

# INTERTRAFFIC: TRANSNATIONAL LITERATURES AND LANGUAGES IN LATE RENAISSANCE ENGLAND AND EUROPE<sup>1</sup>

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In the English edition published at London in 1603, John Florio and Samuel Daniel described Montaigne's *Essais* as a work of transnational literature. Consider what the paratexts and associated documents reveal about the circumstances of production of this translation.<sup>2</sup> Florio, whose father had taken him to Switzerland during the Marian exile, was teaching Italian and French in noble aristocratic households that employed many fellow religious refugees as tutors. These languages were needed by his noble mistresses and their male relatives for the entertainment of important strangers present in England – and in their homes – for diplomatic purposes, whether official or unofficial. The households' collections – including those of the tutors themselves

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<sup>2</sup> This and the following four paragraphs are based on the biographical entries for John Florio, Edward Blount, and William Ponsonby in the *ODNB*, Michelangelo Florio in the *DBI*, the paratexts to the three volumes of Michel de Montaigne, *The essayes or morall, politike and millitarie discourses*, trans. John Florio (London: Valentine Simmes for Edward Blount, 1603), especially Samuel Daniel's prefatory poem, and on W. Boutcher, 'A French Dexterity, & an Italian Confidence': New Documents on John Florio, Learned Strangers and Protestant Humanist Study of Modern Languages in Renaissance England from c. 1547 to c. 1625', *Reformation*, 2 (1997), pp. 39-109.

– contained numerous copies of different editions of the French *Essais*, as of many other works in Latin and foreign languages. The dedications associate the translated Montaigne both with various works of Italian literature and with the works of Philip Sidney, including his *Arcadia* and his translations of French authors. Behind the latter association is the relationship between the publisher of the *Essayes*, Edward Blount, and the publisher of the *Arcadia*, William Ponsonby, to whom Blount had been an apprentice. The lists of both combined translated and original works in English, while both also doubtless acted as sellers of copies of imported continental books.

How does Florio view the *Essais*? He views it as a book coming out of Paris, only recently pacified by Henri IV after the terrors of the League, that has been approved in Rome and Geneva. Despite the fact that it is written by a nobleman in a Gasconised French, and not by a scholar in Latin, and despite the fact that the Parisian book trade had been largely cut off from the mid-1580s to the mid-1590s, both Daniel and Florio are clear that the book - against the odds - has already achieved a free circulation across all borders and obstacles.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, both are also clear that this is due to its status not as a scholarly, potentially controversial book, but as a noble book, destined in England for noble readers in the school of Philip Sidney, and for a wider readership aspiring to the values of his school.

In his preliminary poem to the translator, Daniel stands on the threshold of the English ‘house’ in which Florio has placed Montaigne and applauds his “safe transpassage” to England and English citizenship. Montaigne is the way out of the

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<sup>3</sup> Malcolm Walsby, 'Printer mobility in sixteenth-century France', in Benito Rial Costas (ed.), *Print culture and peripheries in early modern Europe: a contribution to the history of printing and the book trade in small European and Spanish cities* (Leiden, Brill, 2012), pp. 249-69, 253-56, for the disruption of the Parisian and French book trade.

confusion caused by the self-destructive Babel of printed knowledge built by mankind. He is as much “ours as theirs”, and has the “franchise of his worth” allowed everywhere. A happy pen is not “invassal’d” to one monarchy, but dwells with all the better world of men, whose “spirits are all of one community”, whom neither ocean nor rocks can keep from “th’intertraffique of the minde”. It vents its treasure in all lands, and finds a “most secure commercement”.

Daniel is describing a vernacular complement, both intellectual and commercial, to the transnational republic of Latin letters and the Latin trade in learned books. On the one hand the French book is an intellectual conveyance of the likeliest images human frailty can find; it traverses the barriers erected by the Babel-like confusion of languages and knowledges. On the other hand it is a commodity, a piece of merchandise that is traded and translated everywhere, despite customs barriers and other obstacles to free trade. For Daniel says not only that Montaigne has been enfranchised as a citizen of England, but that he has everywhere – as we heard above – had the franchise of his worth *allowed*. So his worth is recognised and his freedom, in the sense of his immunity from taxation or subjection, is granted in all countries, not just in England.

Elsewhere in the paratexts, Florio tells us exactly what this means, and who the agents in the “safe transpassage” have been. He points to the book’s proof of noble descent, in the form of the “letters testimoniall of the Romane Senate and Citty” printed at the end of III 9, referring to the charter of Roman citizenship awarded to Montaigne during his visit to Rome. He takes this as evidence that the book has enjoyed safe transpassage through Rome and the Roman Catholic world. He also informs us that the “precise Genevians” have allowed him to be printed. Here he is referring to editions published at Geneva with false imprints – whether “Lyon” or

“Leiden”. For the son of a Protestant refugee from Italy, assisted in his translation by the son of another such refugee whose family settled in Geneva (Theodore Diodati), the judgement of the “precise” Genevans is probably of greater significance than that of the Roman senate. Florio also alludes to the fact that an edition has been published in the Italian peninsula (Ferrara) by using its title as his sub-title: ‘Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses’ (from Girolamo Naselli’s 1590 *Discorsi morali, politici et militari*).

So this book has found “secure commercement” with friendly strangers everywhere in late Renaissance Europe. Florio, Daniel, and the publisher Blount did see it on one level as a French book that was becoming an English book, but they situated this particular act of “transpassage” in the context of a European “intertraffique” that enabled it to cross territorial, cultural (including confessional), and linguistic borders in many cities and states.

Montaigne is just one, high-profile example of a very broad phenomenon. The activities of English printers, booksellers, patron-collectors, authors (including translators), and ordinary readers were shaped in many ways by the formation and circulation of a vast body of transnational literature.<sup>4</sup> There is no question that the extraordinary migrations of biblical texts such as the Psalms, and of learned Latin

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<sup>4</sup> The work of Andrew Pettegree, director of the USTC project, is fundamental in this area. See, for an overview, Andrew Pettegree, 'North and south: Cultural transmission in the sixteenth-century European book world', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 89 (2012), pp. 507-20, and, for a key case-study, Andrew Pettegree, 'Translation and the migration of texts', in Thomas Betteridge (ed.), *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2007), pp. 113-25.

literature by scholars such as Erasmus, led this trend.<sup>5</sup> But it went well beyond the Bible and Erasmus. It included everything from contemporary continental editions of classical works and vernacular poetry to devotional aids and news periodicals.

In analysing this phenomenon, we should consider linguistic and cultural translation alongside the book trade and book dissemination. Transnational circulation of literary artefacts – whether described in a particular context as ‘texts’ or ‘books’ or ‘works’ – involved ‘translations’ of various kinds: the physical movement of books, the transfer of a text from the context of one culture or confession to another, the transfer of a whole text (as a ‘work’) or part of a text from one language to another. One or more of these kinds of transfer might apply in any given instance. A text might be translated from one cultural or confessional context to another, and printed in a different country, without changing language. This was often the case with ‘trans-confessional’ texts such as the Jesuit Robert Parsons’ book of Christian exercises, first printed at Rouen in 1582 for clandestine distribution in England, then adapted in a Protestant version by Edmund Bunny, first printed at London in 1584; or the Geneva bible that René Benoist adapted for publication at Paris as a Bible for Catholics, and that Plantin subsequently re-published at Antwerp as the ‘Louvain Bible’.<sup>6</sup> Equally, a

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<sup>5</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis (eds.), *Psalms in the early modern world* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011); K. A. E. Enenkel (ed.), *The reception of Erasmus in the early modern period* (Leiden, Brill, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Robert Parsons, *The Christian directory (1582) : the first booke of the Christian exercise, appertayning to resolution*, ed. Victor Houlston (Leiden, Brill, 1998); Elizabeth M. Ingram, 'Dressed in borrowed robes: The making and marketing of the Louvain Bible (1578)', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and the Book: Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 212-32. The notion of ‘trans-confessional’ texts was first proposed in Francis M. Higman, *Bibliographie*

text might change language without changing its religious or cultural orientation, as in the case of William Fitch's English *Rule of perfection* (1609, discussed below). Or it might simply travel as copies of a particular edition from one place to another, as in the case of the Spanish convert to Protestantism, Julian Hernandez, who carried copies of a false indulgence and other small Calvinist books all the way from Geneva to Seville in 1557, where he was burned at the stake in 1560.<sup>7</sup>

So the circulation in question might concretely be a matter of: the publication of an edition in one state or city (e.g. to avoid censorship) that was principally intended for dissemination in other states or cities; the movement of individual copies and bundles of copies of an edition across borders – licitly or illicitly – *via* the book trade, social networks, and educational or diplomatic travel; the publication of identical or revised editions in the same language as the source work in different locations across or beyond Europe, whether through commercial partnerships, pirated editions (which contravene a privilege held in another country), or editions issued by commercial rivals (in locations where no privilege protects the work); the translation, adaptation, and publication of the work in new languages – including multilingual editions – in different locations, whether, again, through commercial arrangements or otherwise.

The existence of this body of highly mobile texts poses many difficult questions. Some are more about production. What exactly makes a text travel beyond a local or national market of origin? The language? The content? The author? The

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*matérielle et histoire intellectuelle: les débuts de la Réforme française* (London, University of London, 1986).

<sup>7</sup> Margaret Aston, 'Lap books and lectern books: The revelatory book in the reformation', in Swanson (ed.), *The Church and the Book*, pp. 163-89, 172.

publisher? Who are the other agents and intermediaries involved in the process? How do producers of texts shape them in light of their knowledge that they could or would travel beyond local or national markets? Is there a distinction between targeting or reaching an 'international audience' and a series of different national or regional audiences? What kinds of control, if any, can the original producers have over the forms and the languages in which their products were transmitted and translated? Was all Latin literature necessarily produced for transnational circulation?

Others are more about dissemination. What are the possible patterns of and obstacles to transmission, translation, and transportation? How do they relate to trade routes and to patterns of migration of religious and other minorities? Is transnational circulation necessarily a sign of success, or could it point to failure in a home market? Do some texts undergo more cultural translation than others as they travel, to adapt to different markets and audiences? Is there a clear distinction between texts that are multiply translated into various languages as part of a policy on the part of a particular patron or institution (e.g. James I and VI, the Society of Jesus), and texts which just find their way across borders for commercial reasons?<sup>8</sup> Are some territorial, cultural-confessional, and linguistic borders more permeable to traffic than others? What was the balance of imports and exports in relation to different locations and languages? Did Latin texts necessarily travel more easily, with less adaptation, across borders? What was the relationship between the Latin republic of letters, the Latin trade, and

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<sup>8</sup> On institutional translation policies see Peter Burke, 'Cultures of translation in early modern Europe', in Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural translation in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 7-38, 16-18. The collection in which this essay appears is the best effort yet made to answer some of the questions I am posing here.

the intellectual and commercial selection of vernacular works for transnational circulation?

These questions are particularly interesting to ask, and particularly difficult to answer, for the period between the Reformation and the end of the Thirty Years War (c.1520-c.1650), the period which encompassed Montaigne's life, his literary career, and the early circulation beyond France of his best known work. Besides the emergence of an interconnected European print trade centered (with the sole exception of Venice) in cities north of the Alps, these decades saw the outbreaks of the various European religious wars, the associated waves of religious migration, and the first properly institutionalised efforts made by ecclesiastical, state, and municipal entities to regulate the production and circulation of the written and printed word, and to create their own bodies of biblical and liturgical literature. When Montaigne entered Rome in November 1580 he gathered that the customs officers were automatically suspicious of any Book of Hours published at Paris and not at Rome.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, the creation of new, transnational religious confessions increased the mobility of certain kinds of foreign news and foreign texts.

By this period, a majority of the educated elite across Europe were learning to read, write, and speak by translating between languages that usually included Latin and at least one vernacular.<sup>10</sup> The vernacular languages were, as they began to standardise themselves, more mobile and interactive. It was the moment of what

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<sup>9</sup> Michel de Montaigne, *Journal de voyage*, François Rigolot (ed.) (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1992), p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> For England see Louis Kelly, 'Pedagogical uses of translation', in Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English: Volume 2 1550-1660* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 12-16.



Michel Simonin has called ‘l’Europe des langues’, a moment of interlingual exchange and positive multilingualism when Italian, French, Spanish, and to a lesser extent German and Dutch, joined Latin as a run of spoken and literary languages current across the continent, without any of them enjoying overall predominance as both an oral and literary means of communication. The expansion in the number of multilingual texts and dictionaries published, as aids to language-learning, was one of the most important manifestations of this.<sup>11</sup>

This chapter is particularly interested in the literatures and languages of the arts in that late Renaissance period. But it is important to acknowledge the longevity and diversity of transnational literary phenomena across the range of genres and across the divides between script and print, and between the late middle ages and the early modern period (1300-1750) – even if it is clearly the case that the advent of print culture and the Reformation changed the settled geography of late medieval textual production from the 1520s, and that the period between 1650 and 1750 was different again.<sup>12</sup>

On the one hand, across this *longue durée*, texts by the same author could meet with different degrees of cultural translation as they travelled. Guyda Armstrong has recently shown that some works by Boccaccio, such as the *Ninfale fiesolano*,

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<sup>11</sup> Michel Simonin, 'Des livres pour l'Europe? Réflexions sur quelques ouvrages polyglottes (XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle – début XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *L'encre & la lumière: quarante-sept articles, 1976-2000* (Geneva, Droz, 2004), pp. 803-14; Pettegree, 'North and south', pp. 518-19; Werner Hüllen, 'Textbook families for the learning of vernaculars between 1450 and 1750', in Sylvain Auroux et al. (eds.), *History of Linguistics 1999: selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences, 14-19 September 1999, Fontenay-St. Cloud* (Amsterdam, Benjamins, 2003), pp. 97-108.

<sup>12</sup> Pettegree, 'North and south', pp. 507-10.

changed beyond recognition as they travelled through various contact zones and languages, while others, such as *Fiammetta*, travelled virtually intact across Europe, still bearing their original dedications.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, there were no clear hierarchies or set routes of transmission between the major languages that applied across the board; it was common for translation to be through one or more intermediary languages, and from more than one source text and language.<sup>14</sup> Italian, for example, was not as predominant in the English Renaissance as was once assumed. The transmission of Boccaccio's *Decamerone* to England was mediated by French literary culture; it was the result of a Franco-Italian exchange that originated in the late medieval network linking Naples to Avignon. Indeed, one cannot understand Boccaccio's presence in England throughout the late medieval and early modern period separately from the continental dissemination of his works.<sup>15</sup> The story of the *Amadis*, which had a late medieval provenance, is not that of a Spanish 'original' which was translated from one language and place to another in linear fashion across Europe: it became the common property of several languages as adaptations, continuations, and cross-translations appeared across the continent. Again, the English *Amadis* has to be understood in that continental context of cross-dissemination.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Guyda Armstrong, *The English Boccaccio: a history in books* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2013), p. 212.

<sup>14</sup> Gordon Braden, 'Translating procedures in theory and practice', in Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English: Volume 2 1550-1660* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 89-100, 96-97.

<sup>15</sup> Armstrong, *The English Boccaccio*, p. 158.

<sup>16</sup> Pettegree, 'Translation and the migration of texts', *passim*.

There were of course texts that appeared in Italian or Latin first and then jumped across into the other vernaculars. But even these cases were rarely as linear as some traditional histories of the dissemination of the ideas of the Italian Renaissance or the Rheno-Flemish tradition of mysticism tend to assume.<sup>17</sup> In the area of Catholic devotional literature one could take the example of the *Imitatio Christi*, now usually attributed to Thomas à Kempis. This text was originally composed and disseminated in Latin in manuscript in the fifteenth century, though it found early translations into Dutch, German, and French. In the early decades of print it received still wider European dissemination in Latin, while printed vernacular translations were concentrated in English and French. After about 1530, it began to cross confessional boundaries, in ‘converted’ Protestant forms that suppressed book IV on the mass, and other Catholic references, in both Latin and the vernaculars. Some of these adaptations were in turn translated into other languages, while at the same time Jesuit editions began the task of restoring the text from the original Latin manuscripts.<sup>18</sup>

Other, later devotional works originated in the vernacular and had still more vexed histories of multilingual composition and transmission. William Fitch, otherwise known as Benet of Canfield, had himself followed a transnational, cross-confessional itinerary from Little Canfield in Essex to conversion to Roman Catholicism at the hands of an inmate of Newgate prison, then abroad to Paris, to Italy, and back to various Capuchin houses in France. In 1599 he crossed over to England and was imprisoned, before returning to France in 1602-03. In prison he

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<sup>17</sup> On the latter see Carlos M.N. Eire, 'Early modern Catholic piety in translation', in Burke and Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural translation in early modern Europe*, pp. 83-100, 97-98.

<sup>18</sup> Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425-1650: from late medieval classic to early modern bestseller* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011).

composed parts one and two of *The rule of perfection* in English (though there may have been a prior French version), and twice tried to publish it with a clandestine press in England, only to have all copies taken in by the authorities. This English text appeared at Rouen in 1609 (still dedicated to Catholic communities in Louvain and Brussels), and in two other editions. He also composed a part three in French, that was not printed in English until 1646. Various two-part and three-part editions appeared in French at Paris and elsewhere, also from 1609. A Latin translation of the French followed at Paris in 1610, and subsequently appeared in other continental editions, including two at Rome. Translations of various parts of the Latin edition followed in 1616 into Italian (Venice), from 1622 into Flemish (Antwerp), from 1625 into German (Ingolstadt), in 1629 into Spanish.<sup>19</sup>

Transnational circulation could be as much of a failure in the case of Latin works as it could be a success in the case of vernacular works. As a counterpoint to the discussion of Montaigne, consider, briefly, an example from neo-Latin literature. There has been much work in the last twenty years on the European, Latin republic of letters as a “socially- and intellectually-selective distribution network for manuscripts and printed books”. Correspondence provided a framework for the composition, revision, and circulation of texts across borders. It furnished expectations and standards of reception that then re-inhabited writing. Books were printed with

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<sup>19</sup> A. F. Allison, D. M. Rogers, and W. Lottes (eds.), *The contemporary printed literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640: an annotated catalogue* 2 vols. (Aldershot, Scolar, 1989-94), vol. 1 nos. 443-466; vol. 2, nos. 275-77. See also the entry for ‘Benet of Canfield’ in F. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3rd ed. rev.; Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005).

evidence of prior epistolary exchanges, in an attempt to shape reception across different national and regional markets.<sup>20</sup>

Jacques Auguste de Thou planned to use the republic of letters in this fashion on the occasion of the publication of his *Historiae* of the religious wars in Europe and France. He attempted to use his network of correspondents to facilitate safe transpassage for his work across southern and central Europe.<sup>21</sup> But he was eventually to complain in a poem published with his *Vita* (1621) that, for having defended *libertas* and *veritas*, “I am stigmatised everywhere, at Rome, and at our court [France]” (“*Et Romae et nostra passim traducor in aula*”).<sup>22</sup> The grand neo-Latin history fell foul of troubles home and abroad, was not published in full at Paris, and was prohibited at Rome. It first appeared, along with an apologetic memoir, in a semi-dissimulated and toned-down edition published in Geneva in 1620, then disappeared after a few editions of the 1620s at Geneva and Frankfurt. It was in demand *via* the Latin trade, but supply could not meet the demand.<sup>23</sup>

All these examples, together with the paratextual remarks of Florio and Daniel, highlight a dimension of literary and linguistic culture that has been neglected

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<sup>20</sup> Jeroen Salman, Roeland Harms, and Joad Raymond, 'Introduction', in Jeroen Salman, Roeland Harms, and Joad Raymond (eds.), *Not dead things: the dissemination of popular print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500-1820* (Leiden, Brill, 2013), pp. 1-29, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Jacques Auguste de Thou, *Historiarum sui temporis libri CXXXVIII*, ed. Thomas Carte, 7 vols. (London, Samuel Buckley, 1733), vol. 7; Alfred Soman, *De Thou and the Index. Letters from Christophe Dupuy, (1603-1607)* (Geneva, Droz, 1972).

<sup>22</sup> Jacques Auguste de Thou, *La vie de Jacques-Auguste de Thou = I. Aug. Thuani vita*, ed. Anne Teissier-Ensminger (Paris, H. Champion, 2007), 872-73.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Kinser, *The works of Jacques-Auguste de Thou* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), pp. 26-45, 50-52, 54-56.

in the literary historiography of the last two hundred years, which has been dominated by the institutionalisation of national literary cultures. It of course remains true that the early modern period – especially the period from 1650 to 1750 – saw the beginnings of nationalised markets for separate vernacular literatures and languages in something like their modern form (though this may be truer for ‘literature’ other than what is meant by that term now) and the decline of the Latin republic of letters.<sup>24</sup> Over the *longue durée*, the Bible and the news, for example, undeniably devolved from their Latin incarnations into separate, national, vernacular bodies of texts. But recent research is beginning to reveal the environment of tensions and interactions *between* and *across* literary and linguistic cultures that was the context of this long-term process of devolution and self-definition.<sup>25</sup> It is showing how regional, national, and transnational circuits of production, circulation and reception continued to be interconnected across linguistic, cultural-confessional, and territorial borders in the age of what used to be called the ‘triumph’ and is now called the ‘construction’ or ‘formation’ of the distinct national languages and literatures.

And the part of the picture that has most clearly been neglected is the ‘top’ level: the transnational, multilingual environment within which regional and national markets were embedded as they developed. This environment was of course not

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<sup>24</sup> For an overview in the case of languages, with a summary of reasons for revising the traditional narrative of the triumph of the national vernaculars over Latin, see Peter Burke, *Languages and communities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially pp. 62-64.

<sup>25</sup> For a very stimulating example of a revisionist study of this kind, see José Del Valle (ed.), *A political history of Spanish: the making of a language* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), especially the chapter by Miguel Martínez. For the case of popular print and news see Salman, Harms, and Raymond (eds.), *Not dead things*, especially part 3 (and Raymond’s contribution in particular).

uniform across Europe; it constituted itself differently in different cities and countries, depending on the regulatory regime, the nature of the print trade, confessional allegiances, and linguistic profile. Indeed, it could be perceived and mapped in subtly different ways by different observers, at different locations and moments.<sup>26</sup> The multilingual culture of early modern London was perhaps related more to that of Antwerp, than to that of Paris, which in the sixteenth century welcomed only Italian from the range of principal modern languages.<sup>27</sup>

Late medieval England had been in some respects a post-colonial culture in relation to France and French language and literature; its literary culture was broadly trilingual (English, Latin, French), though none of the languages denoted by the terms in parenthesis were stably differentiated from other dialects and variants in the fifteenth century.<sup>28</sup> During and after the Reformation, the triangular relationship with Latin and French persisted, if in a changed form. For Italian – often mediated by French, or learned with French – and Spanish entered the multilingual fray against complex political and cultural backgrounds that of course included incipient nation-building and rivalries with both the French monarchy and the Habsburg empire. Saddled with a language that was little used beyond its own borders, sixteenth-century England depended, in the absence of a significant learned printing industry, heavily

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<sup>26</sup> This point is brilliantly made in Terence Cave, *Pré-Histoires II: langues étrangères et troubles économiques au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva, Droz, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> Cave, *Pré-Histoires II*, p. 70.

<sup>28</sup> A. E. B. Coldiron, 'French presences in Tudor England', in Kent Cartwright (ed.), *A companion to Tudor literature* (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 246-60; Ardis Butterfield, *The familiar enemy: Chaucer, language, and nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009).

on the Latin trade, and other means of importation of foreign-language books.<sup>29</sup> The printing industry it did have relied heavily in the early years on French artisans, techniques, and texts.<sup>30</sup>

### *Terminology*

Before proceeding, we must confront the problem of terminology that will already have occurred to the reader of this piece. ‘Transnational’ (or ‘transcultural’) is one of a series of current terms in recent scholarship that focus attention on dynamics and movements between, within, across, or above particular nations and cultures: inter- or intra-national/-cultural; extra-national/-cultural; cross-national/-cultural; supra-national/-cultural. ‘Transnational’, in particular, is now in use as a keyword all the way from comparative literature in the USA, and series like Princeton University Press’s ‘Translation/Transnation’, to the history of the book in Europe and series like Brill’s ‘Library of the Handpress World’.

But all of these terms tend to presuppose the existence of modern nation-states and nation-cultures. The ‘transnational’ turn originated in modern literary studies, including comparative literature. Postcolonial studies challenged the primacy of discrete national literatures, and older Eurocentric models of comparative analysis, in order to provide a framework for studying literature and culture in transnational, post-

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<sup>29</sup>Julian Roberts, 'The Latin trade', in John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 4: 1557-1695* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 141-73.

<sup>30</sup> A. E. B. Coldiron, *English printing, verse translation, and the battle of the sexes, 1476-1557* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2009).



imperial contexts. This turn has spread across all the major western European language and literature areas in modern studies. Transnational Francophone and Hispanic studies are well established. The ‘Translating Cultures’ AHRC theme includes a major initiative to transnationalise Italian studies in similar ways.<sup>31</sup>

Can we use the same terms to talk about the period before discrete national languages, literatures, and cultures were established in tandem with the construction of modern nation-states? The distinctions between nationalised and institutionalised ‘English’, ‘French’, ‘Italian’, ‘Spanish’ languages and literatures, corresponding to the respective nation states and empires, were – though emergent – not yet in place in the early modern period. These western European territories included city-states, autonomous regions, composite dynastic empires. The borders between them were not necessarily borders between ‘nations’ and crossing them did not necessarily mean changing one dominant national language or religion for another.

Indeed, in the post-Reformation period, crossing between confessions might be more significant than crossing between nations or languages. As was indicated briefly above, Francis Higman has described a category of ‘trans-confessional’ texts, by which he means devotional texts of one confessional orientation that are borrowed or translated by producers of a rival confession. It could be argued that Florio and Daniel are thinking more in trans-confessional than in transnational terms, though in a sense slightly different from Higman’s: theirs is a secular text that has been allowed to cross borders, in unchanged form, not between national literary cultures but between the confessional regimes of cities from Paris to Rome, Geneva, and

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<sup>31</sup> <http://217.199.187.63/ahrcdev.net/awards/large-grants/transnationalizing-modern-languages-mobility-identity-and-translation-in-modern-italian-cultures/>.

London.<sup>32</sup> In territorial terms, whereas the language of transnationalism might work to a certain extent in relation to imperial entities such as France and the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg empire, it clearly has no purchase on relations between the literatures and languages of the city-states making up the Italian peninsula.<sup>33</sup>

And how do we describe the position of Latin? On the one hand, literature in classical Latin and the products of spoken and written neo-Latin were, it might be thought, inherently supra- or inter-national – the shared language of the community of the European republic of letters. On the other hand, they were claimed in various ways by institutions such as the Roman Catholic Church and the French monarchy, and by rival traditions of scholarship based in different countries and cities of Europe. Just because a text was produced in Latin did not guarantee it a passport to travel everywhere in exactly the same guise. The products of the Parisian Latin trade did not tend to reach foreign markets. Some of the Latin texts that did travel jumped across Europe in separate editions published for particular zones. This could entail cultural translation for different confessional audiences.<sup>34</sup>

The uniform application of the term ‘transnational’ to the intertraffic of late medieval and early modern literary cultures is therefore problematic. It is not possible to go across ‘national’ linguistic and literary borders that are not yet practical realities – at least if you require borders of the nineteenth century kind. Indeed, Mary McMurrin has persuasively argued that it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that new novels were commonly received at home and abroad as

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<sup>32</sup> Higman, *Bibliographie matérielle*.

<sup>33</sup> My thanks to Brian Richardson.

<sup>34</sup> Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, commerce, religion: the learned book in the age of confessions, 1560-1630* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 34-35, 194-200.

representatives of their nations, while at the same time showing signs of a nascent transnationalism in which the bundling of language, culture, and literature in the nation altered fiction's spread:

The identification of novels more closely with a national origin and character, now circulating across languages in translation, particularized novels, and then in a necessary reversal, both internationalized and universalized the novel. This complex process of transnationalization constituted the form of the novel—its allegiance to a single language and location, and its emergence as a genre with indefinite boundaries.<sup>35</sup>

Before that time, and especially until the later seventeenth century, “literature as a whole was translative”:

Translation was not a means or instrument for the circulation of fiction, but was embedded in a prose fiction field that exists because of circulation, where original and rendering were not rigorously distinguished, where the origins of narratives were generally unknown, and where the novel's national belonging hardly began to take shape, only to be resisted and reformulated by extranational and supranational affiliations.

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<sup>35</sup> Mary Helen McMurrin, *The spread of novels: translation and prose fiction in the eighteenth century* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 20, 15, 156.

Could something like this latter formulation not be applied to the realities of circulation of a lot of genres of texts from the late medieval period to at least the mid-seventeenth century?

### *Approaches*

Nevertheless, ‘transnational’ is currently the best keyword we have for the whole dimension of early-modern literary and linguistic activity that most urgently needs recovering, as long as we remain aware of its anachronistic connotations. The recovery in question is moving at different speeds in different areas. We do not currently have and will not soon have a comprehensive historical overview of the intertraffic of literatures and languages in early modern Europe. Indeed, there have been almost no attempts in the last fifty years of Anglophone scholarship to write any sort of comprehensive literary history that is not merely broken down into chapters on national literatures.<sup>36</sup> There is, for example, *The Continental Renaissance 1500-1600* volume in the ‘Pelican Guides to European Literature’, published in 1971. This excludes England and very much divides up the territory by nation and genre (‘literature’ is defined as ‘poetry’, ‘drama’, ‘prose fiction’, ‘literature of ideas and manners’, ‘popular literature’), with an introduction emphasising the new national

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<sup>36</sup> One exception in Francophone scholarship – by a team including French, Canadian, and Hungarian scholars - is the four-volume project entitled *L'Époque de la Renaissance*, part of the larger ‘Comparative History of Literatures in European Languages’, a series sponsored by the International Comparative Literature Association. Three volumes of the Renaissance sub-series have appeared: vol. 1, 1400-1480 (1988); vol. 3, 1520-1560 (2011); vol. 4, 1560-1610 (2000).

self-awareness of the sixteenth century. It retrospectively imposes a grid of national literary cultures that was definitively formed only in the nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

Even medievalists do not have much more to go on. David Wallace is currently editing the first history to be published in English of literary culture in medieval Europe: *Europe: A literary history, 1348-1418*.<sup>38</sup> The interesting thing about this venture for our purposes is that it eschews both of the traditional models for this kind of historiography. On the one hand it does not organise the material by national blocks of French literature, English literature, etc. But on the other hand it avoids resurrecting the grand visions of a singular, pan-European culture of *topoi* and ideas developed in the mid-twentieth century. These revolved around the transcendent transmission of particular authors, such as T.S. Eliot's Dante, or of Latin Christendom, as in the case of E. R. Curtius. Instead, Wallace's history considers literary activity in transnational sequences of interconnected places. It emphasizes both local, vernacular peculiarities and the extraordinarily rich interchange of languages within and between far-flung locales. Lines of transmission follow routes of trade, pilgrimage, crusade, intellectual exchange, and political alliance.<sup>39</sup> Could such a history be compiled for the early modern or late Renaissance period? Or does the advent of print mean that one could not plot such stable routes of transmission anymore – as some of the examples presented above would suggest?

While we wait for a convincing overview, the recovery of the transnational dimension of early modern literary, linguistic, and print cultures is proceeding in three

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<sup>37</sup> A. J. Krailsheimer (ed.) et al., *The -Continental Renaissance, 1500-1600* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).

<sup>38</sup> This is projected to appear with Oxford University Press in September 2015.

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.english.upenn.edu/~dwallace/europe/about.html>.

overlapping, potentially convergent fields: one focussed on representations within – and cross-cultural contexts for – literary texts, whether in relation to diplomacy, travel, commerce, colonialism, empire, or transnational religion; one focussed on language-learning, multilingualism, and language communities, including the *questione della lingua* across Europe, the relations between illustrious and popular languages; one focussed on the print trade and its relationship to translation and book-importation, book circulation. All of these are relevant to the case-study (Florio’s Montaigne) I briefly delineated above, and to the later, parallel case with which I shall end: the publisher Humphrey Moseley’s English edition of Cardinal Bentivoglio’s history of the wars in Flanders.<sup>40</sup> In between, I shall use two other works to illustrate the kinds of analysis these approaches produce in relation to England: *Coryats crudities* (1611), and the early catalogues of the Bodleian library. What all these examples tend to do is embed literary and linguistic activity – including printed activity – in English in a multilingual, multiconfessional, European world of intertraffic.

Florio had been commissioned by Richard Hakluyt earlier in his career to translate, from the Italian, the Frenchman Jacques Cartier’s account of a new world voyage.<sup>41</sup> The chapter of his most famous translation that caught Shakespeare’s eye was, of course, the one that drew on accounts of encounters with Amerindian cultures (*Essayes*, I 30, ‘Of the caniballes’). The first field of study is, then, the one that owes

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<sup>40</sup> I am grateful to Nina Lamal for drawing this example to my attention in her excellent paper at the St. Andrews Conference.

<sup>41</sup> Diego Pirillo, 'Voyagers and translators in Elizabethan England: Richard Hakluyt, John Florio and Renaissance travel collections', in Alison Yarrington, Stefano Villani, and Julia Kelly (eds.), *Travels and Translations: Anglo-Italian cultural transactions* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2013), pp. 27-47.

most to new historicist and postcolonial studies: the analysis of both representations and occlusions of the ‘other’ and of intercultural exchange and piracy/appropriation to be found within English Renaissance literary texts, especially travel writing, and other accounts of cultural encounters, within and beyond Europe; the analysis of those texts in European and global political and cultural contexts.<sup>42</sup>

Here, we have to face one important limitation of the current chapter. Because I start from the classical and foreign languages that were most current in literary contexts in Renaissance England, the overall emphasis is Euro-centric. There are important studies of the representations of European others in the literature of the period.<sup>43</sup> But, in competition with the French and other powers, England and the English were involved in various kinds of intercultural exchange and colonial relations with African, New World, and Asian cultures, in ways that often intersected with relations with those other European powers and their literatures and languages.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Jyotsna G. Singh (ed.), *A companion to the global Renaissance: English literature and culture in the era of expansion* (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); Andrew Hadfield and Paul Hammond (eds.), *Shakespeare and Renaissance Europe* (London, Thomson Learning, 2004).

<sup>43</sup> See, for example, Barbara Fuchs, *The poetics of piracy: emulating Spain in English literature* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Deanne Williams, *The French fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jason Powell and William T. Rossiter (eds.), *Authority and diplomacy from Dante to Shakespeare* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013); Catherine Gimelli Martin and Hassan Melehy (eds.), *French connections in the English Renaissance* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013).

<sup>44</sup> Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and empire: the new world, Islam, and European identities* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001); Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic nation: maurophilia and the construction of early modern Spain* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Brian Brazeau, *Writing a New France, 1604-1632: empire and early modern French identity* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2009); Claire

Let us, however, limit ourselves to one Eurocentric example: the textual representation of encounters between an English Protestant humanist and multilingual, multiconfessional Europe. From our perspective this is interesting because these encounters play the languages and concerns of the republic of Latin letters against those of a more vernacular world. Thomas Coryate's extraordinary work of travel literature, first published in 1611, under the title *Coryats crudities*, traces various kinds of itineraries across territorial, confessional, linguistic, and literary borders. It does so by visualising and verbalising the performances and encounters of a particular kind of "rare English-Latine-Grecian" persona at various locations across Europe.<sup>45</sup> The fashioning – and mocking – of this persona is shared with an illustrious group of wits and poets who contribute a collection of "Panegyricke Verses" for the preliminary matter.

This text exhibits various forms of inter-lingual and inter-cultural hybridity, across Latin-and-the-vernaculars, at every level. On the one hand, it is a work of erudite travel literature composed in a sporadically Latinate English vernacular, with extensive citations of classical literature, monumental inscriptions and *epistolae*, and frequent translations from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiae universalis lib. vi*. This aspect of Coryate's work seriously attempts to realise the goals and aims of the humanist *ars apodemica*, including the composition and exchange of Latin

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Jowitt, *The culture of piracy, 1580-1630: English literature and seaborne crime* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities: hastily gobled up in five moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia aliàs Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands* (London, William Stansby, 1611), "Panegyricke verses upon the author and his worke", sig. e5v.



correspondence with intellectuals in the central European, Protestant *respublica litterarum*, and tolerant if combative interaction with Papist spaces and learned men.

On the other hand, the episodes visualised on the title-page, to which many of the mock-encomiums in the preliminary matter relate, describe a work that has affinities with satirical or picaresque fictions of fantasy travel across Latin and several vernacular languages, from More's *Utopia* and Rabelais' *Pantagruel* to Nashe's *Unfortunate traveller* and Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.

This literary hybridity corresponds, of course, to an ambivalence in the persona of the travelling gentleman from Odcombe in Somerset. On the one hand he is the learned Protestant gentleman who introduces each city with verses by Scaliger, who is able to converse in Latin with great Protestant humanists such as Janus Gruterus at Heidelberg.<sup>46</sup> In the library of the Jesuit college in Speyer – an Imperial city in which a Lutheran majority tolerated Papists – he heroically demands to know why they had expurgated certain passages from their copy of his Latin guide (Münster's *Cosmographiae libri*), before going on to discourse happily in Latin with one of them on the topic of ancient British history. This encounter is an example of the intertraffic still possible – within certain limits – in the confessionalised republic of letters of the early seventeenth century.<sup>47</sup>

On the other hand, he is the buffoon who fails to communicate with or persuade anyone of anything, if they do not happen to be a Latin-speaking humanist, if they can converse, that is, only in one or other of the European vernaculars, of which he seems to be ignorant. He has hilarious encounters with Dutch-speaking and German-speaking “boores”. In one incident he is attacked with a halberd for stealing

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<sup>46</sup> Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sigs. 2N4r-v.

<sup>47</sup> Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sigs. 2Q1v-2r.

grapes, and imagines that a “volley” of Greek and Latin will pacify the assailant, who, unsurprisingly, is all the more exasperated.<sup>48</sup> At Venice he becomes the “Signior Tomaso Odcombino” illustrated by William Hole at the front of the book in the act of saluting a famous courtesan. Again, his persuasive attempts to “convert” her, like his attempts to convert the Jews on the Rialto, appear to fail. According to illustrations on the frontispiece (not reflected in the contents of the text), one courtesan ends up pelting him with eggs as he escapes in a gondola, while indignant Jews beat him away.

Here, *Coryats crudities* is already moving us on to the second of the three approaches (*via* foreign language-learning and language communities) outlined above. Florio worked early in his career in the English embassy in Paris, and the context of his translation of Montaigne is the oral-textual teaching of French and Italian to noblewomen and noblemen involved in the quasi-diplomatic entertainment of strangers. One of the key jokes with which the mock-panegyrists run in the preliminary matter is the fact that Coryate can only speak (besides English) Latin and Greek, and that in five months away he has failed to pick up any of the modern European languages – despite the fact that he himself recommends that the English gentleman traveller should add the languages of France, Italy, Spain, “Alemannie”, and the Netherlands to Latin and English.<sup>49</sup> The book as a whole, however, is peppered with typographically differentiated words, phrases, and whole poems, in those five languages, along with fantasy languages such as Utopian (in this case more like the Antipodean language spoken by Panurge in *Pantagruel*). This is especially the case in the preliminary matter.

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<sup>48</sup> Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sigs. 2Q3v-4v.

<sup>49</sup> Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sig. b3v (‘Panegyricke verses’).

One “Ioannes Scory” remarks in verse on Coryate’s spoken languages. Though he must have been a very quick learner of language right from birth (otherwise how could he have learned “to talke so long and much”), yet Scory *hears* (through the text) “no Dutch, / Nor French, nor Spanish, nor the Italian tongue”. This is clearly because his full brains store such abundance of Greek and Latin – for uttering – that they can contain no other language.<sup>50</sup> The joke relies on an expectation amongst the community of learned wits and poets gathering around the figure of Coryate and his book that such a traveller *would* possess those other languages. The joke is that Latin is no longer the only tongue you need to get around Europe, the only international tongue, if it ever was; Latin books and newspapers produced in the Swiss and German territories are no longer all you need to be an informed, politic ‘European’. They certainly will not prepare you for effective communication within the alluring world of Venice.

The second approach is at a much earlier stage of development than the first, due to the long-standing predominance of nation-based studies in the history of languages. But more research is now being done on foreign language-learning, refugee or expatriate language communities, multilingualism/ code-switching, and inter-lingual interaction and hybridity, as it intersects with printed literature. This work asks questions about the role of language skills and associated literary artefacts in the formation and conduct of cross-community relations, whether in intellectual, diplomatic or confessional networks.<sup>51</sup> Latin is included, of course, as a living

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<sup>50</sup> Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sig. d2v (‘Panegyricke verses’).

<sup>51</sup> See especially Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (eds.), *Cultural exchange in early modern Europe Volume III: Correspondence and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007); Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (eds.), *Cultural exchange*

European language in a dynamically changing relationship with the various vernaculars.<sup>52</sup>

The Franco-German ‘Eurolab’ project was the first systematically to realise a methodology not centered on the rise of a particular European vernacular and its bilateral relations with Latin. Instead the project focussed on analysing particular ‘constellations’ comprising the triangular relations between Latin, a dominant vernacular, and other languages and dialects as they unfold in a particular professional network, location or space in the period 1480-1620. An example of the former is the language of military science developed inter-lingually in the context of the Franco-Italian wars of the first half of the sixteenth century. Examples of the latter include a court (the French court: Latin, French, and Italian), a sovereign territory (Spanish Naples: Latin, Tuscan, southern Italian dialects, and Spanish), a city (Antwerp), a printer’s workshop (Bernhard Jobin at Strasbourg; Plantin at Antwerp). These locations and spaces are conceptualised as experimental language laboratories. Unfortunately, England and English were not included in any of the selected ‘constellations’ – perhaps a symptom of the extent to which early modern English

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*in early modern Europe Volume I: Religion and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), part 4 on ‘Religious communication’. There is also an AHRC project on ‘Textual Ambassadors’ (<http://www.textualambassadors.org/>). For a fresh, original, and wide-ranging study that emphasises the oral and social aspects of language-learning see John Gallagher, ‘Vernacular language-learning in early modern England’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2015).

<sup>52</sup> Françoise Waquet, *Le latin, ou, l’empire d’un signe : XVIe-XXe siècle* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1998); Jan Bloemendal (ed.), *Bilingual Europe: Latin and Vernacular Cultures, Examples of Bilingualism and Multilingualism c. 1300-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

studies has created a world of its own, separate from the study of literatures and languages at the European level.

Other projects focus on particular instances of inter-lingual exchange and hybridity. One current project in my own institution is looking at exchanges between French-language and Dutch-language communities in the Burgundian Netherlands, by bringing together a critical edition of poems by both communities.<sup>53</sup> There has been a spate of studies of ‘French England’ and of Francophone language and textual communities outside France in the late medieval and early modern periods, and a new focus on the literature of English refugee communities other than the Marian exiles.<sup>54</sup>

But how should we visualise the place of English in the European multilingual environment? John Donne’s much-discussed English-language poem for the preliminary matter to *Coryats crudities* immediately follows the verses by ‘Ioannes Scory’. It centres on a conceit which imagines the leaves of Coryate’s universal, Latinate “Pandect” serving only as waste-paper of various sorts. But he also mocks the persona of one who takes all his bearings from Swiss and German Latin print culture (“... when thou didst goe,/ *Munster* did Townes, and *Gesner* Authors show,/ Mount now to *Gallo-belgicus*; Appare As deepe a States-man, as a Gazettier”): Sebastian Münster, Conrad Gessner, the *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*. This helps make sense of the short macaronic pair of distichs that follows in Latin, English, French, and Spanish, and in different typefaces on the printed page (Latin – italic, English –

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<sup>53</sup> <http://www.transculturalediting.eu/portal/site/a437601b-eb09-40a0-baae-9f73ce107e06>.

<sup>54</sup> Butterfield, *The familiar enemy*; Philip Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath, 1640-1690* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010). See also the AHRC-funded project, ‘Medieval Literary Francophone Culture Outside France’ (<http://www.medievalfrancophone.ac.uk/>).

black letter, French/Spanish/Italian – roman).<sup>55</sup> Macaronic poems, and their appearance in various typographical combinations in printed books, had been used to exhibit and explore inter-lingual and inter-confessional relations in various ways in England throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>56</sup> The wit lies in the fact that Coryate will not be able to understand this short poem mocking his book's lack of credibility, as he lacks credibility as a traveller-linguist and would-be statesman (he has no French, Italian, or Spanish, to add to his abundant Latin).

<insert illustration here with label as follows: @ The British Library Board, shelfmark 152.f.19, Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities* (London, William Stansby, 1611), sig. d4r >

But beyond this, how should we interpret this multilingual poem in its aspect as a visual representation, by an English wit, of England's place in Simonin's *l'Europe des langues* in the early seventeenth century? Do we see the crude, black-letter English words struggling for status amidst a confusion of refined continental *verba*? Or do we see an honest and robust tongue beginning to forge its way in a positively multilingual environment? Along with the skill of a polyglot English wit who can make them all these languages work together, who has gained the honour of

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<sup>55</sup> See Illus. 0.0. The poem translates roughly as follows: "As many perfect linguists as these two distichs make,/ So many prudent statesmen will this book of yours produce./ To me the honour is sufficient of being understood: for I leave/ To you the honour of being believed by no one."

<sup>56</sup> See chapter six of A. E. B. Coldiron, *Printers without borders: Translation and textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015). I am very grateful to Prof. Coldiron for allowing me to consult her chapter on macaronic poetry prior to publication.

being understood (“a my l’honneur estre hic inteso”), where Coryate has not? The visual aspect of the printed page manifests all the tensions and possibilities of multilingual English Renaissance literary culture in the early seventeenth century. It renders visible the ways in which literary English was animated at this moment by “encounters with literary and linguistic alterities”.<sup>57</sup> The English stage had been doing something similar in aural terms for more than a century: making other languages audible to English audiences in plays.<sup>58</sup>

Black letter was also used to mark out English titles in the 1620 catalogue of the Bodleian library. During his visit to the Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg, Coryate and his host Gruterus compared its holdings to the newly refounded university library of Oxford.<sup>59</sup> Gruterus was able to do so because, in Heidelberg in September 1608, he had a copy of the printed catalogue published by Thomas James in Oxford in 1605. This printed library catalogue moves us in the direction of the third approach outlined above (transnational print): firstly, because it is an example of an English-printed neo-Latin book that has travelled *via* the Frankfurt fair (advertised by John Norton) and other routes to various European locations with the purpose of inserting the Oxford collection in the continental republic of letters; secondly, because the contents, and the section of ‘*Libri artium*’ in particular, provides an important

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<sup>57</sup> A. E. B. Coldiron, 'Visibility now: Historicizing foreign presences in translation', *Translation Studies*, 5 (2012), pp. 189-200, 194.

<sup>58</sup> Janette Dillon, *Language and stage in medieval and Renaissance England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>59</sup> Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, sigs. 2N4v-5r.

corrective to the EEBO-driven account of literature in the English Renaissance.<sup>60</sup> This is the account which equates literary and linguistic culture in late Renaissance England just with ‘original’ English-language compositions in print – with EEBO minus translations into English.

We have already seen how a close look at the paratexts and contexts of Florio’s Montaigne could challenge this account. But we also need to appreciate that the ‘translation’ of Montaigne to England involved not just Florio’s translation, but importation and use of French copies of the *Essais*.<sup>61</sup> In the presses of books listed on the end of stall ‘M’, which needed to be called up from Bodley’s librarian, there was a copy of the 1598 Parisian edition of the *Essais*. The page of the catalogue that advertised the presence of this copy also listed copies of Thomas More’s *Opuscula* (Basel, 1563) and five other works of Latin scholarship, along with: three works in the Spanish vernacular, including two published at Antwerp – Montemayor’s *Diana* and Bernadino de Mendoza’s treatise on war (USTC 440169); three in the Tuscan vernacular; two in the French vernacular, including the works of Clément Marot.<sup>62</sup>

The Bodleian was the most avant-garde and up-to-date of numerous public and private libraries across the country that still firmly identified ‘literature’ in

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<sup>60</sup> Richard Ovenden, 'Catalogues of the Bodleian Library and other collections', in Simon Eliot and Ian Gadd (eds.), *The history of Oxford University Press: Volume 1, Beginnings to 1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 279-92, 282.

<sup>61</sup> John O'Brien, 'Montaigne, Sir Ralph Bankes and other English readers of the *Essais*', *Renaissance Studies*, 28, no. 3 (2014), pp. 377-91.

<sup>62</sup> Thomas James, *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae publicae quam vir ornatissimus Thomas Bodleius eques auratus in Academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit* (Oxford, Joseph Barnes, 1605), sig. 2Y3v (press M\*\*). "M\*\*" is the heading at the top of the page of the catalogue and presumably refers to the press where the asterisked, smaller books are shelved, for fetching by the librarian (see note 67).



England (the same would hold true for Scotland) – especially in the arts – with a multilingual body of texts that included neo-Latin scholarship by English writers (some printed in England), and that was beginning to include a small number of English-language texts, likewise normally printed in England, along with works in the major, transnational vernaculars (French, Italian, Spanish).<sup>63</sup> It was particularly avant-garde in adding the ‘works’ (sometimes in one edition, sometimes in a number of separate editions) of a whole series of recent and contemporary authors to the classical and patristic authors that traditionally dominated such catalogues. In the expanded, 1620 catalogue, as we heard above, the English-language titles were distinguished – like the English words in Donne’s poem – by use of black letter type (roman type was used for all other titles), while more English authors’ works – including Samuel Daniel’s – were admitted.<sup>64</sup> Was this to advertise their emergence into the European world of learning to members of the republic of letters beyond England?

The founder, Thomas Bodley, famously perceived there to be a clear distinction between “baggage bookes”, including vernacular “almanackes, plaies”, and the kind of books he wanted to collect for his library. But it was a distinction neither between Latin and vernacular books, nor between intrinsically learned and intrinsically popular genres. It was a distinction between plays composed in other nations “most esteemed, for learning the languages & many of them compiled by men

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<sup>63</sup> This point was powerfully made by an exhibition at the Bodleian Library in 1994: Bodleian Library, *A Continental shelf: books across Europe from Ptolemy to Don Quixote: an exhibition to mark the re-opening of the Bodleian Exhibition Room* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1994).

<sup>64</sup> Thomas James, *Catalogus universalis omnium Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Oxford, Iohannes Lichfield & Iacobus Short, 1620), sig. K7r.

of great fame, for wisdom & learning”, and plays composed in England, which, he held, were not composed within an elite, multilingual culture of this kind. So in 1605 there were no English plays, but there were Ariosto’s comedies in Italian and Guarini’s *Pastor fido*. It was ultimately, then, a distinction between ‘languaged’ and ‘unlanguaged’ literary cultures – both of which could be found within England.<sup>65</sup>

Kastan points out that the 1605 catalogue contains items by only three authors that would now count as English literature in the narrow sense. Of these, there is only one set of "works" that would count (Chaucer’s).<sup>66</sup> But, from the perspective of the current chapter, what is more interesting is the environment in which works of English Renaissance literature, in the broader sense, are found by visitors to the library. It is a single but multilingual environment of textual culture that includes both English and continental neo-Latin scholarship, contemporary editions and commentaries on the classics in Latin, vernacular translations and works in Italian, French, and Spanish (in descending order of importance).

A reader sat at the desk under press or stall ‘C’ would have found, chained on the fourth shelf, Chaucer’s 1561 (London) English works, dignified in the catalogue

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<sup>65</sup> Ian Michael, 'How *Don Quixote* came to Oxford: The two Bodleian copies of *Don Quixote*, Part I (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1605)', in Nigel Griffin et al. (eds.), *Culture and society in Habsburg Spain: studies presented to R.W. Truman by his pupils and colleagues on the occasion of his retirement* (London, Tamesis, 2001), pp. 95-120, 111 (Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James, London, 15 January 1612); James, *Catalogus*, 1605, sigs. 2N4r (press A\*\*), 2T1v (pressmark G. 2. 10).

<sup>66</sup> David Scott Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and the invention of English literature', in Sabrina A. Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (eds.), *Agent of change: print culture studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 105-24, 110. Lydgate is represented only by a manuscript verse hagiography ('The life of Our Lady') shelved with 'Libri Theologici' (*Catalogus*, 1605, sig. 3N3v, press L), Gower by a copy of the *Confessio Amantis*.

with a Latinised title (“Galfredi *Chauceri* opera Anglicè”), and two internationally renowned neo-Latin works of Aristotelean commentary by the Englishman John Case, produced as large quartos in Oxford by the publisher of the catalogue itself (Joseph Barnes). After consulting the shelf-list at the end of the stall he could have asked the librarian for another quarto work of Case’s.<sup>67</sup> Nearby on the same shelf were Julius Caesar’s *Commentaries* in multiple forms and languages: a Latin manuscript copy, an Italian translation with figures recently published at Venice, and an unidentified, printed French translation. Amongst a number of other neo-Latin works printed on the continent, there were also further vernacular works, notably on the military arts, in Italian (Venice) and Spanish (Lyon, translated from the French of Guillaume Du Choul). Similar points could be made about shelf H. 2, which held the three folio volumes of Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal navigations*.<sup>68</sup>

The third, and most important approach for this chapter, is, then, analysis of the transnational print trade – including dissemination, book-collecting, and reception – and its relationship to translation. The subtitle of Elizabeth Eisenstein’s famous book on the printing press as an agent of change was “Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe”. She took the traditional accounts of pan-European transformations such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution and re-analysed them as products of a “communications revolution” brought about by print. She was primarily focussed on dramatic increases in

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<sup>67</sup> *Catalogus*, 1605, sig. 2P4v (pressmarks C. 4. 4, 15). The system used in the catalogue is explained on sig. ¶ 1v, ‘Observanda in hoc Catalogo’. I have assumed that a ‘partitio’ is some kind of shelf within a larger press. Smaller books were asterisked in the catalogue – they had to be requested from the Librarian, who would fetch them from another press with the corresponding letter.

<sup>68</sup> *Catalogus*, 1605, sig. 2V2r.

production and the effects of an increased supply of texts, though she does say at one point that the term “dissemination’ is distracting” and that more emphasis should be placed on “cross-fertilisation or cross-cultural interchange”.<sup>69</sup>

More recent work in the field has followed this up by attempting to base the study of inter-cultural communications and networks in the study of the printed artefacts that circulated within them or that facilitated their construction. Inter-cultural and inter-lingual exchange is placed at the centre of the historical narrative. This means attempting to recover dissemination as an actor's category, as an activity that shapes the cultural meanings of the books and other literary artefacts in circulation. It means following them on their itineraries through cultural contact zones and across linguistic, cultural-confessional, and territorial borders. There have been increasing numbers of studies centered on the migrations of particular texts or authors across Europe and beyond.<sup>70</sup>

However, we cannot pursue such studies and synthesise them into an overview unless we have comprehensive information about the production of texts. The most significant development in this field since Eisenstein is not this or that monograph, but a research tool: the ‘Universal Short-Title Catalogue’ (c.1465 – 1600), based at the University of St. Andrews. The interface includes search and filter functions that are beginning to suggest ways in which an overview of the flow of works around Europe might emerge. We can search by author, translator, editor, title, printer, place

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<sup>69</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe: Volumes I and II* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 71-2.

<sup>70</sup> Armstrong, *The English Boccaccio*; Austern, McBride, and Orvis (eds.), *Psalms in the early modern world*; von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant translations of the Imitatio Christi*.

of printing, year; we can filter, also, by country, language, format, and subject classification. This has already distinguished a core zone of European print – comprising major printing centres in cities in France, Italy (Venice), the German and Swiss territories, and the Low Countries – from more peripheral print cultures in England, Spain and Portugal, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe.<sup>71</sup> We can now quickly see that more editions of classical authors were published in France (7805, mainly Paris and Lyon) than in the Holy Roman Empire (4557) or the Italian States (3724), and that more than double the number were published in the French vernacular (1454) than were in the Italian vernacular (688). When it comes to items classified as news books, however, German (4824) comfortably outnumbers French (1722) and Italian (1224).<sup>72</sup>

More pertinently, we can now see the scale of movement of particular authors across particular borders. The two "authors" produced most often in France were the musical composer and Franco-Flemish Catholic, Orlando di Lasso (or Roland de Lassus), who was based in Munich; and "Amadis de Gaula", the cycle of romances that became a transnational phenomenon after they were published in Spain in a Castilian version by Montalvo.<sup>73</sup>

Luis de Granada was the second most published author in the Italian states (279 editions), splitting Ariosto (344) and Boccaccio (241). Of those editions nearly

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<sup>71</sup> Pettegree, 'North and south'.

<sup>72</sup> These numbers and those in future paragraphs derive from searches on <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/> conducted between 10 and 17 March 2014.

<sup>73</sup> The position of Orlando di Lasso may partly be a result of the USTC's tendency to classify each separately title-paged part of a multi-part edition as a separate edition, especially when it comes to France. Many of his works were issued in multiple parts.

half (132) were issued by one publishing and printing firm in Venice, the Giolito house, which worked with particular translators to transfer foreign vernacular texts into Italian.<sup>74</sup> Giovanni Miranda, for example, was accredited as translator on the title-pages of 21 of these editions of Granada's works. This fact points us to the agency of particular publishers in meeting the demand in Italy for Spanish counter-reformation piety – a counter-balance to the standard narrative in which Italy exports its superior cultural products to culturally inferior, more inward-looking nations such as Spain. If in the later middle ages the Spanish did look eastwards to Italy for models of piety such as Catherine of Siena, by the latter half of the sixteenth century the flow had reversed. The Carmelite reform in central Castile became a transnational phenomenon *via* the printing press, which transmitted the writings of St. John of the Cross, Teresa of Avila, and their allies in other orders such as the best-selling Dominican Luis de Granada.<sup>75</sup>

The USTC helps us to see the pattern of production of texts and translations across Europe. What it does not allow us to see, unless combined with other documents, is the wholesale trade, the exchange of stock that regularly occurred between booksellers in different countries. Just looking at USTC, we might contrast the scale, multilingualism, and international scope of the Plantin officina (c.1555-1600) with the more modest, relatively monolingual production of a publisher like Ciotti in Venice. Plantin's top authors (by number of editions produced) include

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<sup>74</sup> A. Nuovo and C. Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva, Droz, 2005). My thanks to Brian Richardson.

<sup>75</sup> James S. Amelang, 'Exchanges between Italy and Spain: Culture and religion', in Thomas James Dandeleet and John A. Marino (eds.), *Spain in Italy: politics, society, and religion 1500-1700* (Leiden, Brill, 2007), pp. 433-55, 450.

Justus Lipsius, Cicero, and Luis de Granada; he publishes in Latin, Dutch, French, Greek, Italian and Spanish. Ciotti's top four authors are all contemporary Italians (Guarini, Leoni, Panigarola, Tasso), and nearly two thirds of his books are in the Italian vernacular.

But Ian Maclean has recently transcribed an archival document which reveals the exchange of stock between Plantin and Ciotti at the Frankfurt fair of Autumn 1587. This kind of transaction was called barter or *Tauschhandel*: the exchange of books on a sheet-for-sheet basis at the spring and autumn fairs. Such exchanges both turned books into a kind of international currency and turned all publishers into international retailers of imported books. About half the titles exchanged by Plantin were newly declared at the fair, including books by his Protestant son-in-law Raphelengius at Leiden, whose officina was also known as 'Plantiniana'. They include the *De veritate religionis Christianae* by Du Plessis-Mornay. There is one Italian book by Guicciardini. Against this Ciotti offered 32 varied titles, half of them in Italian, including fashionable authors such as Tasso. There is also Latin scholarship by Italian authors. Many of the titles involved were not declared at the fair itself.<sup>76</sup>

Fifteen years later Ciotti was still involved in the import trade and published a catalogue of the transalpine books he made available to his customers in the Italian peninsula. If we take one page of this at random we will see that it is dominated by commented editions of the classics in Latin, and other works of Latin learning, printed everywhere from Ingolstadt and Cologne to Antwerp and Frankfurt. But it also includes volumes of lives of illustrious men in French (Lyon), and of emperors in Spanish, together with a Spanish-language Plutarch (Antwerp). The page also reveals

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<sup>76</sup> Ian Maclean, 'Ciotti and Plantin: Italy, Antwerp and the Frankfurt Book Fair', *La Bibliofilia*, 115 (2013), pp. 135-46.

that Ciotti was cautious about infringing inquisitorial rules: for Leiden-produced works he lists the publisher name “rafelengio” instead of the place of publication, which is the norm for other entries.<sup>77</sup>

Just as Ciotti is a producer of vernacular ‘Italian literature’ who also acts as a retailer of large quantities of transalpine literature via connections with houses such as Plantin’s, and just as the Giolito house works with translators to offer such literature in Italian, so (on a smaller scale) are English publishers of ‘English literature’ connected in the European book world, and proactive in the production and sale of translations and, most probably, in the sale of imported books.<sup>78</sup> Kastan has attributed Humphrey Moseley with the invention of English literature, in the sense of the grouping in his shop of original works of imaginative literature by the likes of Milton, Waller, Crashaw, Shirley, Suckling, Cowley, Denham, and Carew. He is clearly right to some degree. But the transnational and European context of this ‘invention’ needs more attention. Kastan does not give any emphasis to the fact that Moseley’s express aim, as he said himself in a publication of 1659, was annually to publish “the Production of the best Wits of our, *and Foreign Nations*” (my italics).<sup>79</sup> Moseley was

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<sup>77</sup> Giovanni Battista Ciotti, *Catalogus eorum librorum omnium, qui in ultramontanis regionibus impressi apud Io. Baptistam Ciottum prostant* (Venice, *In Officina Io. Baptistæ Ciotti Auroræ Signum præferentis*, 1602), sig. B10r.

<sup>78</sup> See Roberts, ‘The Latin trade’ for the wholesale side of the import trade, and one or two key retailers. We still do not have much evidence regarding the broad role of English stationers in retailing imported books, and the broad means of acquisition of continental books in England, as most studies are centered on English printing. See David L. Gants, ‘A quantitative analysis of the London book trade 1614-1618’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2002), pp. 185-213, 187-88. My thanks to John Pitcher.

<sup>79</sup> Kastan, ‘Humphrey Moseley’, p. 113, citing Moseley’s preface to *The last remains of Sr John Suckling* (London, 1659).



publishing “our” best wits to a literary culture within England that was still heavily defined by the wits and languages of foreign nations and the ancient world. There were some collections which featured a majority of English-language books printed in England.<sup>80</sup> But it is very likely that Moseley’s prestige folios were more usually finding their place in libraries that, like the Bodleian, shelved them not exclusively with other English vernacular texts but with the productions of those foreign and classical wits in other languages.

So if he was inventing an English literature, this literature centrally included Englished texts of classical and contemporary continental authors.<sup>81</sup> The catalogues of his publications printed as advertisements at the back of some of his editions clearly demonstrate that the translated works of foreign wits were an integral part of Moseley’s oeuvre, as they had been for many English printers and publishers since Caxton’s time.<sup>82</sup> The section of “New and Excellent Romances” consists entirely of works whose titles advertise that they were first written in French (mostly), Spanish or Italian by this or that famous wit, and then “Englished” by this or that English person of honour. The section of poems intersperses ‘original’ works by Donne,

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<sup>80</sup> Gants, 'A quantitative analysis ', p. 188.

<sup>81</sup> Brenda Hosington, 'Commerce, printing, and patronage', in Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English: Volume 2 1550-1660* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 47-57, 52-53.

<sup>82</sup> This latter fact is currently gaining wider recognition than it has had in the whole post-war period. See the new series of MHRA Tudor and Stuart Translations (general editors Andrew Hadfield and Neil Rhodes), Brenda Hosington et al’s ‘Renaissance Cultural Crossroads’ database (<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/index.php>), Braden, Cummings, Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English*; Hosington, 'Commerce, printing, and patronage'; Coldiron, *English printing*.

Waller, Fanshaw, Stanley, Denham, Carew, Milton, Shirley, Quarles, and Shakespeare, with translations from Juvenal, Musaeus, Guarini, Seneca, Diego de San Pedro, and the Polish humanist Matthias Casimir Sarbievius. Of the first eight items in the catalogue's opening section of "Various Histories, with curious Discourses in humane Learning", six are Englished, while two are original compositions by Raleigh and De Grey.<sup>83</sup>

The second item in the catalogue is the 1654 edition of Henry Carey Earl of Monmouth's English translation of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio's *Della guerra di Fiandra*. This is comparable to the 1603 edition of Florio's Montaigne, with which we started: a prestige folio translation of a work by an honest Papist, which makes no significant attempt to "translate" the Roman Catholic bias into acceptable Protestant terms, and which, in its paratexts, places the whole, highly visible process of cultural transfer and translation to England in the context of the European print trade and European politics. The translator, Monmouth, is more prominent on the title-page than the author, Bentivoglio. He points out in his preface that he began the translation before the outbreak of the first war between the English Republic and the United Provinces (1652) and that events had therefore turned it to uses he had not intended

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<sup>83</sup> Arnould d'Andilly, *The manner of ordering fruit-trees*, trans. Anon. (London, Humphrey Moseley, 1660), "Courteous Reader, these Books following are printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, at the *Princes Armes* in *St. Pauls Church-yard*", nos. 148-164, 78-107, 1-8. Moseley's catalogue varies in length from edition to edition, even from copy to copy.

(abetting war with information).<sup>84</sup> Both translator and publisher had royalist inclinations, though Moseley published nothing that got him into any trouble.<sup>85</sup>

In his own preface to the Reader, Moseley describes a book that is valued everywhere, but uses different metaphors to Florio and Daniel:

IF I say this Book hath been often call'd for, you may believe me. For, none who are not un-read or un-tra vail'd, but know what value is paid to BENTIVOGLIO; not only in *Italy*, whose Language it weare's, and in *Flanders* which gave it Subject; but in *France* and *Spain*, who by worthy *Translations* have made it their own. 'Tis therefore no wonder it hath been so oft Re-printed in *French*, but that it came no sooner into English.

He goes on to produce evidence from the Latin republic of letters regarding the book's credentials:

[H]ow he hath perform'd it, there needs no Evidence but the word of Learned GROTIUS, who (in a Letter to Monsieur *Du Maurier* the French Ambassador at the *Haghe*) say's; "*I confess my Expectation was much deceiv'd in Cardinall BENTIVOGLIO; I could not hope from the hand of an Enemy to receive so*

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<sup>84</sup> Guido Bentivoglio, *The compleat history of the warrs of Flanders*, trans. Henry Carey Monmouth (London, Humphrey Moseley, 1654), sig. A2r.

<sup>85</sup> John Barnard, 'London publishing, 1640-1660: Crisis, continuity, and innovation', *Book History*, 4 (2001), pp. 1-16, p. 8. For Carey, see the biographical sketch in Braden, Cummings, and Gillespie (eds.), *The Oxford history of literary translation in English*, p. 435.

*impartiall a History of our Warrs: I doubted not his Ability, for I had formerly seen some Discourses of his; but this shews he knew what to write, and wrote what he knew: His Education abroad, and long Residence in Flanders enabled him for both; My Countrey will by this be a Gainer and a Loser: Our Courage and Diligence was equall to theirs, our Swords as sharp; but now BENTIVOGLIO hath Conquer'd us with his Pen, and will wound us to Posterity”.*<sup>86</sup>

Moseley here briefly invokes an elite, languaged, and travelled readership who are doing the same thing when they read and when they travel – gathering knowledge and news of foreign places and languages, guided by publicised or printed epistles produced by princes of the republic of letters like Grotius. What he says implies a demand-led market for imported books. These well-travelled, well-read customers come to know that value is paid to Bentivoglio everywhere and therefore call for his work from the agents and booksellers who supply their continental books. Moseley is supplying a local, translated edition for the English zone of this continental market – in a manner parallel to the supply of editions of Latin texts for particular zones on the continent.

In this case, a book that is valued everywhere is described as a book that is collectively composed by several different regions and countries: the Italian peninsula has provided its dress of language, the region of Flanders its subject, but the two great powers who had just fought each other in Flanders in the latter stages of the Thirty Years War – France and Spain – have made it their own by translation. In the

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<sup>86</sup> Bentivoglio, *The compleat history of the warrs of Flanders*, sigs. a1r-2r.

religiously divided environment of late Renaissance Europe, he is careful to exonerate the Catholic author by producing the testimony of a confessional opponent, Grotius, regarding the benefits of his educational travel and diplomatic service.

The book-historical facts behind his remarks, insofar as they can be ascertained, are interesting.<sup>87</sup> What Moseley does not mention is that all three parts of this work in the earliest editions in Italian generally bore a Cologne imprint (“In Colonia”) – a suspicious one, as it turns out, for the printer, although he includes a preface to the reader, and refers to Cologne, does not identify himself. Recent book-historical research has revealed that they were all printed by the Elsevier publishing house in Leiden, between c.1632 and 1640.<sup>88</sup> This is just the beginning of the work’s travels. The larger story is that various parts of this work by a Roman Catholic Cardinal are first printed in Italian at Calvinist Leiden, then translated into French (Paris, 1634) then taken up in Italian by Venetian houses (1637-40, 1645), and translated into Spanish (Madrid, 1643), before appearing in several editions at Paris in Italian as part of his *Opere* (1638, 1643, 1645, 1648, 1649, 1650), and finding translations into English (London, 1654), and Dutch (Amsterdam, 1674).

Moseley’s last remark in the first passage is particularly telling: English publishers like Moseley were very aware in general terms of the books that were being ‘called for’ on the European markets, but they paid particular attention to what

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<sup>87</sup> I have used the online search functions of the Catalogue Collectif de France, WorldCat, and the Short -Title Catalogue Netherlands.

<sup>88</sup> The Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands lists the first Elzevier edition of the first part as 1635, but the existence of a French translation from the Italian, published in 1634, makes an earlier date necessary. The online catalogue of the Bibliothèque Mazarine lists an edition of the first part with the imprint ‘Colonia, 1632’ (pressmark: 4° 17838 A).

was being printed in France. Moseley is surprised that a text printed so quickly and repeatedly ‘in French’, came no sooner into English – in fact there appears to have been only one Parisian edition in French, as against many in Italian.

The interesting point about Florio’s and Moseley’s perspectives on these two continental texts is that they help us see production and dissemination from the point of view of historical actors involved in the process. They do not view literature – as much modern scholarship does – through the prism of distinct, static, national bundles comprising a language, a culture, a print market, and a body of ‘original’ imaginative literature. If in the seventeenth century a national literature is being invented by publishers such as Blount and Moseley it is taking shape as a particular market zone within the transnational, European world of highly mobile books and languages.