its characteristics vis-à-vis the critical issues raised by other scholars. As concerns the problem of the sources, deeper knowledge of the history of this legend in medieval German literature (A. Meregalli, *Le traduzioni*

*tedesche della Historia trium regum di Giovanni da Hildesheim, con uno studio critico-testuale della versione VL b*, Phd thesis, Università di Siena, 2009) may provide new elements to appreciate Björn's criteria in selecting his material. In those passages that are closer to known sources, it is possible to observe the translator's activity, so that scholars have been able to underscore some typical features, such as Low German loanwords, the use of synonymous couplets to translate single lexemes and the influence of Low German patterns on syntactic structures. A thorough analysis of these features in the legend of the Magi will contribute to a more comprehensive view of Björn's language and translation technique.

On a literary level, it is interesting to investigate some stylistic and narratological aspects. Previous analyses have namely shown the translator's wish for more precise and detailed narrative discourse than the *Passionael* and his preference for specific stylistic devices, e.g. direct dialogue instead of reported speech. This influences both Björn's choice of his sources and his personal treatment of the material. Therefore, it will be important to see how the characteristics of this single legend correspond with the features of other texts, thus appreciating its role in the context of the whole legendary as well as in the contemporary literary system.

Laura Saetveit Miles, Yale University

### **Girl, Interrupted: Translating the Annunciation in Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum***

Meditation 'on things past,' an imaginative reconstruction of a Biblical event calling for the meditator to place him- or herself within the event as spectator or participant, perhaps constitutes Aelred of Rievaulx's most prominent contribution to late medieval spirituality. While he did not invent the technique, he did popularize it through his work *De Institutione Inclusarum* (written 1160-2), the last section of which expounds a three-fold meditative technique progressing through things past, present, and future. For the first stop on this dramatic tour, the reader is invited into Mary's *cubiculum* to witness 'first-hand' Gabriel's Annunciation to the Virgin Mary. Now as modern readers, when we think of the Annunciation we easily picture Mary with an open book, interrupted at her reading by Gabriel's greeting. But to the twelfth-century reader, the iconography of the reading Annunciate was actually a relatively new innovation – for centuries Mary had been at the well, or spinning, or simply present. Aelred is one of the earliest authors to specify what the Virgin was interrupted reading: *libros quibus uirginis partus et christi prophetatur aduentus*<sup>1</sup> (that is, prophecies like Isaiah 7:14, "Behold a virgin shall conceive..."). In a text written for a female recluse, Mary suddenly offers more than a model of piety and virtue: she becomes a model female reader, whose reading habits and reading space offer a resonant parallel to the anchoress's *lectio divina* and anchorhold. While both of the later Middle English translations likewise appear to have been written for women readers, only one of them, MS Bodley 423, retains this small though pivotal detail. What does it mean that the other translation, from the Vernon manuscript, takes the Latin Old Testament out of Mary's hands, and thus out of the hands of its readers? As the vernacular opens one door, it closes another in its omission of Mary's Latin literacy. In this paper I will examine how the presence (or absence) of the reading Annunciate in Aelred's Latin text and its vernacular translations illuminates evolving trends in women's reading habits from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

Whether anchoresses, nuns, or laywomen, the shifting audiences of *De Institutione Inclusarum* force us to consider the shifting influence of this complex image of female literacy, an image which we often simplify as we take it for granted. What happens to Mary's book in the constant flux of translation between vernacular and Latin, between word and image, between male author and female reader? By contextualizing Aelred's depiction of Mary within both the history of Annunciation iconography and the tradition of women's devotional texts, I will demonstrate how the image of Mary reading plays a crucial role in the medieval conception of women's literacy.

Carlos Sanz Mingo, Cardiff University

### **Translations which are propaganda: the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, as translation and as source for Alfonso X of Castile**

It is surely thanks to the Castilian School of Toledo that Europe can enjoy nowadays the texts that conform the basis of our civilisation. Under the patronage of King Alfonso X, the Wise, and also before and after him, Greek texts long lost to the Western population were translated, with interpreters coming from the three monotheistic religions, working together in peace. Alfonso X might be better regarded as a learned figure than as a king, due to his catastrophic administration of the kingdom. In his pursuit for the title of Emperor, he ruined his kingdom, but he also used literary propaganda to establish his rights to the throne. Both his *General Estoria* and *Estoria de España* are an example of his erudition, but also betray his imperial desires.

One of the works he used for the composition of the *general Estoria* was Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, a pseudohistorical account of the creation and development of the British Isles, which became the basis for the understanding and evolution of the figure of Arthur in the Middle Ages. From Geoffrey of Monmouth, Alfonso took the chapter of the conquest of Britain by Julius Caesar, amongst others.

This paper aims at analysing firstly the propagandistic aim of Geoffrey's text (in his own words, a translation of an older text); secondly, how Alfonso and his team translated the text and if it can be understood as a free or literal translation; lastly, there is an attempt to establish whether or not the Alfonsine translation can be understood as a propaganda exercise to claim his right to the Imperial throne.

Alastair Minnis, Yale University

### **Gloss and Image in the Self-commentary of Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348)**

Having been exiled from Florence in 1304, the lawyer and episcopal notary Francesco da Barberino spent the next five years in Northern Italy (Padua, Treviso, and Venice). While in Padua (sometime between 1304 and 1307) he designed an idiosyncratic Book of Hours, which features an unusual cycle of illustrations. In 1309 Francesco joined a Venetian embassy to Avignon, which enabled him to travel widely in Provence, where he gained first-hand knowledge of troubadour poetry. Francesco finally managed to return to Florence in 1314/5, around which time he completed his *Documenti d'Amore*, a work which re-uses some of the images which he had devised in Padua. My paper focuses on the *Documenti*, wherein Francesco seeks to reconcile all the "laws of love" – sacred and profane, theological and secular. This is best understood as a quadripartite work, comprising an Italian poem with a Latin translation, an extensive Latin commentary thereon, and a series of elaborate illuminations. I will place it in the wider tradition of European vernacular 'self-commentary', briefly comparing Francesco's achievement with that of his great Tuscan forebear Dante Alighieri (particularly in *Il Convivio*) and the contribution of the greatest vernacular commentator of fourteenth-century France, Evrart de Conty. Evrart was regent master in the Parisian faculty of medicine during the period 1353-1405, and physician to Charles V - 'Charles le sage', king of France. Evrart produced a "commentated translation" on Pseudo-Aristotle's *Problemata*, and subsequently a moralizing commentary on the French poem known as the *Eschez amoureux* (c.1380-1400?). The hypothesis is now taking root that Evrart wrote the *Eschez amoureux* poem itself in addition to the extensive exposition, which stands as the first major academic-style commentary devoted to an original French poem.

I am particularly interested in the relationship between gloss and image in Francesco da Barberino's *Documenti d'Amore*, the extent to which the image serves the gloss and the extent to which the image itself requires a gloss. Francesco goes far beyond St Bernard's justification of images as the books of the unlearned, an *auctoritas* which he quotes without actually addressing. In the *Documenti d'Amore* imagistic practice far transcends Bernardine theory, achieving a degree of hermeneutic purchase which arguably puts (at least some of) Francesco's designs on a par with his learned Latin glossing, and reaching out to some of the most innovative artists of the Trecento, including Cimabue and Giotto. Francesco's relationship with Giotto is particularly intriguing, for the lawyer praised the artist's depiction of the Vice of Envy in the Arena Chapel in Padua, and may even be responsible for the design of an image which Giotto followed in decorating the chapel's north door. Francesco's expertise and success as a designer of images, and the way in which he deployed them within a complex hermeneutic enterprise, set him apart from the other major self-commentators of his age. I hope to reveal the complex conflict within the *Documenti d'Amore* between inadequate theorizing about imagery and sophisticated deployment of provocative (and often quite puzzling) designs, some of which enjoyed an existence far beyond the confines of Francesco's manuscripts.

Luca Morlino, Università di Padova

### **Le chapitre français de l'histoire italienne des traductions médiévales**

La relation se propose de combler une lacune dans l'histoire italienne des traductions médiévales, c'est-à-dire de traiter dans son ensemble la production de traductions en langue d'oïl par d'auteurs italiens, ce qui est latéral et dans quelques cas significativement antérieur par rapport aux versions italiennes. Cette production a été jusqu'à présent négligée par la riche bibliographie sur l'argument, de la célèbre anthologie publiée par les soins de Cesare Segre (1953) au récent *corpus* rédigé par Fabio Romanini (2007). Elle n'a pas été considérée de façon adéquate par les études sur la littérature franco-italienne non plus, bien qu'elle en constitue la première phase du point de vue chronologique (XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle), conformément à ce que Gianfranco Folena a écrit au début de *Volgarizzare e tradurre*: «on sait qu'au commencement de nouvelles traditions de langues écrites et littéraires, il y a bien souvent la traduction». Les aspects qui rendent cette production particulièrement intéressante sont historiques et culturels aussi bien que plus strictement littéraires et linguistiques: elle représente, en effet, une sorte de phase intermédiaire du procès de délatinisation (à ce propos, une confirmation provient du nombre considérable de traductions italiennes à partir de versions françaises); en outre elle représente une preuve ultérieure du plus grand prestige culturel de la langue française au Moyen âge, digne d'être prise en considération et probablement considérée à cette époque-là comme une sorte de "second latin"; enfin cette production permet d'approfondir la comparaison différentielle, déjà ébauchée par Jacques Monfrin, entre les diverses typologies textuelles traduites en France et en Italie, en l'étendant aussi au niveau formel, puisque, comme l'a remarqué Folena, «en France la véritable traduction didactique en prose naît plus tard qu'en Italie, seulement vers la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle» (l'usage de la prose est un élément caractéristique de cette production, particulièrement significatif grâce à l'absence substantielle à cette époque de modèles de référence français). Au-delà de ces considérations plus générales, la relation prévoit quelques exemples des phénomènes les plus significatifs tirés des textes appartenant à cette production (*Livre d'Enanchet*, *Moamin et Ghaatrif* par Daniel Deloc de Cremona, *Boèce* par Bonaventura de Demena, *Amaestramens d'Aristote*, *Estoire d'Atile en Ytaire*, *Livre de l'Eschiele Mahomet*, la plus ancienne version des *Epîtres* de Sénèque, le recueil des *epymithia* des fables d'Avianus, ecc.), du point de vue tant culturel (surtout pour ce qui est des écarts et des méprises par rapport à l'original) que linguistique, en particulier au niveau syntaxique (même pour ce qui est de l'adhérence servile à l'original, laquelle rend parfois peu compréhensible la langue vulgaire).

Anne Mouron, St Bede's Hall, Oxford

### **'The Liber de modo bene vivendi: the art of a "molt bele conjointure"'**

The thirteen-century Latin text, *Liber de modo bene vivendi ad sororem*, is usually attributed to St Bernard of Clairvaux, but he did not write it. Thomas of Froidmont, another thirteenth-century Cistercian, has also been suggested

as the *Liber*'s author, but this attribution has now been rejected by scholars. The text therefore remains anonymous, but internal evidence points toward a cleric, perhaps an Augustinian canon or a Dominican, as the author of the *Liber*. Although the text was not written for St Bernard's sister, it was written for a nun, but one who belonged to a different Order, perhaps for a Benedictine or for a Cistercian nun.

There is no modern edition of the Latin text apart from Migne's, which is to be found in volume 184 of the *Patrologia latina*, cols. 1199- 1306. As far as I know, there is no published study of the text either. As the text intimates in its prologue, 'sub mensa Patrum micas collegi, et si non ut debui, tamen ut potui, quas in hoc libro tuae sanctitati repraesento' (PL 184. 1199A), a considerable part of the work has been taken from older texts, most and foremost from Isidore of Seville's *Sententiae* and *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis*. The *Liber* at times acknowledges borrowing from Isidore of Seville, but it never specifies from which texts it excerpts passages. Moreover, more often than not, these 'borrowings' are not indicated as such in the *Liber*.

The aim of this paper is to consider first the editing process which excises and rewrites Isidore of Seville (and the other known sources of the text) in the *Liber*, and to determine whether or not this process can be explained by the *Liber*'s feminine recipient. Secondly, the medieval 'editor' / scribe of the text may not insert editorial notes in his copy of the text, but he often leaves a trace of his intervention by punctuation, corrections, and marginal signs. An examination of three (at least) mediaeval Latin manuscripts of the *Liber* attempts to see what these editorial interventions are, and more especially what parts of the text have been selected for special attention, and what conclusions can be drawn from these. The *Manere of Good Lyvyng*, which is a Middle English translation of the *Liber*, survives in a unique manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 517. Thirdly, therefore, the paper will look at the punctuation and marginal signs to be found in the vernacular text, the *Manere of Good Lyvyng*, and compare them with the Latin manuscripts. It will try to discover whether the move to the vernacular medium was followed by different editorial practices.

Marco Nievergelt, Université de Lausanne

### **Pilgrim to Courtier: Stephen Hawes, the Royal Library and the tradition of Deguileville's allegorical 'Pilgrimage of Life'**

Stephen Hawes, author of courtly chivalric allegories and Groom of the Chamber during Henry VII's reign, enjoyed direct access to both the person of the Monarch and the Royal Library. The 'derivative' nature of Hawes' ostentatiously francophile allegories has often been noted in negative judgments on the quality of his writings, yet no study has hitherto addressed the question of Hawes' actual sources in any detail. Beyond the specific question of Hawes' own literary method, a study of Hawes' works and sources also helps to throw light on the politics of literary and cultural translation under Henry VII. Although Hawes cannot be seen as carrying out a systematic programme of political and cultural propaganda, his works do attempt to articulate a programmatic sketch of the 'new', emerging ideal of the Tudor knight/courtier, symptomatic of wider cultural shifts related to the advent of humanism in Henry VII's court. Despite this undeniable, albeit only partially successful attempt to provide new cultural paradigms, the raw materials out of which Hawes fashions his allegories remain fundamentally, even quintessentially 'medieval'. My discussion will reveal the core of Hawes' 'medievalism', namely his joint debt to the tradition of spiritual allegory and to the tradition of chivalric manuals and romances.

I propose to discuss Hawes' *translatio* of a number of works from the Royal Library that he appears to have consulted and used extensively as raw materials for his own poetic project. These are a printed prose version of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* (also translated by Skelton for Margaret Beaufort, but now lost), printed by Vêrard in 1499 and illuminated by hand for Henry VII; a prose version of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de L'Ame*, also printed by Vêrard in 1499; and finally a deluxe chivalric miscellany originally executed for Edward IV, which contains among other popular works the only surviving copy of the *Chemin de Vaillance*, a lengthy chivalric allegory written by Jean de Courcy in 1424-6 and in turn heavily influenced by Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de Vie*. The *Chemin* in particular anticipates the conflation of spiritual allegory and chivalric romance that characterises all of Hawes' major works, particularly in their optimistic belief in the possibility of synthesising worldly glory and spiritual apotheosis. Various - and sometimes clumsily - attempting to negotiate the contrasting demands of the pilgrim's ascetic ethos on the one hand, and the knight's secular ethos on the other, Hawes provides a programmatic sketch of the ideal career of the Early Tudor courtier in the form of a quest-allegory. Despite the failure of Hawes' educational project, symptomatically reflected in his own failure as a courtier removed from office after the accession of Henry VIII, his poetic effort is crucially meaningful in the context of the 'transitional' age of the reign of Henry VII. Hawes' project thus highlights not only the longevity and vitality of the allegorical pilgrimage literature deriving from Deguileville, but also confirms the adaptability of this tradition, repeatedly transplanted and 'translated' to different linguistic, historical, cultural and ideological contexts. Hawes thus is at once an heir of a medieval French tradition of spiritual didactic allegory, and a precursor of an English tradition of allegorical chivalric quest culminating with Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and yet also provides a unique sketch of the uncertainties of early Tudor court culture and politics.

Andreas Nord, Stockholm University

### **Generic homogenisation in free translation: Two early 16th century examples**

In this paper I will discuss two translations from Latin to Swedish made by the Birgittine brother Petrus Magni (Peder Månsson), most likely during his stay in Rome in 1508-1524. The first text, *Bondakonst* ('The art of farming'), is a husbandry, comprising among other things instructions on agriculture and gardening. The other, *Barnabok* ('Book on

children'), is an instruction on the education of young noblemen. The two texts form part of Petrus' larger, almost encyclopedic translation project of texts on practical matters, comprising among many other things medicine, mining, glass production and leather preparation, as well as a *lapidarium* and a maritime law.

*Bondakunst* and *Barnabok* are chosen as relevant examples since the main source text in each case is convincingly identified. *Bondakunst* is based largely on the Roman Columella's *De re rustica* and *De arboribus*, while *Barnabok* is based mainly on the humanist Erasmus' *Institutio principis christiani* (1516). In both cases, the translation can be described as free, in the sense that the author uses the source texts simply as sources of knowledge. There are verbatim renderings, but large parts of the source texts are omitted or abridged. In sum, the author renders and filters relevant parts of the information in the source texts, making very few additions of his own. However, when the global generic patterns in the source texts and the target texts are compared, a tendency towards generic homogenisation can also be discerned. In the target texts, the generic features of the source text are generalized. That is, the procedural core function of Columella's *De re rustica* and *De arboribus* is distilled in *Bondakunst*, with most of the metalinguistic and explicative digressions being omitted. Erasmus' *Institutio* is mainly aphoristic but includes several *exempla* from antiquity and biblical history assessing the morals and fates of princes and kings, and there is a tendency towards discursive eloquence. In *Barnabok*, several of the *exempla* are omitted or reduced (although the reduction in *exempla* is compensated by an appendix with a series of anecdotes). This tendency towards generic homogenisation can also be traced in changes where lengthy, discursive portions of *Institutio* are concentrated into an aphoristic formulation in *Barnabok*. The tendency towards homogenisation of the target text with respect to genre/text type may be seen simply as an adaptation for a specific function. However, it may also be seen as an indication of a more general tendency of free translation strategies involving massive omissions and concentrations to result in target texts that are more homogeneous with respect to genre/text type than their source texts. This can be compared to the tendencies in translations towards generally shared features, mainly on the sentence level, that have been identified in Translation studies and are sometimes described as *translation universals*.

Federico Pantaleoni, Università di Pavia

### **Aldhelm's *De Lorica*, the Leiden Riddle and Exeter Book Riddle 33**

"The Latin riddle upon which both the Exeter and the Leiden riddles are based is Aldhelm's Riddle 33, 'Lorica'". Misleading statements like Williamson's (1977, p. 244), who seems to suggest two different, independent translations of Aldhelm's text, are frequent in critiques of these riddles, and the correct relationships between the texts are only marginally noted or left unexplained altogether in most of the major editions of the Exeter poems. Purpose of this paper is to clarify the matter, with a survey of the major problems of translations and of the textual differences between the two Old English texts. A first point of interest is the numeration of both Aldhelm's and the Exeter texts, as they may offer a clue to the reason for translating this specific riddle in the first place, and for its inclusion in the Exeter collection – two operations, as it will be shown, almost certainly independent from one another. The choice of the *Lorica* riddle, among the hundred in Aldhelm's collection, may not be of a purely linguistic nature. Particular attention will also be devoted to the last lines of the three riddles: the Northumbrian translation of Aldhelm's final, unnecessary hint is in fact replaced by a more conventional closing formula in the Exeter text, suggesting that the Leiden version of the riddle is closer to the original translation – which might have been made by Aldhelm himself. But the possibility that the final line of the *Lorica* riddle is an interpolation must and will also be taken into consideration.

Some additional remarks will be made about the only other riddle from the Exeter collection which is partly translated from Aldhelm (Riddle 38 in Williamson's edition), trying to determine similarities and differences in the translating techniques and investigating the choices behind the inclusion of the texts in the Exeter collection.

Jonatan Pettersson, Stockholm University

### **Translation universals and manuscript copying**

Medieval translations often diverge from their source text in many ways, and it has often been claimed that it is impossible to state whether these divergences stem from the translator or from the process of manuscript transmission. However, within Translation studies it has been noted that translations in general seem to carry specific features compared to original texts, e.g. translations tend to be longer than the source text, they are more explicit, they tend to disambiguate the source text etc. Some of these features have even been proposed to be *universals* of translation. As these universals are thought to be a product of the specific interlingual process of translation, the question arises if the same kind of changes vis-à-vis the original also occurs in the intralingual process of copying manuscripts. If not, these "translation universals" might help us to decide if the differences between the preserved text in a medieval translation and its source text are products of the translator or the scribes in the transmission. In my paper, I will discuss some of the proposed translation universals, taking my examples from *Alexanders saga* – an Old Norse translations of the medieval Latin epic *Alexandreis*.

Marcello Piacentini, Università di Padova

### **Les traductions polonaise et ruthène de l'*Historia Trium Regum* de Jean de Hildesheim. Quelques remarques générales et textuelles.**

Dans la deuxième moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle le frère carmélite Jean de Hildesheim, en réunissant plusieurs textes apocryphes, écrivit en latin un très long récit sur les Rois Mages. Cet ouvrage, connu sous le titre de *Historia Trium*

*Regum*, fut bientôt traduit en plusieurs langues vulgaires de l'Europe romano-germanique, mais aussi, pendant la deuxième moitié du XVe siècle, en ancien polonais et en ruthène. Ces deux dernières traductions demeurèrent presque méconnues dans les essais occidentaux et, par ailleurs, très peu étudiées par les slavistes mêmes.

Si la traduction en ruthène fut publiée aux débuts du XXe siècle, la traduction en ancien polonais demeure, par contre, jusqu'à aujourd'hui inédite, sauf des brefs fragments qui ont été publiés dans les anthologies. Cette dernière, quoique elle remonte à la deuxième moitié du XV siècle, nous a été transmise par un codex manuscrit de la moitié du XVIe siècle, composé par un copiste, autrement inconnu, Laurentius de Lasko. Ce manuscrit nous pose plusieurs problèmes, soit de nature paléographique et linguistique, soit à caractère culturel en s'agissant d'une des premières et rarissimes récites apocryphes de la littérature polonaise médiévale. D'après le contenu du codex manuscrit de Laurentius de Lasko, il n'est pas hasardé soutenir que le récit de Jean de Hildesheim était regardé, du moins par le copiste, comme récit merveilleux sur la naissance de Christ, plutôt que comme histoire des Mages.

On a jadis supposé que la traduction en ancien polonais dérivait d'une traduction en allemand, mais la typologie des erreurs nous montre clairement qu'elle dérive d'un original en langue latine. En outre, nous croyons pouvoir indiquer, si non le précis manuscrit latin, au moins le sous-groupe des manuscrits d'où elle fut tirée. Le texte latin était connu en deux rédactions, une brève l'autre assez plus longue. De ce texte nous avons une édition moderne, qui en donne seulement les variantes à l'aide de quelques manuscrits et des impressions du XVIe siècle, mais il ne s'agit pas d'une vraie édition critique. Cela rend difficile la comparaison entre la traduction en polonais et celle en latin parsemée, parfois, d'importantes variantes. Néanmoins, on peut essayer de mieux connaître les vicissitudes de ce texte. Du point de vue de la critique textuelle, il est particulièrement intéressant et utile d'étudier la traduction en polonais soit en soi-même soit en relation avec un autre texte apocryphe en ancien polonais, mais bien plus connu, qui se trouve aussi dans le manuscrit de Laurentius de Lasko, c'est-à-dire l'Évangile de Nicodème. L'analyse du texte montre comme les deux récits avaient le même ordre de succession qui ont dans le manuscrit en polonais aussi dans les manuscrits en latin copiés en Pologne: ce fait-ci semble avoir échappé aux savants, pas nombreux d'ailleurs, qui se sont occupés de ce texte et de ce manuscrit.

Pour ce qui concerne la traduction en langue ruthène, elle vit le jour au sein d'une culture riche d'influences latino-polono-romanes et greco-orthodoxes: il reste non résolue la question, si elle fut conduite à partir d'une traduction en polonais, qui toutefois ne peut pas être la traduction que nous est parvenue, ou bien directement du latin: fait considérable celui-ci en territoire ruthène au XVe siècle.

Domenico Pietropaolo, University of Toronto

#### **Dante and the Controversy over the Milky Way**

The medieval controversy over the nature of the Milky Way concerns a passage of Aristotle's *Meteorologica* which reached the age of Dante in at least four different Latin translations. The two most distinguished versions were irreconcilable on the definition itself of the milky way. Dante weighed their individual merits and concluded that it was not possible for readers of his time to recover with any degree of certainty the authentic thought of Aristotle from the Latin versions alone, which offered only the translators' interpretation of Aristotle rather than Aristotle himself. The patient work of a succession of translators had made possible Aristotle's spectacular rise to the philosophical dominance of culture. However, this had occurred only through the apperceptive filters of the different intellectual backgrounds of the translators and in the transformative presence of their own ideas, which in the translation process frequently became inseparable from his. The image of the "maestro di color che sanno" crystallized in our imaginations by Dante was their legacy to the scholars of his generation, but it was no more than a corporate metaphor of their collective exegetical and hermeneutical labour caught in a single purview.

In the vast majority of cases, the translators of the high Middle Ages used Arabic versions of Aristotle as their base texts, though these works were themselves translations of Syriac renditions of Greek originals. In a few rare cases, translators with sufficient confidence in their knowledge of Greek could bypass Arabic versions, using them only, if at all, for integrative and comparative purposes. The flurry of hermeneutical activity generated by the translation process was of necessity undisciplined. Alongside genuine illuminations of Aristotle thinking and legitimate expansions of his cultural horizons, it also produced a large body of apocryphal works that circulated freely under his name, and different versions of authentic texts in which Aristotle appeared to be at variance with himself, as in the passages on theory of the Milky Way.

My purpose in this paper is to consider how Dante located his own thinking against the background of the Latin translations of Aristotelian and pseudo-Aristotelian works. In particular I will examine how he dealt with the issue of contrasting translations of Aristotle's definition of the Milky Way, focusing especially—but not exclusively—on a few key passages of the *Convivio* in which translation is kept in the foreground as an issue of both theoretical and pragmatic interest. I will then appraise Dante's position on the translation of philosophical prose in two contexts: (i) the pragmatic context of contemporary conceptions of the art of translation, as practiced by distinguished scholars, including the ones who produced their versions of Aristotle in the translation programs of Archbishop Raymond of Toledo and emperor Frederick II, and (ii) the theoretical context of the disputational structure of argumentation that informed the philosophical discourse of Scholasticism, in which the general culture of Dante's age and his own philosophical education were deeply grounded.

Sue Powell, University of Salford

### **John Mirk's English and Latin works: a study of the representation of the pastoral in different media**

John Mirk was an Austin canon, later prior, at the abbey of Lilleshall in Shropshire at the end of the fourteenth century. Unusually, three works can be confidently assigned to him: the *Instructions for Parish Priests*, the *Festial*, and the *Manuale Sacerdotis*. Two are in English, one in Latin; two are manuals for the priest, the other a collection of sermons for him to preach; two are for pastoral use, one for the priest's personal perusal and study.

This paper will address the theme of the conference by considering the representation of ideas and texts in different media (prose/verse; formal/informal; for private reading/for public declaration; Latin/English). The paper will look at Mirk's sources and the way in which he manipulates them for different purposes, and will consider how overlapping material in the three texts is treated differently in response to the audience and medium of the text. The proposer of the paper is currently completing, with Dr James Girsch, an edition and translation of the *Manuale Sacerdotis*. The first volume of her EETS edition of the *Festial* is due to be published late in 2009.

Teresa Proto, Université Paris 8

### **Translation in songs: issues in text-setting.**

As research has shown, music circulated freely throughout medieval Europe both in the form of manuscript and by means of performance. Due to these circumstances, pieces of vocal music often happened to cross the boundaries of a linguistic community and be translated into other languages or transferred from one linguistic domain to another within the same community, as it is the case of much Latin sacred music which served as a source for vernacular adaptations.

When translation involves such a complex semiotic object as song - with its combination of text and tune - at least two levels of representation must be regarded: the syntactic and the semantic. Syntactic questions involve musical and verbal structures, and include relations between the overall form of a setting to that of the text, between individual textual and musical phrases, and between verbal and musical accentuation patterns. Semantic questions involve the relation of the setting to the meaning of the text and are thus of central significance in discussions of musical meaning.

In the present paper I will focus mainly on the syntactic aspects and discuss issues of text-to-tune alignment as they emerge from two musical practices particularly widespread in the Middle Ages: trope and contrafactum. While the former entails the interpolation of new textual or musical material into an already existing composition, the latter requires the application of whole sets of new words to an existing tune. By means of examples drawn from the German tradition, I will illustrate specific cases where interpolation or the setting of a new text to a pre-existing music also involves the translation of the original verbal content into a target language.

The goal of this study is to outline the role of specific linguistic strategies at work when translation takes place in a hierarchically structured system of musical and parallel verbal entities in which several degrees of agreement between the spoken, phrasal structure and the musical structure are possible.

William A. Quinn, University of Arkansas

### **Chaucer's 'Equivalents' of the Italian Sonnet, Ottava Rima and Terza Rima**

It is quite well known that Eustache Deschamps once praised Geoffrey Chaucer as a translator—from French to English verse, that is. More often than not, Chaucer tended to leave French lyric forms alone when translating or redacting. Chaucer tended to modify either the design or the application of his Italian exemplars, however. David Wallace has provided an extremely close reading of Chaucer's adaptation of Boccaccio's phrasing, syntax and stanzaic construction for narrative verse. I wish to extend this consideration to include Chaucer's more lyric experiments with Italian exemplars. I want to consider how—and then, perhaps, why—Chaucer substantially redressed his Italian models. My particular focus will be Chaucer's "Canticus Troili" (*T&C* 1. 400-420), the terza rima used within his "Complaint to His Lady" (23-39), and the "Lenvoy de Chaucer" (*CT* 4. 1178-1212).

Since medieval prosodic theory was subsumed under music or mathematics (and so thought concord both an international and an atemporal phenomenon), the metrical principles of versification were thought to apply as well in English as in Latin, as surely in the Fourteenth Century as in the First. So the idea of "equivalent" verse forms was only obliquely addressed: a English foot is an Italian foot; "equivalence" *per se* designated primarily acceptable substitutions within a given measure as, for example, the equivalence of a spondee to a dactyl. But add human voices, and certain discordant stereotypes come into play, differentiating the affective sound of a specific lyric form in Italian from its identical use in English. For example, Boncompagnus of Signa observed that "the Greeks say the Latins bark like dogs and the Latins say the Greeks growl like foxes. . .The French claim that the Italians groan. . .and refuse to listen to them. Italians, on the other hand, say that French and German emit tremulous sounds like someone suffering from fever, and that they sing so loudly they must think God is deaf." I wish to consider how Chaucer translated Italian verse for an English ear. Roman Jakobson has proposed a much broader sense of *equivalence* as the "constitutive device of selection" which—in drawing attention to itself—makes a message conspicuously poetic. The poem's form, being so determined by the linguistic milieu of its original composition, cannot be simply copied in another language in order to achieve an equivalent poetic effect. Achieving an analogous *equivalence* is what one poet sees as the primary challenge of translating another poet. Is there a common sense of such *equivalence* that informs Chaucer's translations of the Italian lyric forms (rather than specific texts) into English? Why did Chaucer perceive the terza rima primarily as a lyric rather than narrative form? Why did he amplify the sonnet into three rime royals stanzas? More generally, why did he prefer the rime royal's seven-line rhyme scheme to that of the ottava rima for narrative verse. I hope to propose a more

historicized understanding of Chaucer's subjective perceptions of such equivalence and his medieval translations of Italian verse differed in both theory and praxis from the more fully analyzed, Early Modern efforts of Wyatt and Surrey.

Raluca L. Radulescu, Bangor University

### **The Grail and Genealogy in Fifteenth-century England**

The Grail, nowadays the subject of blockbuster movies and very lucrative book deals, may be said to have functioned as a unifying narrative in the medieval period; unifying because of the way in which the genealogy of its guardians was exploited by French and English authors/scribes/readers to suit the tastes and aspirations of various audiences on both sides of the English Channel. In this paper I will focus on the Middle English versions of the Grail romances as translated and adapted by Henry Lovelich and Thomas Malory in the fifteenth century, with a view to exploring the particular historical and political circumstances in which these two translators made choices/changes to, and worked with, their source material. This analysis will be enriched by comparative analysis with the reception of Middle English romances (non-Arthurian, hence non-Grail) with a spiritual message.

Kelly Randell, University of Cambridge

### **Defining Translation Style: the Narrative Variations of *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys***

The short Middle Welsh pseudo-historical tale *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* has been criticised by scholars as a fragmentary narrative that exhibits a distinct translation style in contrast to the oral storytelling style of other native Welsh prose tales. This criticism has been disparaging of the text as an individual narrative, and contributed to its undervalued position as a literary text within the corpus of Middle Welsh prose narratives. Rachel Bromwich and Sioned Davies have argued that the tale may be little more than an extended triad, one of a series of tripartite short narratives concerning the matter of Britain, and thus lacking the stylistic brilliance and artistic nuances of the native tales and 'romances'. It is almost exclusively studied as an independent text that occurs in two of the most important manuscripts of Middle Welsh prose, but it is the only Middle Welsh prose tale that appears in an earlier form, as an embedded narrative in a thirteenth-century version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The dismissive attitude toward *Lludd a Llefelys* reflects a similarly dismissive attitude toward translation texts in general, and has limited the scholarly attention given to this complex narrative as part of the Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

There has traditionally been a divide in Welsh scholarship between the relative superiority of native style in contrast to translation style, and *Lludd a Llefelys* is a perfect example of the difficulties of defining literary value in this way. There are seven distinct manuscript versions derived from the original, four of which contain some form of the prose tale inserted into the Welsh text, and as far as we can tell, the tale itself is not a translated text, but rather an original composition that has been consciously composed to be placed into a historical narrative. Despite its unique position, negative views of the text have encouraged a purely stylistic comparison with the other prose tales, and in many ways, this is an unfair comparison: *Lludd a Llefelys* should be defined by its evolution in structure and style. The four versions of the tale display significant substantive and verbal variation, and illustrate a complex manuscript tradition of adaptation and revision. References to *Lludd a Llefelys* occur earlier in a poem in a fourteenth-century Welsh manuscript, the Book of Taliesin, and also in a poem by the poet Llywelyn Fardd II, both of which suggest that a version of this tale may have existed in an oral form prior to being included in the Welsh translations of Geoffrey. This paper will explore the style and structure of the Welsh *Brut* variants, and the implications of defining the text in terms of its position within a translated historical narrative. A detailed analysis of style reveals a constantly evolving narrative, and by re-examining its classification as a 'translation' text, perhaps we can redefine its position as an individual narrative within native Welsh literary tradition.

Denis Renevey, Université de Lausanne

### **The Fourteenth-Century Savoy Poets in a European Context: Translation, Interpretation and Influence**

This paper looks at the literary production that originated in or near the County of Savoy between 1348 and 1415. It attempts to assess the literary impact of this independent area (it was annexed to France only in 1860) upon Europe in general, and England in particular. The works of two major literary figures from the Savoy and the Marquisate of Saluzzo, a neighbouring area that Savoy claimed throughout the medieval period, will be used as textual evidence for this enquiry.

Othon de Grandson is the major fourteenth-century Savoyard poet of his time. His influence upon Chaucer's composition of 'The Complaint of Venus', which is a translation of three of his ballads, is well known. After assessing the nature of translation in this short poem by Chaucer, the paper discusses the celebration of St Valentine's Day, not in terms of attribution of invention of this celebration, but rather by looking at the way in which the Savoyard-poet took part in this emerging literary European phenomenon, next to Chaucer, Gower and the Valencian poet called Aznar Pardo de la Casta. The second part of this paper looks at Thomas of Saluzzo's *Le Livre du Chevalier Errant* (1394-6). This literary piece by Thomas III of Saluzzo (the Marquisate of Saluzzo remained independent till 1548) is an early contribution to the European tradition of the knightly quest that will flourish in the sixteenth century.

To follow Ardis Butterfield, 'French' is a misleading term if understood as meaning a single linguistic group. This linguistic fallacy often leads one to consider nation as the socio-geographical space this linguistic group occupies, when in fact such unity and uniformity was far from being the norm in the medieval period. So when Chaucer writes of

Grandson, 'flour of hem that make in Fraunce', he endorses, or is misled by, this fallacy. I believe that we are even more conditioned than Chaucer by this linguistic fallacy and that our interest in the notion of the nation account for the fact that literary productions written in the periphery are receiving so little attention. The paper aims to show that an appreciation of the literary and cultural productions according to regions provides an altogether different picture of the medieval European literary landscape. Areas such as Savoy and the Marquisate of Saluzzo emerge then as significant centres of literary production whose texts are translated and circulated in other European regions.

Carter Revard, Washington University, St. Louis

#### **Some notes on translations/interpretations of "goliardic lyrics"**

Goliard and Goliards, it is usually said, were disciples of Bacchus, the anti-clerical clerics, and Goliardic lyrics are supposed to have been written and read as worldly poems, celebrating the joys of wine, women and song. Modern editors have presented them in such ways that we can hardly imagine their ever having been understood otherwise. Editors have done this by separating 'profane' and 'sacred' texts put together by medieval scribes, by providing commentary and notes that presume and re-enforce this separate and unequal treatment, and by suppressing the evidence that medieval scribes, compilers, and commentators might in fact have juxtaposed sacred and profane items in ways inviting readers to relate them to each other. The present essay will offer just such evidence from a manuscript--British Library, London, MS. Arundel 384--which contains one of the most important collections of Goliardic poems. The evidence suggests further that during the first half of the fourteenth century, just as classical Latin texts--notably Ovid's erotic and cosmologic poetry, as in the pseudo-Ovidian *De Vetula*, a glossed version of which is found alongside the booklet of Goliardic lyrics in Arundel 384--were being 'moralized' by certain friars, some of those friars were also 'moralizing' Goliardic love-poems. Along with the actual *Ovide Moralisé*, I believe, there was an inchoate *Goliardic Moralisé*, which was never realized. It was in this context, I suggest, that so-called "fabliau anthologies" of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were created: the best known of these include, on the Continent, B.N. fr. 837 and Bern Bürgerbibliothek Cod. 354; in England, BL MSS Harley 978 and Harley 2253, and Bodleian MS Digby 86. It is therefore necessary to ask, and try to answer, the inevitable question: when one translates individual lyrics that celebrate wine, women, and song, should one not alert modern readers to the carefully counterposed songs of religious devotion which medieval scribes set against the Goliardic pieces?

Sif Rickhardsdottir, University of Iceland

#### **The Shifting Form of Womanhood in Medieval Translation. The Old Norse, Middle English and Spanish Translations of the French Romance of *Partonopeu de Blois***

This paper seeks to explore the apparent societal concerns with women in positions of power during the Middle Ages by examining the various versions of the French romance of *Partonopeu de Blois*. The twelfth-century story of the Empress of Constantinople, who spirits the nephew of the King of France to her mysterious kingdom to share the pleasures of her bed until he is old enough to wed her, spread throughout Europe in the subsequent centuries testifying to the popularity of the tale. The English, Norse, and Spanish translations of the romance reveal particular cultural concerns with women's position within society in terms of power, authority, and sexuality that are grounded in the unique historical and social circumstances of the respective reading communities. These underlying social concerns can be deciphered from the subtle transformations the female protagonist undergoes in each translation and the adjustments and modifications occurring in the gendered behaviour patterns of the male and female characters.

The various versions of the romance partake in an apparent transnational ambivalence toward the issue of female authority, selfhood and, not the least perhaps, female sexuality in the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. Each translation, however, divulges the particular cultural concerns of that specific reading community, which can be deciphered through the cross-cultural comparison as well as through the various ways in which the texts seek to resolve those issues within the narrative framework. Whereas the English translation, for instance, reveals a didactic tendency with regard to appropriate female behaviour and social codes which originates in fifteenth-century English morality, the Icelandic text, on the other hand, shows a distinct deviation from the prescribed pattern by adopting a uniquely local folkloric motif of the "maiden king," who refuses to wed so as not to lose her power and authority to their male partner. This radical alteration discloses a particular stance towards female independence which has its roots in Icelandic social conditions in the Middle Ages and deviates in this particular respect significantly from both the French original and the English translation.

The focus of the paper will be on the way in which the texts reveal these particular and culturally determined social concerns through modifications and adaptations in gendered behaviour within the text. These in turn will serve to illuminate the transnational, yet simultaneously culturally specific, literary approaches to questions of women's status, marital affairs, and gendered relations in the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. Ultimately these modifications give evidence to the fundamental impact of culturally determined codes of conduct and behaviour with respect to gender relations in the interpretation and representation of textual ideas.

Sharon Rowley, Christopher Newport University

#### **Scenes of Conversion/Scenes of Translation: Gregory the Great's *Libellus Responsum* in Old English**

Books II and III of the Old English version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* recount tumultuous periods of conquest, conversion and apostasy, ending with a repositioned translation of Gregory the Great's *Libellus*

*Responsionum*. Although editors have treated this positioning as an error and returned the letter to its place in Book I, reading the Old English version of Bede's *Historia* (OEHE) in the order in which it is preserved in all surviving manuscripts casts new light on a wide range of issues, including marriage, conversion, baptism (and baptismal sponsorship), as well as the relationship between royal and episcopal authority. This paper extends and develops my earlier work on Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum* (*LR*) in the Old English translation. In it, I explore the ways in which the OEHE recontextualizes Gregory's *Responsas* in such a way as to apply them to scenes of conversion beyond their original context, the conversion of Kent, into the mid-seventh century and beyond. Just as the later Anglo-Saxons translated the bones of their early saints to new places — shifting their meaning in place and time — repositioning Gregory's letter demonstrates the extent to which his words continue to create meaning, not only in the late-ninth or early tenth-century context of the translation of the OEHE, but also through the period of the text's transmission, c.900-1096. A close examination of the differences between Gregory's Latin (as preserved in Bede's *HE*) and the Old English translation reveals that the translator produces a text that brings into focus a fuller picture of the agents and scenes of conversion, including the wives and daughters who helped to sponsor baptisms, as well as forge or break political and religious alliances in early England. By downplaying Bede's emphasis on spiritual marriage, and placing Gregory's long, detailed discussions of marriage and female sexuality in an emphatic position at the end of Book III, Bede's Old English translator more clearly acknowledges the role of marriage and women in conversion, but also calls attention to the ways in which Christian conversion brings new meaning to marriage and the cultural significance of female sexuality and the human body. Just as the wives, daughters and sons journey into new contexts and move history forward in a varied combination of marriage, childbirth, treachery and rebellion, the OEHE as a translation has "the power to speak on its own," to change emphasis, order and nuance so as to produce new meaning along the edges of the differences between Bede's *HE* and the world of his translator.

Catherine Royer-Hemet, Université du Havre, France

### **Le *Sermo Epinicius* de Thomas Bradwardine: un périple linguistique en pleine guerre de Cent Ans**

1346 : la guerre de Cent Ans fait rage depuis officiellement neuf années mais, en fait, beaucoup plus si l'on considère qu'elle puise ses origines jusque dans la conquête de l'Angleterre par les soldats de Guillaume le Conquérant. C'est à cette époque que le paysage linguistique de l'île prit une nouvelle dimension. Ce que l'on a pu appeler « la culture à trois voix »<sup>1</sup> doit, bien sûr, être compris comme une schématisation mais correspondait à une réalité globale : trois langues pour un seul pays, à savoir le français comme langue de la noblesse et du pouvoir politique, le latin pour la liturgie et de la connaissance et enfin l'anglais, réservé majoritairement au peuple.

Deux siècles et demi après, l'Angleterre entrait dans un conflit qui allait établir les bases de son identité moderne. Cependant, d'un point de vue purement linguistique, même si bien des mutations étaient intervenues pour altérer la stratification en place depuis le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle et moduler l'importance de chacun des idiomes en fonction des évolutions historico-culturelles, le français, le latin et l'anglais étaient toujours pratiqués d'une manière ou d'une autre au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est peut-être dans le domaine de la prédication que s'illustre le mieux cette continuité du multilinguisme de l'Angleterre médiévale. Les sermons prêchés du côté anglais pendant la guerre de Cent Ans nous fournissent de nombreux exemples d'un va-et-vient continu d'une langue à l'autre selon un éventail de besoins, tels que le propos, l'auditoire ou encore la circonstance. Le *Sermo Epinicius* de Thomas Bradwardine, prêché à l'automne 1346 devant les portes de Calais alors assiégée par l'armée du roi Édouard III, fait partie de ces discours. Il célèbre les récentes victoires des troupes anglaises sur l'ost du roi de France à Crécy-en-Ponthieu ainsi que celle des Anglais sur les Écossais à Neville's Cross. Le texte du sermon, préservé dans les pages du MS Coxe 180 au Merton College d'Oxford témoigne d'un périple linguistique hors du commun. La question qui se pose est celle de savoir quel est le lien entre l'objectif que s'est fixé l'orateur pour son intervention, le discours qui a effectivement franchi ses lèvres et le texte qui a franchi les obstacles du temps pour nous parvenir. Le *Sermo Epinicius* a déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs études spécialisées tant du point de vue de sa transcription que de son contenu. La présente communication se propose de l'envisager sous un angle différent, celui du prisme des différentes langues impliquées dans sa conception, sa réception ainsi que sa transmission. Il fut en effet vraisemblablement conçu en latin, puis prêché en anglais ainsi que l'indique son *incipit*, pour ensuite être couché par écrit de nouveau en latin dans une version revue et enrichie d'*auctoritates* aussi abondantes que prestigieuses. Il fut également prononcé sur une terre où la langue était le français. Nous tenterons de démontrer comment le prédicateur, théologien reconnu et admiré dès son vivant, est parvenu sans encombre à se frayer un chemin le long des sentiers escarpés de la prédication pour le roi dans le contexte difficile d'une guerre que chacun des belligérants estimait juste de son point de vue.

Xavier-Laurent Salvador, Université Paris 3

### **Voirement est ce voire que je dis la vérité. La représentation de l'oralité (vers et prose) dans les traductions des discours des personnages de la Bible au Moyen Âge**

La tradition des bibles médiévales a tout d'abord accordé une grande place à la transmission des anecdotes et des histoires de la Bible inspirées du latin par la rédaction de Bibles en vers qui suivent la progression des textes originaux

sans toutefois s'y substituer. Un fait marquant la rupture dans la continuité de la transmission des textes de la Bible a donc résidé dans les premières traductions de la Bible en prose, lorsque la page française a remplacé la page latine à qui elle *ressemblait*. Les recherches que j'ai entreprises sur les traductions de la Bible médiévale en prose m'ont donc amené à observer le mécanisme de la translation comme l'adaptation du texte latin en une forme de discours pédagogique original destiné avant tout à protester de l'orthodoxie du texte par rapport à un référent par définition inaccessible. C'est dans cette perspective que l'analyse du fonctionnement des marqueurs logico-discursifs par rapport à l'original latin mais également par rapport aux textes hébraïques et grecs, m'a permis de montrer que les traductions françaises de la BXIII et de la Bible Historiale de Guyart-des-Moulins ont construit un discours en rupture avec l'original latin, les auteurs ayant **au sein du discours de narration** réinventé les outils du « bien-dire ». L'expérience du Texte permet toutefois de comprendre maintenant que le **discours direct des personnages** constitue un lieu de la traduction où se joue un phénomène d'orthologie remarquable qui met en jeu la représentation de l'oralité des personnages. Le traducteur, mû par le sentiment de respect du texte sacré « jusque dans l'ordre des mots », est amené par le sentiment de déperdition informative ressenti au moment de traduire en français à transposer le discours des personnages de l'antiquité hébraïque au monde contemporain. Lorsque Joseph dans la Genèse s'écrit « Voirement est ce voire que je dis la Vérité », il s'exprime comme un homme du XIIIe siècle, et non comme un héros hébreu. Mon intervention portera donc sur le traitement particulier du phénomène de l'adaptation des discours directs des personnages de la Bible dans les traductions médiévales de la Bible sous l'angle notamment de l'analyse de la modalisation argumentative. Dans un premier temps, l'exposé rappellera la constitution de la tradition biblique française et définira l'oralité sous l'angle de l'approche linguistique: il s'agit avant tout de traquer dans le discours des personnages les faits pragmatiques de connexion qui soulignent la mise en scène des relations argumentatives. Dans un second temps, il soulignera l'originalité du traitement des discours par les traducteurs de la bible en prose par rapport aux traducteurs de la bible en vers. Dans un dernier temps, l'exposé soulignera l'originalité et la variété de la représentation de l'oralité dans deux textes représentatifs, le livre de la Genèse de la bible Historiale et les *Quatre livres des reis*. En conclusion, il sera développé une série d'axes de recherches qui guident actuellement la poursuite de nos enquêtes.

Michael G. Sargent, City University of New York

#### **The Italian Circulation of Marguerite Porete's *Mirouer des simples âmes***

The most persistent pattern of transmission and readership of Marguerite Porete's *Mirouer des simples âmes* to which the hundreds of citations listed in Romana Guarnieri's study of *Il Movimento del libero spirito* attest – although it is a fact never remarked upon – is not in fourteenth century Hainault or France, fourteenth or fifteenth century England, or the German and Dutch Rhineland, but in fifteenth century Italy. In this paper, I will review this evidence, distinguishing particularly between references to accusations that specify the ownership of copies of the *Mirouer* from those that refer more generally to the holding of opinions similar to those expressed in the *Mirouer* (which may be taken as evidence that the writer has read the *Mirouer* – or knows of its contents – but not necessarily the accused). Second, I will discuss the manuscript evidence of the Latin and Italian versions of the *Mirouer* (and particularly the interesting evidence of fifteenth century intellectual liaisons between Naples and Hungary shown in the attribution and the transmission of the second Italian version) in an attempt to arrive at a sense of the role that Marguerite Porete's book played in the spirituality of late-medieval Italy.

Leah Schwebel, University of Connecticut

#### **Lucrece's Lineage: Livy and Augustine as Potential Sources for Chaucer's Legend of Lucrece**

For this paper I will reopen the case for Livy and Augustine as potential sources of Chaucer's *Legend of Lucrece* by examining three sequences in the text: the opening lines, the rape, and Lucrece's suicide, and demonstrating how Chaucer is in fact implicitly alluding to the *Condita* and *De Civitate Dei* at these moments. I will suggest that Chaucer writes his Lucrece as a kind of opposing model to the written accounts of her posited first by Livy and then by Augustine. Thus, although the text of the *Legend* derives primarily from Ovid's *Fasti*, in his portrayal of Lucrece, Chaucer responds more immediately to the *Condita* and *De Civitate Dei*.

Chaucer names Livy and Augustine as among his principal sources in the opening lines of the *Legend*; however, as he then proceeds to provide an almost literal translation of Ovid's narrative of Lucrece as found in the *Fasti*, scholars have dismissed this initial reference as little more than medieval name-dropping, at best, or blatant misrepresentation, at worst. In fact, there has been little recent critical debate regarding the question of Chaucer's sources for this legend because it is generally accepted as obvious that Ovid provides the bulk of Chaucer's material. Yet it is my contention that Chaucer names all three sources because he in fact uses all three, alluding to—by opposing—a paradigmatic version of Lucrece put forth by both Livy and Augustine. For example, in the *Condita*, Lucrece's political function is an essential component of her character: Tarquin's rape acts as the catalyst for the events that lead to Rome's becoming a republic. However, Chaucer dismisses the political aspect as irrelevant right from the start, immediately after he names Livy as a potential source ('Now mot I seyn the exilynge of kynges / Of Rome . . . [as seyth] Titus Lyvius. / But for *that* cause telle I nat *this* storye'). I see the poet's reference to Livy, along with his subsequent decision to shift the focus of his narrative from the political to the personal, as a deliberate debunking of Livy's paradigmatic portrayal of Lucrece as an *exemplum* for the Roman woman. I will suggest that Chaucer similarly refutes Augustine's notorious skepticism concerning the rectitude of Lucrece's status as an *exemplum* ('Si adulterata, cur laudata; si pudica, cur

occisa?') by writing her as a pseudo-Christian martyr rather than as a Roman heroine. Moreover, I see Chaucer's decision to have Lucrece lose consciousness during the rape itself as his response to Augustine's suggestion that perhaps Lucrece was seduced by her own lust.

Thus, I will argue in this paper that we must re-evaluate the extent of the poet's reliance on the *Conditio* and *De Civitate Dei*, as his allusions to these works, though neither textual nor explicit, are implied in the poet's construction of Lucrece as an antithetical model to the account of her present in the *Conditio*, in which Livy crafts her as a political *exemplum*—the inertia behind the metamorphosis of Rome into a republican state, and in *De Civitate Dei*, wherein Augustine condemns her for her suicide and implies that she is a negative example for Christian women.

Tarek Shamma, United Arab Emirates University

### **Translation, Pseudotranslation, Apocrypha: Looking for a Theoretical Framework for Translation in the Abbasid Period**

This paper examines the problem of how to approach and contextualize the Arabic translations of the classical tradition in the Abbasid Period of Islamic history (750-1258 AD). Specifically, I analyze how the translators interpreted, formulated, and domesticated Greek works (especially in philosophy) for their new environment. To the modern reader, their practices seem starkly to violate the principles of faithfulness and fidelity, which have come to define the ethical responsibility of the translator. In particular, there was a clear intent to Islamicize Greek works, even at the expense of radical transformation.

Current approaches to these translations (employing an equivalence-based standard) usually engage in a comparative analysis of the source and target texts to investigate how the original was understood, misunderstood, or otherwise transformed in Arabic—in the process often condemning “infidelities”, “distortions”, or “excessive domestication”. It is argued that this is an invalid interpretive framework for understanding the methods of Abbasid translators. For the concern with equivalence and fidelity (which derive from modern notions of authorship that were alien to ancient Islamic culture) disregards the translators’ purposes and obscures the dynamic role that Greek works played in the intellectual life of the emerging Islamic empire.

In the worldview of Abbasid translators, knowledge did not emanate, as the modern conception of authorship and creativity has led us to accept, from an independent creator, the uniqueness of whose product (as originating in a different culture) had to be respected: knowledge was universal and God-given.

One’s contribution thus consisted in seeking and expressing some God-given truths, which became the property of all knowledge seekers, regardless of their culture or ethnicity. This universalist view of the transmission of knowledge was closely enmeshed with the Islamic teachings of knowledge as the way to God and of the universality of the message of Islam. Hence, the wisdom of foreign sages was not only couched in Islamic terms; these sages were themselves Islamicized, placed in a long line of wise men, philosophers and prophets, running through many cultures, and culminating in Islam and its prophet. This made it possible to go as far as identifying some Greek philosophers as likely prophets. Thus, in the pseudotranslation ‘Plato’s Letter to Porphyry’, for example, we read of Homer’s discussion of the signs of prophethood and of Plato’s opinion that the sage and the prophet are the same.

It is only in this context—the principles of the unity and continuity of cultures and of knowledge as universal and divinely bestowed—that we can understand the methods, choices and strategies of Abbasid translators. Evaluations based on degrees of “equivalence” and “faithfulness” are practically irrelevant to translation in that period. Therefore, this paper calls for the need for an analytical framework which does not at best make allowance for the “liberties” that ancient translators took with their source material, but one which explores the significance (indeed the necessity) of these practices in the receptive culture and their contribution to its ideological and intellectual development.

Alice Spencer, Università di Torino

### **Etymology, Genealogy and Geography in Osbern Bokenham’s *Legenda Aurea Sanctorum***

The proposed paper will represent one of the first studies of Bokenham’s long-lost translation of Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*, which was rediscovered at Abbotsford House in 2004 (cf. Horobin 2005 and 2007). In my analysis, I will seek to demonstrate how Bokenham deploys the closely related themes of etymology, genealogy and geography in order to legitimise his own literary activities and locate, diachronically and synchronically, his own grounds of literary *auctoritas*.

Etymology and genealogy both function diachronically (i.e. “vertically” through time). Howard Bloch argues that the medieval fascination with etymology and genealogy can be seen to reflect a naturalist theory of the origins of language, which dates back to Plato’s *Cratylus* (Bloch 1983). Etymologies represent an attempt to trace words back to their universal, unambiguous pre-lapsarian roots. The etymological “Prologues” to many of Bokenham’s hagiographical works derive from Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* and might, therefore, be taken as a simple accident of translation, were it not for the fact that Bokenham consistently expands at such length in his etymological prologues and that he on several occasions translates the etymological introduction from Voragine even when he uses a different source for the main body of the *vita* (Görlach 1998: 64 and. Horobin 2008: 147).

In their quest for absolute diachronic origins, etymologies have much in common with genealogies, which also emerge as a particular concern for Bokenham when we consider his selection and treatment of his source texts. However, Bokenham’s treatment of the genealogy motif is somewhat more ambivalent, largely as a result of his complex, Bloomian relation to his literary ancestors, Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate. I will suggest that Bokenham establishes an

opposition between this secular literary triumvirate (Delany 1998) and the Trinity both through explicit reference and numerological symbolism throughout his legendary. As Bloch argues, the Trinity can be read as the ideal genealogical and etymological model, with the genealogical continuity of the father and son paralleling the etymological continuity of the Word made flesh with the spirit and the original utterance of the Father (Bloch 1983: 142-44).

The geography motif, instead, functions synchronically (i.e. “horizontally” through space). Bokenham’s particular concern with the physical locations of saints and their relics can be observed in his translation of a section of Higden’s *Polychronicon* in his *Mappula Angliae* as a companion to his lives of native saints. Both the *Mappula* and the lives of native saints contain myriad etymological and genealogical references, which can be seen as an attempt to situate Bokenham’s plain vernacular style within an “authentic” vernacular tradition (cf. Lavezzo 2004) which is opposed to the classifying, French-influenced voices of the Chaucer-Gower-Lydgate triumvirate. Moreover, Bokenham repeatedly appends passages on the spatial translation of saints’ relics to his legends. This connection between linguistic and spatial translation, between saintly and textual corpora, represents an attempt to fuse the diachronic with the synchronic, validating Bokenham’s “englische boke” by linking it to the divine “books” of nature and of salvation history (cf. Gellrich 1985).

Eka Tchoidze, Ilia Chavchavadze State University

### **Translator or writer? One example of a free approach to exegetic theology**

Efthymius the Athonite (975?-1028) is regarded as one of the most important scholars and intellectuals of his time. Originally from Georgia he ended up in Byzantium when he was only five or six year-old. In this period he settled in the Great Lavra on Mount Athos with his father John who was a closer friend of Athanasios Athonite, the founder of the Great Lavra. In a few years John, Efthymius and another Georgians who lived on Mount Athos moved to their own Iveron monastery.

The monastery of Iveron (namely the Monastery of Iberians, or Iverians – this was a name of the Georgians in Byzantine sources) was the first foreign monastery which appeared on Mount Athos in 983. It soon became one of the most well-organized and economically strongest monasteries of Athos. The role played by the monks of Iveron in the preservation of medieval Georgian and classical Greek literature is too well known to require discussion. The devotion to literary labor became in the course of a few centuries one of the highest distinctions of the Iveron Monastery.

Efthymius the Athonite – writer and translator served for fourteen years (1005-1019) as the second abbot of the Iveron monastery after his father’s death. In 1019 he gave up his position, settled in a remote cell of Athos and devoted himself to the translation of all kinds of ecclesiastical texts from Greek into Georgian. Specifically, he translated over two hundred works (biblical, exegetic, apocryphal, dogmatic, ascetic and hagiographic texts).

Efthymius has original method of translation. None of his works is literally translation. Knowing excellent Greek and Georgian he always takes into account two important factors: peculiarities of the Georgian language and needs of Georgian reader. So he approaches every text from these points of view and makes every kind of differences: omits passages, adds comments and amends sentences. Consequently, his every translation can be regarded as a new composition. In order to underline the main peculiarities of Efthymius’ translating method, we chose one of the most important texts from his translations: explanation of John’s Gospel by John Chrysostomos. In our paper we shall present passages from the Greek original text comparing them to Efthymius’ translation. Our goal is to single out all differences between these two texts, to analyze with which kind of differences we are dealing (omission, addition or amendment) and to explain why the translator makes this difference. We should take into account that the text under consideration is written in the fourth century and the translation is dated to the eleventh century. So, this kind of research will help us to define what was changed in Christian society from the fourth to the eleventh centuries and how these changes were reflected in translation by translator’s comments. Summing up, we shall try to response our paper’s main question: was Efthymius translator or writer and how translator can become writer?

Kenneth Tiller, University of Virginia-Wise

### **Translating the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Poems for the Anglo-Norman Court**

In the decades following the Norman Conquest, large sections of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* were translated into Latin, the official language of the court and church, by Anglo-Norman historians—many of mixed English and Norman heritage—as part of a project to reconstruct English history for the interests of the Norman overlords. Although these historians worked easily with the *Chronicle* prose, often embellishing it, the small but important passages of Old English poetry in the *Chronicle* seem to have posed particular challenges to translators because of the prominent alliteration, kennings, archaic phrases, and other characteristics of heroic Anglo-Saxon verse. Schooled in Latin rhetoric and poetics, these translators might be expected to have shown disdain for the vernacular *Chronicle* poems and to supplant them with Latin tropes and poetic idioms. Although they often did just that, close examination of these translations reveals that, as translators, the historians vacillated between fidelity to the English originals and complete replacement of them with Latin poetry and rhetoric. The multi-faceted nature of vernacular-to-Latin translations by twelfth-century historians have not been widely studied, however: A. G. Rigg’s detailed analysis of Henry of Huntingdon’s semi-metrical translation of the *Battle of Brunanburh* is a notable exception, though I believe that the process of translating *Chronicle* verse goes beyond this single example.

The *Chronicle* entries between 942 (the ascendancy of King Edmund) and 975 (the death of Edgar) show a concentration of Old English alliterative verse, as they celebrate an important phase in the development of the English

kingdom. Three Anglo-Norman historians, John of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon, translated this section into Latin as part of their extended insular histories. Focusing on the three translations of these verse entries, my study examines the decisions each translator makes regarding word choice, metrics—with particular attention to rhyme and alliteration—and literary and historical allusions. I consider the artistic and historiographic implications of the varying degrees to which each displaces or includes Anglo-Saxon poetics. For instance, Henry of Huntingdon's translation of the Old English formula "beorna beahgyfa" [giver of rings to the nobles] as "largitor honorum" [distributor of honors] in his version of the *Chronicle* elegy to King Edgar renders the referent to the ring-giving ritual abstract and supplants the Old English formula with a phrase drawn from Latin poetry (an epitaph to Charlemagne ascribed to Marbod). At the same time, however, Henry's insertion of alliterative half-lines into his verse—"Nequitie lapsus, iusticieque locus" [a fall to wickedness, a place for justice]—seems to reflect a desire to represent the English ruler in the poetic language of his own people. Similar poetic hybridizations are found in the translations of John and William. I thus propose a translation study of the fusion of poetic styles in these three Latin translations of English chronicle poetry. This fusion, I suggest, reflects the tensions these writers faced as English (or half-English) historians working in a tradition of Latin letters for a Norman court and church.

Alfredo Trovato, Università degli Studi di Verona

### **The role of exegetical constraints in the analysis of variant renderings in the Western Diatessaronic witnesses: Middle Italian and Old High German *Diatessaron* in comparison.**

The aim of the present study is to analyse the role played by exegetical constraints in the variant renderings of Tatian's *Diatessaron* through the comparison between Middle Italian and Old High German translations. The Tatianic Harmonization represents, as rightly pointed out by Vööbus (1954: 68), "one of the most difficult topics in all the field of New Testament textual criticism".

Several problems are still related to the individuation of the provenance of Tatian's work (probably Roman rather than Eastern) as well as its original language. At the same time, the analysis of the textual dependency of *Diatessaron* from canonical and extracanonical sources leaves the discussion open for different interpretations and solutions (Petersen 1994, 1995). In light of these considerations it might be helpful to deal with the study of the variant renderings offered by the "Western Diatessaronic witnesses" not only from a strictly textual approach but also from an exegetical point of view. As Harnack (1881) and later Harris (1925) already demonstrated, the Tatianic Harmonization shows omissions and modifications probably related to its exegetical tradition.

The purpose of this study is to try to identify some translational tendencies in the "Western diatessaronic witnesses"; this allows to highlight some features of the theological *milieu* within which the Western harmonies were transmitted. As Ehrman (2006: 325) remarks, every scribal 'change' in itself enables the scholar to delineate the religious-cultural context within which the scribes worked.

The analysis will be carried out for the purpose of investigating those deviations in the Western versions, which might have been caused by *intentional change* (Metzger 1992: 192) and will rely on the theoretical approach provided by E. Tov, which considers the relationship between source language and target language within the translational process. Tov (1981: 124-127) distinguishes two different level of analysis, or, as he says, two different *exegesis*. The first, the *linguistic exegesis*, involves the study of translational techniques from a strictly linguistic point of view (word equivalents, word choice, translation errors). The second, the *contextual exegesis*, describes all those semantic and cultural 'changes' produced by the interaction of the theological perspective of the translator or by a broader literary context. The study of exegetical constraints in the Western harmonies will be clearly supported by the results deriving from the studies of textual transmission-history of the witnesses.

Giulio Vaccaro, Opera del Vocabolario Italiano

### **Il principio, il mezzo e la fine del mio dire: la tradizione volgare di Albertano da Brescia in Italia**

Albertano da Brescia è autore, in latino, di tre trattati: il *De amore et dilectione Dei et proximi et aliarum rerum de forma vitae*; il *De arte loquendi et tacendi*; il *Liber consolationis et consilii*. Questi trattati, in realtà delle erudite raccolte di sentenze, godettero d'immensa fortuna. Numerosissimi furono i volgarizzamenti: in italiano, in francese, in catalano, in spagnolo, in danese, in tedesco, in ceco e in olandese.

Ci si occuperà qui nello specifico delle versioni di area italiana del *De doctrina loquendi et tacendi* (il cui testo latino è stato recentemente edito da Paola Navone), numerose, e di pochi decenni posteriori all'originale: al 1268 risale, con certezza, la redazione di Andrea da Grosseto, compilata a Parigi; e nel ventennio successivo devono collocarsi anche le versioni di Soffredi del Grazia (Provins, entro il 1278) e quella trådita da diversi manoscritti, tra cui il codice Bargiacchi, che data entro il 1288.

Quante e quali siano però le versioni dei volgarizzamenti delle opere di Albertano è questione irrisolta. Vale ancora, in proposito, ciò che affermava Cesare Segre nel 1952: «i rapporti tra queste versioni non sono stati ancora studiati in modo soddisfacente; ed è materia delicata, perché spesso i copisti si servivano, quando un testo era mutilo, di un altro con una differente traduzione» (C. Segre, *Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento*, Torino, UTET, 1952, pp. 133-34).

Sulla scorta di un lavoro recentemente ultimato (un censimento dei manoscritti latini del *De arte loquendi et tacendi*) si proporrà una ricostruzione e un raggruppamento delle varie versioni volgari del trattato di Albertano.

Zeno Verlatto, Università di Padova

### **Traductions en vulgaire des textes hagiographiques en Italie du Nord entre XIIIe et XVe: leur production et leur circulation.**

Dans l'Italie des siècles XIIIe et XIVE, l'hagiographie vulgaire, une littérature essentiellement jongleuresque, copiée d'une façon purement occasionnelle dans les manuscrits (ex. le vénérable *Ritmo su sant' Alessio* provenant des Marches, du début du XIIIe siècle), cède sa place à l'énorme quantité de traductions en prose, réunies dans des manuscrits unitaires et cohérents, dressés à l'imitation des grand légendiers latins. Qui était son public et comment cela? Et encore, à propos des textes en prose, est-ce qu'ils présentent des caractéristiques spécifiques (sous un point de vue linguistique, formel, stylistique), qui permettent d'isoler les traductions («volgarizzamenti») hagiographiques comme un phénomène particulier, soit dans le plus grand domaine de la traduction du moyen-âge que dans celui plus restreint concernant la traduction en langue vulgaire de textes religieux en genre? Puisque les traductions hagiographiques en vulgaire sont encore en grand partie inédites, et que la recherche en ce qui concerne le lien entre les différents textes et leur lien avec leurs sources est encore loin d'être complète et exhaustive, notre but est d'essayer de donner une réponse aux questions que nous avons posées, en analysant quelques épisodes de la production hagiographique vulgaire entre le début du XIVE et le XVe siècles, dans un territoire culturel précis, l'Italie du Nord (et plus particulièrement en Vénétie). La première partie de notre intervention aura comme objet les plus anciens poèmes en couplets de deux vers, provenant sûrement du milieu clérical, même si composés à imitation des modèles poétiques jongleuresques (en particulier la *Vie de sainte Marguerite* et la *Vie de sainte Catherine*, œuvres véronaises de la fin du XIIIe ou début du XIVE s.). A ce propos, nous prendrons en examen le rapport entre les aspects idéologiques de ces poèmes (souvent explicités par les auteurs), et les aspects rhétoriques. Ensuite, on analysera d'une façon plus détaillée, la vaste production de textes hagiographiques en prose, constituée pour la plus part de traductions de chapitres de la *Legenda aurea* de Iacopo de Voragine, lesquelles à partir des années Trente du XIVE s., se réunissent en recueils plus ou moins étendus, dans des manuscrits destinés souvent à la dévotion d'un public laïc, jusqu'à devenir le noyau principal autour duquel s'agrègent de véritables légendiers formés sur le modèle de ceux latins.

En particulier notre discours engagera l'analyse de trois légendiers hagiographiques en langue vulgaire provenant du Nord de l'Italie: le ms. 395 de la Bibliothèque Laurenziana de Florence, le ms. Magl. XXXVIII.110 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Florence, et le ms. de la Bibliothèque Casanatense de Rome no 4067, XVe siècle. En comparant plusieurs versions des mêmes textes, on analysera les différentes stratégies de traduction, en examinant soit les interventions sur la source par rapport aux contenus, soit les différents choix stylistiques, lexicaux et, plus en général, rhétoriques et formels. En particulier, nous ferons remarquer, dans le ms. Casanatense, la présence de deux textes qui s'avèrent des traductions de "deuxième niveau", c'est à dire, des textes qui à l'origine étaient traduits sous forme de poèmes en couplets, et leur transcodification successive en prose. Il s'agit de textes de grande importance, car ils prouvent l'existence d'une évolution stylistique et idéologique dans l'hagiographie vulgaire. Partant d'une forme plus ancienne, dans laquelle l'utilisation du vers se conjugait à une plus libre transposition du modèle, on passe à une forme qui caractérise plus proprement les légendiers entre le XIVE et le XVe siècles, dans lesquels l'utilisation de la prose entraîne un texte plus fidèle et précis.

Juliette Vuille, Université de Lausanne

### **"Towche Me Not": Uneasiness in the Translation of the *Noli Me Tangere* Episode in the Late Medieval English Period**

The rise in popularity of such saints as the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene in the later medieval period was deeply enmeshed with the simultaneous rise in affective piety in the spirituality of the laity. Indeed, both saints' love for the human Christ, and their intimate relationship with him propelled them as figureheads of an affective piety that encouraged a very emotional and deeply embodied experience of the Scriptures. The Magdalene's repeated physical interaction with Christ inspired in particular late medieval devotional treatises and the writings of fourteenth and fifteenth century female mystics. Not surprisingly, the *noli me tangere* episode narrated in John 20:17, during which Christ rejected Mary Magdalene's touch after his Resurrection, clashed with the medieval audience's expectations of the saint's physical connection with Christ.

This episode was already problematic for some authors of her Latin *Vita* who put forward the saint's privileged relationship with Christ. They often chose to leave the *noli me tangere* scene out of their accounts of her saintly life, as in the late twelfth century Pseudo-Rhabanus Maurus's *Vita Beatae Mariae Magdalene*, or in the thirteenth century *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine. However, where these authors simply silently emended the episode, English authors of the later medieval period clearly voiced their discomfort, translating the scriptural *noli me tangere* into the vernacular and discussing it in various ways. In this communication, I wish to investigate how two such authors in particular, John Mirk and Margery Kempe, dealt with such a problematic episode.

John Mirk based his late fourteenth century *Festial*, a collection of prose sermons on saints' lives, on the *Legenda aurea* of Voragine. The Austin Canon, otherwise well known for the orthodoxy of his writings and his faithfulness to his source, chose to change the *Legenda's* silence on the matter: he contradicts Voragine's version, claiming the Magdalene actually touched Christ and anointed him after his resurrection. This constituted a bold choice, especially as this scene was vividly present in the mind of the laity for whom the *Festial* was composed, from their familiarity with the Easter liturgy. Margery Kempe, on the other hand, expresses her uneasiness with this passage in her *Book of Margery Kempe*, written in the first half of the fifteenth century: in opposition to Nicholas Love's *Mirror*, her probable source for this episode, she attempts to resist Christ's rejection of the Magdalene when she has a vision of this episode. It will be my

contention that both works present the saint's – and, incidentally, in the case of Margery Kempe, Margery's own – authority as being grounded in a physical intimacy with a human Christ.

I will show, moreover, that this uneasiness in the translation of the *noli me tangere* episode in the English vernacular is symptomatic of a deeper discomfort, at this time, with the emphasis in the affective spirituality on the humanity of Christ to the exclusion of the divine. As such, we will see that the *noli me tangere* episode is taken in later medieval literature to represent the inability to detach oneself from the human Christ in order to recognize ontological plurality of God, and is used as an example to discuss, condemn, or even authorize, such an issue.

Lora Walsh, Northwestern University

### **What a Difference Gender Makes: Translating *Ecclesia* in Late Medieval England**

Translators of Latin sources into Middle English often faced a policy decision: should the gender of nouns and pronouns be retained when translating into a language less dependent on grammatical gender? In my paper, I argue that translators preserve—and in some cases introduce—explicitly feminine terms in Middle English translations of Latin Biblical and exegetical material in one particular set of circumstances. When translators and exegetes interpreted words like *sponsa* (Matthew 25:1), *dilectam* (Song of Songs 2:7), or merely *eam* (Psalm 55:10) as references to the feminine church (*Ecclesia*), their translations were often feminized. For example, Mary Dove has demonstrated how translators of the Wycliffite Bible in its later version introduced the term "spousesse" to replace the gender-neutral "spouse" in the Song of Songs. The feminized "spousesse" differentiated one speaker from another—the feminine bride (interpreted as the church) from the masculine bridegroom (interpreted as Christ). I go beyond Dove's discoveries in order to show that feminized terms for the church occur in translations of a broader range of Biblical texts and commentaries, in Wycliffite works that are not strict translations, and in at least one primary source notable for its tension with Wycliffism.

Furthermore, I argue that in these other sources the church's femininity distinguishes *Ecclesia* not only from Christ, her masculine spouse, but also from corrupt members of the church's hierarchy, from the papacy, from the reprobate, and from church buildings. These other manifestations of "church" are commonly gendered masculine or portrayed as gender-neutral. Thus, femininity comes to mark features of church peculiar to a translator's ecclesiology. Take, for example, the case of *eam* in Psalm 55:10. Whereas the Wycliffite Bible translators rendered *eam* simply as "it", another Wycliffite source, *The Lanterne of Lizt*, understood *eam's* antecedent *civitate* to be a reference to the church. Therefore, the *Lanterne* translates *eam* as "hir" ("her"). The *Lanterne* author feminizes terms and images that portray the church as the persecuted minority and elect membership of the visible church at large. Similarly, a commentary on Matthew's Gospel (CUL Ii. 2.12) compiled from Latin sources and translated into a North Midlands dialect consistently feminizes *sponsa* as "spowses" or "spouses." As I reveal, each of the five instances of this word occurs in interpretations of a bride understood to represent the church.

In my paper, I recognize that both collaborative translation projects and individual translators seem to accept a degree of flexibility and inconsistency in their approach to grammatical gender. However, in the case of *Ecclesia*, the sources that I assess all exhibit a distinct attachment to feminine nouns and pronouns—even when these sources are otherwise in conflict. This paper elucidates the exegetical and ecclesiological principles that led translators to maintain or mark the church's gender.

D'Andra White, Texas A&M University

### **The Alfonsi factor**

With over 160 of Petrus Alfonsi's medieval manuscripts extant and available throughout Europe it is puzzling that his extensive translations of Arabic and Jewish texts into Latin as well as his own compositions: *Disciplina Clericalis*, *Zij alSindhind*, *Epistola ad peripateticos*, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* are rarely referenced. For centuries Alfonsi's contribution has been evident but unremarked; however, with the centrifuge of scholars today dedicated to preserving the integrity of text and eschewing any premise of prejudice, modern technology and forensic study have given researchers the ability to dispel as well as verify several myths of origin surviving from the Middle Ages. In the last century a few scholars have acknowledged Alfonsi's texts as one of the possible literary sources for Boccaccio's *The Decameron*, Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, and Juan Ruiz de Hita's *El Libro de Buen Amor* and many scholars have observed the similarities between Chaucer and Boccaccio's translations of Boethius. Chaucer himself partially elucidates this relationship at the "end" of his *The Canterbury Tales* in *Heere taketh the makere of this book his leve/But of the translacion of Boece de Consolacione ...and othere bookes of legendes of seintes, and omelies, and moralitee, and devocioun* (1088). It is in these *...and othere bookes* that some researchers have noted similarities between Chaucer and Alfonsi, and a few have noted connections between Chaucer and Ruiz. However, it is weaving the textual thread in nuanced interaction between Alfonsi, Chaucer, Ruiz and Rojas, specifically, Alfonsi's *El perrito que lloraba* which served as the genesis for the archetype, Pander and Celestina, that warrants further examination and merits extensive analysis. It is my thesis that Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina Clericalis* was a primary source for and subsequent influence on Juan Ruiz de Hita's *El Libro de Buen Amor*, Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* in *The Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus and Criseyde*, and Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina* that reverberated throughout the Middle Ages. However, over the centuries linguistic and literary static traditions continued to omit Alfonsi's contribution to medieval literature in translation and composition. Although popular and widely read in the Middle Ages, obstructionism as well as other historical factors have failed to credit Petrus Alfonsi as a viable source for several medieval texts. Furthermore, Petrus

Alfonsi's lineage and religion has left him suspended in obscurity, tradition has kept him hovering, but that scholarly discourse demands that his place in history be redressed.

Christiania Whitehead, University of Warwick

#### **Northern honey from the rock: the *Meditations* of the Monk of Farne**

Along with much other Anglo-Latin spiritual writing of the early and mid-fourteenth century, the *Meditations* of the Monk of Farne (poss. John Whiterig, d. 1371) remain relatively little-known. Extant in a single manuscript (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.34), alongside monastic treatises by the better-known Durham monk, Uthred of Boldon, the *Meditations* divides into seven parts, addressing Christ Crucified, the Virgin Mary, the Angels, Abraham and David, St John the Evangelist (x 2), and St Cuthbert. The address to Christ Crucified is by far the longest and is the one with which this paper will be chiefly concerned.

The address to Christ Crucified is a richly affective text, drawing upon an Anselmian and Bernardine tradition of Passion meditation, and utilising the trope of the 'degrees' or steps of divine love, whilst also incorporating passages of more scholastic typological exegesis. It can be viewed very interestingly against the better-known vernacular Passion meditations of the early and late-fourteenth century – those of Richard Rolle and Julian of Norwich, and this paper will comment on that textual context. However, its main concern will be with the ways in which the Monk of Farne translates the continental Bernardine tradition of affective spiritual writing and meditation to suit a specifically *northern* context and readership with its own spiritual traditions. References within the *Meditations* to St Cuthbert, and to the regional models of sanctity and solitude developed within his cult, will be considered, together with the regional spiritual agendas of the Durham Benedictine community (the custodians of Cuthbert's body) of which Whiterig was a member, in order to build a picture of the nature and implications of this act of devotional translation.

Jennifer R. Wollock, Texas A&M University

#### ***Pariz un Viane* Rediscovered**

This paper reconsiders one of the recognized masterpieces of early Yiddish translation, the ottava rima romance *Pariz un Viane*. This version of the medieval French (or perhaps originally Provençal) prose romance has been recognized as a masterpiece by Yiddishists (and edited in 1996 by Chone Shmeruk in collaboration with Erika Timm,) However neither it, nor any of the other early Yiddish romances, have been discussed in any detail by specialists in the late medieval romance. At the time when William Caxton's English *Paris and Vienne* of 1485 was edited for the Early English Text Society by MacEdward Leach in 1957, the editor remained unaware of the existence of a Yiddish version of this romance, let alone a distinguished one, though he knew of versions in eight other European vernacular languages. Among the students of medieval romance it may be fair to say that medieval Jewish translations are still almost unknown. In this case there is some controversy about whether or not *Pariz un Viane* is the work of Eliahu Levita (also known as Elye Bokher), the distinguished Hebraist and poet, long resident in Italy, who translated *Bevis of Hampton* as the *Bove Bukh*, without question the best-known Yiddish chivalric romance. The preface ascribes *Pariz un Viane* to one of Elye Bokher's admirers, and the editors of *Pariz* disagree as to its authorship. Rediscovering this translation also involves rediscovering a circle of readers centered around a Yiddish-speaking poet and scholar active in late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Italian scholarship, intercultural education, and publication.

In this paper I discuss the Yiddish *Paris un Viane* as a translation in the context of its continental sources and restate the case for the *Yiddishkeit* of *Pariz un Viane*. To a reader familiar with other versions of the text, this one is notable for its sense of Jewish cultural identity. Even before the Dauphin of Vienne's wife cries "Oy, vey!" as she gives birth to our heroine, Viane, there is no question that the popular European romance finds itself at home in a Jewish world. From the other side, the paper asserts the importance of this text for the study of the romance. *Pariz un Viane* opens up a neglected dimension of the romance as a form of narrative with the flexibility to cross significant cultural barriers and benefit from creative adaptation. In its own way it can tell us more about the relations between Jews and Christians in its period, and about the place of Yiddish in a dynamic European (here, specifically Italian) vernacular culture than many "more Jewish" texts. Ultimately analyses of this type will help Yiddishists to come to terms with the history of their own culture, and bring scholars outside the circle of Yiddishists to a greater awareness of the presence of Yiddish voices in the European cultural conversation of the later Middle Ages (and indeed down to the present.)

Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, Shizuoka University

#### **The Translation of the *Regimen Sanitatis* into a Handbook for the Devout Laity: A New Look at the *Kalendar of Shepherds* and its Context**

The *Kalendar of Shepherds* (hereafter *KS*) is the English translation of *Le Compost et kalendrier de bergiers*, a French compendium of miscellaneous texts, which was first put together by Guy Marchant. The English translation was published in 1503 by Antoine Vérard. Although various editions followed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it usually includes a perpetual calendar, popular astrology, and a regimen of health, along with explanations on elementary catechismal matters and didactic texts, including *Visio Lazari*. The first bibliographical study by H. Oskar Sommer was published in 1892. However, the *KS* has generally escaped scholarly attention except for an examination of sources of texts and illustrations (Erler and Driver) and a bibliographical examination (Matsuda together with Tokunaga). I would like to argue that the uniqueness of the *KS* lies in the combination of the religious texts with medical recommendations, which bears witness to the translation of a traditional holistic idea into the late medieval

cultural milieu. The 'regimen of health' in the *KS* is not merely one of several types of scientific text, pertaining to health, astrology and zodiacal influence. It is concerned about the health of the body and the soul, an issue which had become increasingly important since the advent of plague. Noticeably, when Richard Pynson, a publisher, added a further series of texts on the regimen of health to the *KS* in one of its early sixteenth century editions, he included the one based on Lydgate's *Dietary* (contained in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, EETS OS192), a text which draws on the *Secreta secretorum* and *Regimen sanitatis Salerni*—two of the most popular works of advice circulating in late medieval England. Indeed, the underlying principle of the *Regimen* is Hippocratic and Galenic medicine, whose theory of humours was smoothly translated into the context of Christian history. Adam and Eve possessed a perfect mixture of humours in Paradise. However, through the Expulsion, the balance was destroyed and diseases entered into the world. Thus, sinful humanity must endeavour to keep a good humoral balance through the care of both the body and the soul. Advice literature, such as the *Secreta secretorum* and *Regimen sanitatis Salerni*, promised to protect their readers by recommending that the best weapon against diseases was a healthy system of physical and spiritual care. This explains why the *KS* includes the texts on vices and virtues, the fate of the soul in the after life and the observance of the teachings of the church in accordance with the liturgical calendar— all of which are useful for a regimen of the soul, leading one to salvation. Conversely, this suggests that Eamon Duffy's description of the *KS* as the 'shameless combination of religious divisions of time with astrological divisions' (*Stripping of the Altars*, p. 50) needs to be qualified.

By reassessing the centrality of the regimen of the body and the soul in the *KS*, I hope to establish the *KS* as a translation of the classic and medieval *regimen sanitatis* into a new form of popular handbook, and to show both how the English *KS* is uniquely changed by the addition of the *Regimen* (which is itself a translation from Latin) and how it emerges as a handbook combining a potent mixture of practical and spiritual measures designed to embrace a truly holistic approach to well being in late medieval English society.

Sarah Zeiser, Harvard University

#### ***Qui venerunt angeli: Latin and the vernacular in medieval Wales***

The complexities of translation culture are well known to scholars working on the literature of the Celtic nations. Whether Welsh, Irish, Scots, or Breton, the absorption of exterior, or 'foreign' culture into the Insular tradition has been well-studied. Popular analysis tends towards a focus on the transmission and translation of vernacular tales like the Arthurian romances with questions raised on origin and provenance; the proverbial chicken or egg scenario. Yet vernacular texts were not the first to be incorporated from 'foreign' culture into 'native' Celtic culture.

This paper will examine the multifaceted relationship between Latin and the vernacular language of Middle Welsh in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At a point in time past the Norman Conquest and rise of the central English monarchy, Middle Welsh became the language of esteem in the principalities of Wales, being used in law texts, prose tales, and poetry. While facing the pressure of an expanding English Crown, the Welsh people held tightly to their own unique literature and language, yet also continued to incorporate the Latin so familiar to them. Nowhere is this blend of Latin and Welsh seen better than in the Welsh manuscript known as the Book of Taliesin (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales Peniarth MS 2), a collection of early and medieval Welsh poetry attributed to the historical and mythical persona of the ancient Welsh bard Taliesin. One of the first poems in the collection contains a twelfth-century Latin 'sequence' seamlessly interwoven with the Welsh elegiac text on the slaughter of the innocents. The *Qui venerunt angeli* verses are so well integrated yet so starkly alien to the remaining linguistic trend of the manuscript that we must ask why they held a place in such a treasured collection. Clearly the divide between languages was not of concern to the author or scribe, and discussion of the transmission and translation of ideas, rather than language, comes to the fore. The Welsh incorporated Latin into their own native culture not only by combining Latin and Middle Welsh in a single poem, but also by composing secular narrative poems regarding Welsh independence in Latin (e.g. *Planctus Ricemarch*) and, finally, by sponsoring translation of Latin ecclesiastical prose and poetry into Welsh. In analyzing the complex relationship between Latin and Middle Welsh, consideration must be made of the *Credo Athanasius Sant* (*Quicumque vult*) translated for a laywoman by a Welsh monk in the late thirteenth century. Such active lay participation in the translating culture must be evidence of the very late shift into the vernacular.

Translation as a process touches upon not just linguistic shift from one language to another, but, as Edgar Slotkin (1978) has argued, "translation [of a text] from one culture to another." The medieval Welsh seemed to have understood translation as the transmutation of what was once traditional into innovative forms of a more intimate, 'native' nature. Whether combining multiple languages in a single text, or commissioning translations from Latin into Middle Welsh, we find a rich culture of linguistic flexibility and an intellectual capacity for learning that will be further uncovered in the course of this paper.

Sabina Zonno, Università di Padova

#### ***The Corpus iuris civilis in Copenhagen: Legal Texts translated into Gothic Illuminations***

The illuminators of medieval manuscripts as translators transmuted the textual contents into pictorial examples that intensified the experience of close reading educating the viewer. In law books whose study 'enjoyed one of its greatest period of efflorescence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', the illuminators translated the legal texts into pictures that functioned as 'visual cues necessary for the reader to navigate the text' (L'Engle, 2001). In a fascinating thirteenth-century copy of the *Corpus iuris civilis* of Justinian in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (ms. Gl.Kgl.S.393), three or

four artists co-operated with one another to convert the civil law text into effective illuminations. This codex is an excellent case of book production involving the collaboration of professionals from different workshops and countries. It was probably decorated by some Parisian illuminators but copied by a single scribe who was not demonstrably Parisian in origin. The fine white parchment of the codex, its script, and the blue initials on the margins suggest that it may have been compiled in Italy, possibly in Bologna where the earliest law school in Europe was established in the twelfth century. At the Bolognese *Studium* both canon and civil law were taught as academic disciplines and legal textbooks were consequently produced for and used both in the teaching and study of these subjects. As a result, in the thirteenth century Bologna became one of the major centres of legal book production. Surprisingly, the hand of one of the Parisian illuminators involved in the decoration of the *Corpus iuris civilis* in Copenhagen – the *Corpus* Master – also appears in a Bible explicitly localized in Bologna (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. nouv.acq.1.3189). Some scholars have consequently hypothesised that the artists who illuminated the manuscript were some itinerant Parisian illuminators who may have been temporarily in Bologna to take advantage of the employment opportunities for talented artists. Nevertheless, the codex may have been compiled in Bologna but illuminated in Paris where the *Corpus* Master and his collaborators may have worked before leaving to Italy.

My paper intends to examine the manuscript focusing on its efficacious interplay between text and image. I will explore the way in which this medieval textual version of Roman law is translated into visual examples that describe ‘solutions found and measures applied in specific legal situations’ (L’Engle, 2001). I will also analyse the role of some illuminations that are used as introduction to the whole book or to every single chapter, as textual markers, word-illustrations, or images interpreting and amplifying the contents. The iconography and iconology of the illuminated initials and vignettes will be investigated taking into consideration the relation to the Bolognese and Parisian iconographic traditions of legal manuscripts that could be the sources of these illustrations. The differences and similarities between Bolognese and Parisian iconographic traditions will be emphasised and the comparison with some coeval canon and civil law books produced both in Bologna and in Paris will probably contribute to corroborate or deny the possible Bolognese origin of the manuscript.

Alina Zvonareva, Università di Padova

### **Traduire les danses macabres: la réception de la *Danse* du cimetière des Innocents de Paris dans les terres de la Couronne d’Aragon**

La danse macabre, appelée aussi la danse de la mort ou des morts, fait partie de l’histoire de la littérature et de la peinture européennes du XV<sup>ème</sup> et du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècles et représente un phénomène assez particulier de la culture du Bas Moyen Age. La plupart des danses proviennent de France ou d’Allemagne, mais des exemples de ce genre sont également présents en Espagne, en Angleterre, en Italie, aux Pays-Bas, au Danemark, en Pologne et dans beaucoup d’autres pays européens où il a revêtu différentes formes (une fresque à l’église avec ou sans inscriptions murales, un poème en forme de dialogue, un drame théâtral, de la sculpture sur bois, une danse rituelle authentique), mais garde beaucoup de caractéristiques communes et surtout l’idée principale de rappeler à l’homme qu’il devra mourir un jour et devenir cendre, indépendamment de sa position sociale et des privilèges qu’il avait dans sa vie terrestre. L’activité du traducteur est très importante pour la transmission et l’évolution des danses macabres. Des tentatives de traduire en latin des textes rédigés en langues vulgaires ont eu lieu en France et en Allemagne. La danse de Lübeck a été traduite en danois. La célèbre Danse macabre de Paris, peinte en 1424-1425 au cimetière des Innocents et détruite au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle, est arrivée en Angleterre grâce à une traduction faite par John Lydgate (probablement en 1426) et puis a été peinte dans le cloître de la cathédrale Saint-Paul à Londres. Cette traduction a inspiré toute une série de textes et de peintures qui représentaient la danse de la mort. On trouve un cas pareil dans la littérature catalane. Comme en Angleterre, les danses macabres ont été portées en Catalogne de France, toujours à travers la traduction de la Danse de Paris. La traduction catalane est anonyme et ne semble pas de beaucoup postérieure à l’original français; elle nous est parvenue copiée par l’humaniste Pere Miquel Carbonell, chancelier de la Couronne d’Aragon. Le but de ma communication est d’analyser les particularités de cette traduction du texte français et d’étudier son importance pour le développement du genre dans les terres de la Couronne d’Aragon. En particulier, j’examinerai les rapports entre la Dança de la mort e de aquelles persones qui mal llur grat ab aquella ballen e dançen, transcrite par Carbonell, et la Representació de la mort, un texte théâtral majorquin du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle.