Faithful Translators

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Published by Northwestern University Press
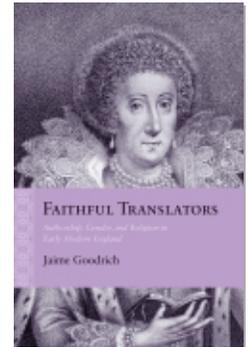
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Religious Translation in
Early Modern England

In dedicating his 1603 translation of Montaigne's *Essayes* to Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, and her mother, Lady Anne Harington, John Florio strikingly compared this latest publication to his earlier Italian and English dictionary *Worlde of Wordes* (1598):

> To my last Birth, which I held masculine, (as are all mens conceipts that are their owne, though but by their collecting; and this was to Montaigne like Bacchus, closed in, or loosed from his great Jupiters thigh) I the indulgent father invited two right Honorable Godfathers, with the One of your Noble Lady-shippes to witnesse. So to this defective edition (since all translations are reputed femalls, delivered at second hand; and I in this serve but as Vulcan, to hatchet this Minerva from that Jupiters bigge braine) I yet at least a fondling foster-father, having transported it from France to England; put it in English clothes; taught it to talke our tongue (though many times with a jerke of the French Jargon) would set it forth to the best service I might.[1]

Florio's evocative metaphors of class and gender have become a touchstone for critical discussions of early modern English translations. In 1931, F. O. Matthiessen included Florio in a study that enthusiastically presented translation as a nationalistic exercise parallel to the contemporary colonization of the New World: "The translator's work was an act of patriotism. . . . He believed that foreign books were just as important for England's destiny as the discoveries of her seamen, and he brought them into his native speech with all the enthusiasm of a conquest."[2] Matthiessen saw Florio and other translators of creative works as crucial agents in the development of the English literary canon. While

acknowledging the militaristic language used by some translators, Neil Rhodes has more recently claimed that Florio, like other translators, felt an acute anxiety because "Translations are always inadequate."[3] Florio's vaunting therefore disguises his concerns over the status of his work. Despite their different views of Florio, both Matthiessen and Rhodes agree that his translation occupies an inferior position as either a subjugated foreigner or an unsuccessful copy—a perspective that reflects the postromantic tendency to privilege original authorship over so-called secondary activities such as translation.[4] Indeed, Florio has become central to scholarship on early modern translation precisely because he seems to anticipate this modern attitude. Florio clearly depicts his translation as a "defective" version of Montaigne's original, drawing upon the connotations of "femall," a term that could also signify "inferiority," to portray the translation's hierarchical relationship to its source text in gendered terms.[5] This presentation of the translation as "defective" is only underscored by the low social position that it occupies as a metaphoric servant to Bedford and Harington.

Yet we should be wary of obscuring the differences between Florio's views of translation and modern opinions of this activity. In the preface to the reader that accompanies the 1603 edition of his Montaigne, Florio also insists upon the importance of translation as a means of transmitting knowledge and cultural power: "Shall I apologize translation? Why but some holde (as for their free-hold) that such conversion is the subversion of Universities. . . . It were an ill turne, the turning of Bookes should be the overturning of Libraries. Yea but my olde fellow Nolano [Giordano Bruni] tolde me, and taught publikely, that from translation all Science had it's of-spring" ("DP," *Essayes*, A5r). Responding to potential criticisms of translation, Florio then presents another gendered metaphor defending this dissemination of learning: "Learning cannot bee too common, and the commoner the better. Why but who is not jealous, his Mistresse should be so prostitute? Yea but this Mistresse is lyke ayre, fire, water, the more breathed the clearer; the more extended the warmer; the more drawne the sweeter" ("DP," *Essayes*, A5r). Florio's depiction of knowledge as female evokes the previously mentioned birth scenario from his dedicatory preface to Bedford and Harington, which Jonathan Goldberg has characterized as "an allegory about the origin of ideas."[6] In that earlier moment, Florio presents himself as Montaigne's collaborator, assisting with the birth of Minerva, the goddess of learning. Florio's metaphors of class and gender thus negotiate the plural authorship entailed by translation. By portraying the text as a female servant and himself as a midwife, foster father, and instructor who supplants Montaigne, Florio

suggests that he, as the translator, bears some authorial responsibility for the work itself. If Florio, like other early modern translators, was clearly aware that translation offered a unique set of authorial ramifications, too often literary scholars have focused on the translator's creative autonomy or lack thereof. This book attempts to reorient critical discussions of early modern translation by considering faithful translators: those who translated biblical or nonbiblical religious works that often required conservative translation strategies. These faithful translators took advantage of the authorial multiplicity inherent in translation to pursue a number of agendas that made their work central to the cultural landscape of early modern England.

   This book will primarily focus on female translators, whose works offer an ideal corpus for rethinking the authorial nature and cultural role of religious translation. Scholars have frequently cited these women's translations as evidence that early modern thinkers viewed translation as an inferior and secondary activity. Mary Ellen Lamb turned to Florio's gendered metaphors of translation to explain why women of this period translated so often: "Translations were 'defective' and therefore appropriate to women; this low opinion of translating perhaps accounts for why women were allowed to translate at all. A man who labors in this degraded activity must justify himself, 'since all translations are reputed femalls.'"[7] Much as Matthiessen and Rhodes do, Lamb responds to Florio's apparent anticipation of postromantic views of original authorship and translation, moving swiftly from his assertion that translations, like women, were "defective" to the claim that translation was "therefore appropriate to women," a view never expressed by Florio. If Matthiessen had celebrated the creative independence of male translators, Lamb points to women's religious translations as evidence of their oppression: "The translations by Renaissance women are different from the translations of Renaissance men in being exceedingly literal. Absent are the magnificent and occasionally quirky expansions of Harington's *Orlando Furioso* and Chapman's *Homer;* instead we find line-by-line transliteration. The explanation of the difference lies to some extent in the nature of the task itself. . . . Many religious texts had by their very nature to be translated literally."[8] Despite Lamb's caveats about the conventions associated with religious translation, a critical dichotomy has since developed: while men showed creative liberty by translating freely, women complied with patriarchal expectations by translating faithfully. Massimiliano Morini, for example, recently stated that "translation . . . asked of translators a personal contribution, an infusion, as it were, of their personality in the final result: at least, it did so for men, for with

women things stood differently. . . . Translation, particularly if exercised within a devout sphere, could be the only activity permitted to women, for in their case it could be seen as a mechanical exercise, one that would occupy the mind and body much as embroidery did."[9] According to this dichotomy, at worst the female translator submissively acknowledged the (generally) male authority of her source text. At best, translation seemed to provide female translators with a protected agency that met contemporary expectations of feminine modesty.[10] The power of this paradigm may be gauged by its effect on feminist translation theorists, who have relied on Florio and Lamb in their efforts to demonstrate that translation was first regarded as inferior to original composition during the early modern period.[11]

Developments in the fields of Translation Studies and early modern literature have necessitated a reassessment of this assumption that faithful translators were necessarily passive conduits for the original author's text. The work of Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault has opened up new ways of thinking about authorship beyond the single-author model that long governed literary criticism. As Foucault observed, "The author is the principle of thrift in the proliferation of meaning. . . . He is a certain functional principle by which, in our culture, one limits, excludes, and chooses; in short, by which one impedes the free circulation, the free manipulation, the free composition, decomposition, and recomposition of fiction."[12] This poststructuralist decentering of the author implicitly permits recognition of the translator's authorial role. If an emphasis on the author limits the meaning of original writing, then privileging a translation's original author circumscribes the meaning of the translation itself, a literal "recomposition" in which the translator assists with the "proliferation of meaning." Translation theorists reacted to these insights in two major ways: first, by emphasizing the translation's role within its cultural and historical moment, and second, by reconceptualizing translation as a form of writing.[13] Within early modern literary studies, advances in bibliographic scholarship only heightened the importance of poststructuralist views of authorship, and critics began to argue that early modern texts were social productions influenced by any number of collaborative agents.[14] Scholars have now shown that readers and scribes revised and rewrote works that circulated in manuscript.[15] Print also offered a wide range of possibilities for social and collaborative authorship, as a host of agents beyond the original author—including editors and compositors— helped determine a text's form.[16] We now recognize that paratextual devices such as prefaces and marginalia informed reader reception.[17] Dramatic authorship has proved particularly fertile territory since

playwrights collaborated with scribes, actors, and many other agents on texts that had to take account of economic, performative, and political exigencies.[18] More recently, scholars have begun to consider how printed books prompted readers to compose annotations and errata lists.[19]

If editors, compositors, and creators of marginalia functioned as authors, then the translator certainly has a claim to authorial agency, as recent scholarship—largely on women's translations—has demonstrated. During the 1990s, critics began to argue that women's translations should be recognized as a form of writing, leading to a fresh awareness of the literary and political agency of the female translator.[20] Danielle Clarke, for example, utterly rejected the earlier critical model in which the female translator submissively acknowledged the authority of her source text: "The practice of translation can only be thought of as 'safe' for women if its functions are reduced to a slavish relationship of translator/reader to the text, where he/she merely passively subordinates him/herself to the original author and his messages."[21] More recently, Peter Burke has noted that early models of translation allowed the translator to exercise authorial freedom: "Early modern translators of medieval or modern works seem to have viewed themselves as co-authors with the right to modify the original text. In the early modern period it was only very gradually that the idea of a text as both the work and the property of a single individual imposed itself."[22] Most important, a series of case studies has now revealed the ways that women used translation to participate in contemporary politics.[23] Micheline White has called for a new way of approaching early modern women's translations by situating Anne Lock's translation of Calvin within its historical context: "Lock's translation was far from 'silent' or passive: undertaken at a specific moment, it responds to the needs of a specific religious community, and it participates in the rhetorical struggle to garner support for their cause."[24] This recognition that female translators could have authorial agency in their own right has opened up a fresh set of questions that are central to any understanding of the role that translation played in early modern England. What were the potential authorial positions available to translators, both male and female? To what extent did contemporaries distinguish between the authority of the translator and that of the original author? What sorts of agency did translators receive from these authorial positions? What cultural work did translation perform?

To answer these questions, this book will explore the authorial strategies and cultural functions of religious translations, both biblical and nonbiblical. With the recent turn to religion in early modern literary studies, the time is ripe for a full-scale discussion of religious translation,

particularly of nonbiblical works that offer a useful complement to long-standing scholarly interest in biblical and literary translation.[25] Despite the sizable number of religious works translated during the early modern period, only a few preliminary studies of this corpus have appeared.[26] On the basis of her online bibliography of early modern translations from 1473 to 1641, Brenda M. Hosington recently calculated in a keynote address that 49 percent of the printed translations produced by English men and women during this period were religious in nature, and furthermore that 45 percent of these translations were biblical.[27] Thus almost a quarter of English translations published during this period were nonbiblical and religious in nature. The corpus of nonbiblical religious translations, as important as it is neglected, comprises the second largest body of English translations after the Bible. While with the exception of the book of Psalms women did not translate the Bible, religious translations also dominate their productions, accounting for 60 percent of women's print and manuscript translations during this period, according to Hosington.[28] If women translated religious works more frequently than literary texts, then, they were not out of step with their male counterparts. Without an acknowledgment of this larger cultural impetus to translate religious texts, there can be no fuller understanding of female translators, their relationship to the work of male translators, and their cultural significance in early modern England.

Before examining the cultural functions of early modern religious translation, it is necessary to move beyond generalized statements that translators were authors by establishing just what kind of authorship translation involves. Deborah Uman's work offers a useful starting place for theorizing the authorial role of early modern translators. She and Bistué Belén have described translation as a form of collaborative authorship involving both the translator and the original author.[29] Yet the term "collaborative," which may suggest a dialogue between two or more parties, does not adequately describe the process of translation. It is difficult, for example, to imagine an early modern translator "collaborating" with a classical author, even if the translator is sympathetic to his or her position. André Lefevere illuminates this situation while answering an imagined query about the original author's view of the rewriting involved in translation: "Do writers have to submit to these indignities? First of all, they don't really submit. In many cases they have long been dead, in most they have precious little say in the matter. Writers are powerless to control the rewriting of their work."[30] More recently, Uman has supplied another model of the translator's authorship, claiming that

translation "gave women the chance to assume an authorial role—a role that . . . gave them ownership of their words and the chance to achieve profit, fame, status, and influence."[31] Yet because of the authorial multiplicity inherent in this act, translators—whether female or male—never achieve total "ownership of their words." Harold Love's category of executive authorship supplies a fitter paradigm for the authorial positions created by translation. According to Love, in these cases "the maker or *artifex*" serves as "the deviser, the orderer, the wordsmith, or . . . the reformulator" of another author's thoughts.[32] The plurality of executive authorship makes visible the separate authority that a translator and the original author hold. The *artifex* determines the way that a text's content will be expressed, in the process exerting influence on the shape of that content. Similarly, the translator rewrites her source text, basing her work on the original author's language even while assuming the authorial agency to subvert, subsume, and redirect the source text in ways not intended or foreseen by the original author.

A host of cultural factors shaped the ways that the translator's executive authorship operated during the early modern period, and the sociological turn in the field of Translation Studies provides a useful methodology for exploring these factors and their effects.[33] Since the late 1990s, translation theorists have become increasingly interested in the translator's role as a social agent within a larger cultural context, and Pierre Bourdieu's theories of practice have proved especially influential.[34] While this development has not yet affected scholarship on translation in early modern England, the sociological turn offers a new paradigm for understanding the cultural functions of translation during this time. Instead of viewing everyday practices as spontaneous occurrences, Bourdieu proposes that human behavior is actually governed by habitus, or "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them." These "dispositions," which are often acquired during an individual's formative years, both "generate" and "structure" the way that an individual behaves even though he or she is not consciously aware of them. The habitus does not predetermine an individual's actions but rather offers a range of possibilities for behavior: "the habitus is an infinite capacity for generating products—thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions—whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production."[35] Thus the

habitus makes possible a vast range of attitudes and behaviors that are constituted within a specific cultural context. In doing so, the habitus enables individuals to participate in particularized fields, each of which is controlled by a distinct set of rules. Bourdieu has defined the field of literature, for example, as "an independent social universe with its own laws of functioning, its specific relations of force, its dominants and its dominated, and so forth."[36] Without knowledge of the proper habitus, or conventions, that govern a given field, individuals lack the ability to participate successfully in that field.

A translator's habitus can be usefully split into functional and practical aspects: that is, *why* and *how* translations were produced. Both of these aspects, which may at times be interrelated, depend on the particular social and cultural situation of the translator. If literature qualifies as a Bourdieusian field constituted by authors, critics, publishers, and other agents, then translation—as a form of writing—could be considered a field as well, populated by translators, publishers, and others.[37] Yet viewing translation as a field in and of itself poses problems due to the incoherence of translation as a sphere. For example, the translator of technical manuals will necessarily differ in attitude and purpose from the translator of novels. Michaela Wolf has offered a way past this problem by proposing the term "translation space" in recognition of the fact that "the translation field or space is always situated *between* various fields, such as the literary field, academic field, political field, and others."[38] Wolf's description of the interaction between translation and these fields is very helpful for understanding early modern religious translation since economic, religious, and political factors shaped this sphere and the functional habitus that existed within it. These factors also influenced a translator's practical habitus, which ran the gamut from faithful to free translation strategies depending upon the translator's attitude toward the source text. As the following overview of early modern religious translation will show, the functional and practical aspects of habitus generated a variety of authorial possibilities that allowed translators to pursue cultural agendas in ways that would have been denied to them as single authors.

Financial, theological, and political imperatives helped determine the functional habitus associated with religious translations, whether of the Bible, polemical treatises, or devotional works. The early modern print shop and bookstall were first and foremost business ventures, and printers and publishers consequently selected religious translations that might be popular enough to turn a profit.[39] William Caxton, for example, printed his own translations, including hagiographic material in step with late medieval interest in saints: Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*

(1483) and Robert of Shrewsbury's *Lyf of the Holy Blessid Vyrgyn Saynt Wenefryde* (1485). Caxton's rendering of the *Legenda aurea* proved so profitable that Wynken de Worde reprinted it five times between 1493 and 1527. As the sixteenth century progressed, publishers often turned to translations to meet the increased appetite for devotional material caused by rising literacy rates and a new emphasis on pious reading. During Edward's reign, Walter Lynne printed his own translations of texts by Heinrich Bullinger (*A Treatise . . . Concernynge Magistrates,* 1549) and Martin Luther (*A Frutefull and Godly Exposition . . . of the Kyngdom of Christ,* 1548). Printers and publishers also sought out translators for works that they viewed as potential sources of profit. Arthur Golding may be best known today for his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* but he translated a number of Protestant works. In the preface to one of these translations, Golding explains that two publishing partners asked him to translate this text: "Lucas Harison and George Bishop Stacioners, men well mynded towards godlynesse and true Religion, taking uppon them too Imprint this woork at their proper charges, requested mee too put the same intoo English, I willingly agreed too their godly desire."[40] This collaboration was clearly successful, as Golding provided five more translations for Harrison and Bishop, either acting together or independently.[41] Some enormously popular translations saw multiple editions that offered a reliable source of profit for printers, as in the case of Calvin's *Catechisme or Maner to Teach Children the Christian Religion.* Yet sales alone did not account for all of the profit that a publisher or translator might receive from these works. As Caxton notes in the preface to the *Legenda aurea,* William Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, offered him "a yerely fee / that is to wete a bucke in sommer / & a doo in winter" to complete the work.[42] Aristocratic or royal patronage could thus, in effect, decide which works were translated and published. Translators also presented manuscript copies of their works to patrons to gain economic or social profit. In a bid for patronage, Josuah Sylvester gave James I a presentation copy of his version of Guillaume Du Bartas's *Devine Weekes* and later dedicated a print edition of the complete poem to James.[43]

Religious translations—whether in print or manuscript—could reliably generate profit through their ability to bring new doctrinal models to England from the Continent. The five religious translations published in 1526 illustrate the way that translation affected English religious beliefs and devotion. Two of these translations offered material in keeping with late medieval taste and practices: Richard Whitford's version of the *Martiloge* used at Syon Abbey and a reprint of Margaret Beaufort's translation of the treatise *Mirroure of Golde for the Synfull Soule* (first

published in 1506). The other publications reflect the pressure that was being placed on this traditional model by reformist agendas originating from the Continent. A pair of Erasmian translations carried a message of reconciliation based on commonalities among Christians, such as the Lord's Prayer: Margaret Roper's *Devout Treatise upon the Pater Noster* and Gentian Hervet's *Sermon of the Excedynge Great Mercy of God*. These publications initiated a trend of Erasmian translation that would persist for decades, yet they also responded to Martin Luther's call for religious reform. The final translation of 1526 shows that Lutheran ideas had already begun to influence English thinkers: William Tyndale's successful printing of his complete English translation of the New Testament at Worms. Tyndale pursued the Lutheran goal of providing literate readers with access to the Bible in the vernacular, creating a text that formed the basis for all subsequent English Bibles.

Because translators of religious texts often reacted to ongoing theological developments, a study of religious translations yields a fairly accurate history of the English Reformation. During the 1520s and 1530s, reformers were strongly influenced by Luther, and translators consequently turned to Luther's polemical tracts urging reform, such as *A Boke Made by a Certayne Great Clerke, against the Newe Idole, and Olde Devyll* (1534). Under Edward, looser restrictions on print caused a spike in the publication of midcentury theologians such as Martin Bucer, Heinrich Bullinger, Philipp Melanchthon, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and Ulrich Zwingli. By the 1570s, however, the increasingly Calvinist atmosphere within England resulted in a marked preference for the works of John Calvin and Théodore de Bèze. Even as the theologians popular under Edward ceased to be translated during the 1580s, twenty of Calvin's works were printed between 1580 and 1589.[44] While Calvin's exegetical treatises and sermons formed the bulk of these translations, his *Institutes* were especially popular and saw at least six editions. Meanwhile, Elizabethan translators largely ignored Luther's controversial literature in favor of his biblical exegesis and pastoral sermons (*A Commentarie of M. Doctor Martin Luther upon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Galathians,* 1575; *Special and Chosen Sermons of D. Martin Luther,* 1578). A similar pattern may be discerned in the translation of Roman Catholic works, which introduced English readers to the theology of Counter-Reformation figures such as Roberto Bellarmino, SJ; Gaspar Loarte, SJ; and Luis de Granada, OP.[45]

Translators' interest in Continental theology—whether Catholic or Protestant—was often a direct product of the political situation within England, as successive regimes found translation useful in defending and

disseminating the shifting doctrine of the English church. Henry VIII and his advisers adeptly exploited translation for political purposes, issuing a 1531 translation of a Latin tract defending Henry's intended divorce from Catherine of Aragon and repudiating papal power: *The Determinations of the Moste Famous and Mooste Excellent Universities of Italy and Fraunce That It Is So Unlefull for a Man to Marie His Brothers Wyfe, That the Pope Hath No Power to Dispence Therewith.* Similarly, Elizabeth's regime sponsored Anne Cooke Bacon's translation of John Jewel's *Apologie . . . of the Churche of Englande,* a Latin tract that originally addressed an international audience to defend the Elizabethan settlement. The necessity of providing an English version to combat the criticism of "hotter" Protestants and English Catholics can be seen in the decision to replace an unofficial translation published in 1562 just two years later with Bacon's authorized version. Officially sponsored biblical translations also reflected ecclesiastical policy. The oft-noted lack of polemical marginalia in the King James Bible represented James's irenic stance. The printers, publishers, and translators who produced these books stood to gain substantial profit, but they also collaborated with the government in a less official manner. The anonymous translator of Luther's *A Propre Treatyse of Good Workes* (1535) aimed to bolster the reform initiatives of Thomas Cromwell by spreading Lutheran ideas of justification and by defending "the true & syncere teachers of the infallyble truthe of our savyour Jesu Chryst, . . . falsely defamed unto the unlearned people."[46] The edition gestured at official support for these views with a woodcut featuring the Beaufort portcullis, the Tudor rose, and the royal motto DIEU ET MON DROIT. Other translators took it upon themselves to produce works that supported governmental positions. In the wake of anti-Catholic sentiment caused by the Gunpowder Plot and oath of allegiance controversy, a translator of Pierre du Moulin's defense of Protestantism stated, "such Treatises as this, which afford direction to the Church & Spouse of God, travailing to heavenly Jerusalem, through the Wildernesse of this world, [are] nothing more necessary; being fit to resolve her of doubts in matters of Controversie."[47]

Official religious policies also generated translations opposed to the doctrine of the English church, as translators sought to strengthen support for dissident religious beliefs. Their translations could have dire consequences: Tyndale, for example, was executed for the religious unorthodoxy perceived to be in his biblical translations. Many of these translators therefore worked in exile or published through secret presses. During Mary's reign, a writer using the pseudonym of the church historian Eusebius Pamphilus presented his translation of Luther as a means

of warding off divine retribution for the country's return to Catholicism: "Iff such warnings as have proceded of the like spirite as this present advertisement was writton/had bene regarded in time/paraventure god wold have spared us our late Josias/Noble king Edward of famos memory/a little longar. O Ingland/Ingland/that thy sinnes/unthankfulnes and securite were such that thei provoked god . . . to send the[e] such [governors] now as goo abowt to bring the[e] in thraldom and subjeccion unto alienes and to conquer the[e] with tyranny and seduce the[e] with fals relygyon."[48] Likewise, under Elizabeth, the Catholic exile Richard Hopkins noted that Thomas Harding had encouraged him to translate devotional works of the Spanish Counter-Reformation out of a belief "that more spirituall profite wolde undoutedlie ensewe thereby to the gayninge of Christian sowles in our countrie from Schisme, and Heresie, and from all sinne, and iniquitie, than by bookes that treate of controversies in Religion."[49] Eusebius Pamphilus and Harding were not alone in thinking that translation might convert readers to their religious beliefs. Beginning in the reign of Henry VIII, governmental authorities tried to control the dissemination of printed translations that undermined the official church. William Tyndale's translation of the Bible was burned in bonfires during the 1520s, and Thomas Cromwell's attainder for treason included the complaint that he had authorized the translation "into our maternal and English tongue" of heretical books containing material "against the . . . most blessed and holy sacrament."[50] Under Protestant regimes, government officials similarly attempted to limit the importation of Catholic books, causing Jane, Lady Lovell to complain in 1605 to Robert Cecil that pursuivants had taken away her copy of the Rheims New Testament.[51]

The practical habitus of the religious translator generally operated between the poles of faithfulness and freedom, depending on the translator's views of the source text's orthodoxy. Both biblical and non-biblical translations frequently emphasized faithfulness to the source text, as Flora Ross Amos noted long ago: "Though the translation of the Bible was an isolated task which had few relations with other forms of translation, what few affiliations it developed were almost entirely with theological works like those of Erasmus, Melanchthon, Calvin, and to the translation of such writings Biblical standards of accuracy were transferred."[52] Some spheres of religious translation, particularly the psalms, relied more extensively on freedom than others. A translator might also choose to exercise a localized freedom by emending or emphasizing the source text at certain moments while otherwise remaining relatively faithful.

Both faithfulness and freedom had roots in the early modern school-room since translation was central to instruction in foreign languages during the period.[53] Late medieval schoolmasters frequently used "vul-garia," or exercises in translating sentences into and out of English, to teach students French and Latin vocabulary and grammar.[54] Translation was arguably even more important within the humanist curriculum as a means of imparting proper Latin style. Thomas More, John Cheke, and Roger Ascham all used the technique of double translation, although Ascham, Cheke's pupil, is today best known for this method, which he employed to inculcate a Ciceronian style in beginning students. After a young pupil has been introduced to one of Cicero's letters, "the childe must take a paper booke, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompte him, by him self, let him translate into Englishe his former les-son. Then shewing it to his master, let the master take from him his latin booke, and pausing an houre, at the least, than let the childe translate his owne Englishe into latin againe, in an other paper booke. When the childe bringeth it, turned into latin, the master must compare it with Tul-lies booke, and laie them both togither: and where the childe doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of Tullies wordes, let the master praise him."[55] In this scenario, the translator practices an extreme form of faith-fulness to Cicero's language so that he can easily retranslate his English into Cicero's Latin. Such thorough internalization of Cicero's style would allow the student to use Ciceronian language and phrasing automatically in the future. Double translation is therefore an implicitly hierarchical activity in which the student, at best, replicates an authoritative original word for word. Tutors of vernacular languages also employed this tech-nique, meaning that even students without humanist training might have encountered the precepts of faithful translation.[56]

Yet some humanists had a selective attitude toward the classics, advis-ing that teachers should exercise caution in introducing students to potentially licentious writers such as Ovid.[57] Juan Luis Vives, for example, recommended the expurgation of classical literature that might encour-age vice: "It certainly would be very fitting, if, on the account of the weakness and darkness of our mind, hurtful passages could be cleansed, so that there should be no pitfall of harm left, and we should only then wander about in those fields in which grow wholesome or pleasant herbs." Vives proposes that this editing be entrusted to the judgment of a learned Christian who can act as a gatekeeper: "Let some man show us the way, a man not only well furnished with learning, but also a man of honour and of practical wisdom, whom we trust as a leader; who will remove us from danger either quietly without explaining the danger, lest

he rouse the desire of curiosity; or, will openly show to those for whom it is fitting, what danger lies hidden. . . . In this manner the heathen woman will be received into marriage, with nails and hair duly cut, according to the rite of the children of Israel, even as S[aint] Jerome expounds."⁵⁸ Here Vives alludes to Jerome's suggestion that the captive pagan woman of Deuteronomy 21:11–13, whose hair and nails are cut by the conquering Israelites, could serve as a model for dealing with pagan material in classical texts. Some translators of classical works adopted Jerome's model, viewing their Christianity as justification for assuming a hierarchical superiority over pagan source texts. Thomas Drant, for example, advertised his use of this practice on the title page to his translation of Horace's *Satires: A Medicinable Morall, That Is, the Two Bookes of Horace His Satyres, Englyshed Accordyng to the Prescription of Saint Hierome* (1566). As Drant explains in the preface, he has removed Horace's references to pagan religion as well as material that he deems inappropriate or irrelevant: "I have done as the people of god wer commanded to do with their captive women that were hansome and beautifull: I have shaved of[f] his heare, & pared of[f] his nayles (that is) I have wiped awaye all his vanitie and superfluitie of matter."⁵⁹ Instead of submissively acknowledging Horace's authority, Drant highlights his bowdlerization of Horace to assure contemporary readers that the text is now fit for consumption.

These functional and practical aspects of the translator's habitus generated a variety of authorial possibilities ranging from submission to gatekeeping. When translators worked with source texts with an unimpeachable authority, they frequently displayed an authorial deference to the original author. The biblical translator was always the hierarchical inferior of the original author, God, and these translators often cultivated an authorial invisibility reflecting that relationship. In the preface to the King James Bible, Myles Smith articulates this paradigm of executive authorship in which God is viewed as the true author of the translation: "Wee affirme and avow, that the very meanest translation of the Bible in English, set foorth by men of our profession . . . containeth the word of God, nay, is the word of God. As the Kings Speech which hee uttered in Parliament, being translated into French, Dutch, Italian and Latine, is still the Kings Speech."⁶⁰ Significantly, the fifty-odd translators involved in the production of this Bible go unnamed. This emphasis on God's authority was further established by biblical translators' claims of faithfulness to the source text.⁶¹ The preface to the Rheims New Testament echoed Jerome's dictum that the Bible must be translated word for word rather than sense for sense:

> We have done our endevour with praier, much feare and trembling, lest we should dangerously erre in so sacred, high, and divine a worke . . . that we have used . . . no more licence then is sufferable in translating of holy Scriptures: continually keeping our selves as neere as possible, to our text & to the very wordes and phrases which by long use are made venerable, though to some prophane or delicate eares they may seeme more hard or barbarous . . . acknowledging with S[aint] Hierom, that in other writings it is ynough to give in translation, sense for sense, but that in Scriptures, lest we misse the sense, we must keepe the very wordes.[62]

The Rheims translators present their work as a sacred endeavor, undertaken "with praier, much feare and trembling" for fear of doctrinal error. Their caveat about "hard or barbarous" language reflects the translators' deference to both their source text and the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy, as the Vulgate was their primary source text. By attempting to convey the language of the Vulgate as accurately as possible, the translators created a Latinate English that is notorious for awkward neologisms such as their substitution of "supersubstantial bread" for "daily bread" in the Lord's Prayer.[63] While the Geneva Bible translators attempted to render their Greek and Hebrew source texts by sense rather than by word, they nonetheless incorporated some Hebrew terms unfamiliar to readers: "We have in many places reserved the Ebrewe phrases, notwithstanding that thei may seme somewhat hard in their eares that are not wel practised and also delite in the swete sounding phrases of the holy Scriptures."[64] The Geneva translators also aimed at fidelity by differentiating their interpolations to the text through italics; the King James Bible would later follow suit by using a different typeface for its additions.

Biblical translations provide a useful example of the way that political initiatives might also cause the invisibility of the translator. The anonymous translators of the King James Bible appear to relegate authorship to James himself: "We hold it our duety to offer it to your Majestie, not onely as to our King and Soveraigne, but as to the principall moover and Author of the Worke." The translators are referring to James's role in commissioning this work, as Myles Smith later explains: "What can the King command to bee done, that will bring him more true honour then this? and wherein could they that have beene set a worke, approve their duetie to the King, yea their obedience to God, and love to his Saints more, then by yeelding their service, and all that is within them, for the furnishing of the worke?"[65] Since the translators' work is inscribed within the social hierarchy, this rejection of public credit for their work

acknowledges James's royal authority. Other biblical translations with
official mandates similarly emphasized the monarch's patronage by mini-
mizing the translator's role. When Coverdale's Bible appeared in 1535, its
title page featured a woodcut depicting Henry VIII distributing the Bible
to his subjects, reflecting Henry's tacit approval of the work. In the pref-
ace, Coverdale invited Henry to take an authorial role as the final editor
of his text: "I thought it my dutye and to belonge unto my allegiaunce,
whan I had translated this Bible, not onely to dedicate this translacyon
unto youre hyghnesse, but wholy to commytte it unto the same: to the
intent that yf any thynge therin be translated amysse . . . it may stonde
in youre graces handes, to correcte it, to amende it, to improve it, yee &
cleane to rejecte it."[66] Later Bibles also relied on visual illustrations of
royal approval. The title page to the Great Bible (1540) offered an elabo-
rate woodcut in which Henry passes the Bible to Thomas Cranmer and
Thomas Cromwell, who then distribute the work down the ecclesiastical
and social hierarchies. At the bottom of the woodcut, joyful commoners
shout, "Vivat rex" (long live the king). The translators of the Great Bible
are not named, possibly for political reasons as Tyndale was primarily
responsible for the translation. The title page of the Bishops' Bible por-
trayed Elizabeth wearing a crown and holding a scepter, but just a few of
the translators were identified, and only by their initials. Thus from the
1530s onward, government-sponsored Bibles suppressed the identity of
the translator in order to emphasize royal approval of the translation,
which underscored the official nature of these works.

When translators selected theological treatises that reflected their own
religious views, they likewise occupied an invisible or inferior role in
relation to the original author. As in the case of the Bible, the source
text generally held more religious clout than the translator did. In recog-
nition of the source text's doctrinal authority, translators of theological
works attempted to render their translations as faithfully as possible. In
the second edition of his translation of Calvin's *Institution of Christian
Religion* (1562), Thomas Norton explained the difficulties he faced in
deciding whether to translate word for word or sense for sense:

> If should folow the wordes, I saw that of necessitie the hardnesse in
> the translation must nedes be greater than was in the tong wherein
> it was originally written. If I should leave the course of words, and
> graunt my self liberty after the natural maner of myne own tong, to
> say that in English which I conceived to be hys meaning in Latine,
> I plainly perceived how hardly I might escape error: and on the
> other side in thys matter of fayth and religion, how perilous it was

> to erre. For I durste not presume to warraunt my selfe to have hys meaning without hys words. For they that wote [know] what it is to translate wel and faythfully, specially in matters of religion, do know that not the onely grammaticall construction of wordes sufficeth, but the very bylding and order to observe all advauntages of vehemence or grace, by placing or accent of words, maketh much to the true setting fourth of a wryters mynde. In the ende, I rested upon thys determination, to folow the wordes so nere as the phrase of the English tong would suffer me.[67]

Like the Rheims translators, Norton fears that a free translation might create room for unorthodox opinions, recognizing that "in thys matter of fayth and religion, how perilous it was to erre." Believing that the "bylding and order" of words creates the sense, Norton equates translating "wel" with translating "faythfully." He was not alone in perceiving a need for an accurate translation of Calvin's text. The first edition of his translation contains a prefatory note from the printers Reynald Wolf and Richard Harrison, who apologize for the delay in printing an English version of this work: "Maister John Dawes had translated it and delivered it into our handes more than a twelvemoneth past . . . [but] we could not wel emprinte it soner. For we have ben by diverse necessarie causes constrayned with our earnest entreatance to procure an other frende of ours to translate it whole agayn. This translation, we trust, you shal well allow. For it hath not only ben faythfully done by the translater himself, but also hath ben wholly perused by such men, whoes jugement and credit al the godly learned in Englande well knowe & esteme."[68] While Wolf and Harrison do not explain their rationale for commissioning a new translation, their claim that Norton's version has been approved by sundry learned men suggests that Dawes's rendering would not pass muster. The printers clearly believed that such an important work needed to be translated "faythfully." Both the first and second editions of Norton's translation further emphasize his submissive relationship to the original text by identifying Norton only by his initials.

Yet the perceived superiority of the original author could also enable the translator to claim literary authority or cultural agency for himself. Lawrence Venuti has characterized translation as "a form of scholarship" because this activity implicitly displays the translator's learning.[69] It is this very ability to disseminate knowledge that made translation a vital activity during the English Reformation, and translators leveraged their learning into a source of self-authorization and self-advancement. For example, when William Tyndale sought Cuthbert Tunstall as a patron

for his translation of the Bible, he brought a translation of Isocrates as evidence of his Greek skills.[70] Translators also used their work as a platform for legitimating their own compositions, moving from executive authorship into original authorship. When Nicholas Lesse published a translation of Philipp Melanchthon in 1548, he appended a tract of his own composition: *The Justification of Man by Faith Only: Made and Written by Phylyp Melanchton and Translated out of the Latyn in to This Oure Mother Tonge by Nicholas Lesse of London. An Apologie or Defence of the Worde of God, Declaringe What a Necessary Thynge It Is, To Be in All Mennes Handes, the Want wher of is the Only Cause of Al Ungodlienes Committed thorowe the Whole Earth, Made by the Sayde Nicholas Lesse* (STC 17792). By pairing his treatise with Melanchthon's text, Lesse both indicated the reformist orientation of his tract and capitalized on recent interest in German reformers. In fact, three other translations of Melanchthon saw print between 1547 and 1548.[71] Finally, translators co-opted the authority of their source texts in ways that conflicted with the original author's religious views. In 1534, Leonard Cox paired a translation of the Epistle of Paul to Titus with an English version of Erasmus's *Paraphrase* on this epistle. Cox's preface to this publication defended Henry's repudiation of papal authority by identifying the pope with the inattentive shepherds of Ezekiel 34:1–16, whose neglected sheep become the prey of beasts: "Se here most gentle reader the angre of god evydently fallen upon the bysshop of Romes tyrannye / and his adherentes whose proude power daylye decreaseth . . . for theyr devourynge of Chrystes flocke. And se also on the other syde the great goodnes of god towarde our Englysshe nacyon / whiche hathe delyvered us oute of his ravenyng mouth / and gyven us our hed & herdes man our moste redoubted soverayne."[72] Despite his criticisms of ecclesiastical abuses, Erasmus would have never advocated outright rejection of the pope, but Cox's translation positions Erasmus as a supporter of English schism.

Protestant translators working with Catholic texts claimed authorial agency even more openly by taking advantage of the gatekeeping aspect of translation. These translators unapologetically exercised freedom in removing potentially offensive or doctrinally unacceptable material, presenting themselves as endorsers of their translations' orthodoxy. Some of these translators appropriated contemporary Catholic devotional works for Protestant audiences. Francis Meres's preface to his 1598 translation of Luis de Granada explained that he had "remov[ed] corruptions, that as Rocks would have endangered many."[73] The church fathers posed special problems, as both Catholics and Protestants cited patristic texts as

evidence for their doctrinal positions. The Protestant translator Thomas Rogers, for example, sought to reclaim works attributed to Augustine by zealously adding biblical marginalia and removing references to Roman Catholic doctrine.[74] Rogers's revision of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* is especially illustrative of his views about the translator's responsibility for the orthodoxy of a translation. Earlier Protestant recensions of the *Imitatio* had removed Kempis's fourth book on the Eucharist, but Rogers criticizes these versions for retaining other Catholic material: "I grant they have done the dutie of translators: yet sure I am they have neglected a greater dutie than of translatorship. For my part I had rather come into the displeasure of man, than displease God; and rather move the obstinat heretike, than offend the weake & simple Christian."[75] Rogers prioritizes reformed orthodoxy over fidelity to the source text, placing Kempis in an inferior position to himself as a Protestant who rejects Catholic innovations. He felt no scruples in tampering with Kempis's text, offering an English translation of Kempis's *Soliliquium animae* in 1592 as a substitute for the missing fourth book. In the preface to this translation, Rogers transforms Kempis into a would-be Protestant: "I have as little as might bee varied from the auctors words and phrazes, and no where from the sense, but where he himselfe hath varied from the truth of God, and, I doubt not, would have redressed, had hee lived in these daies of light, as he did in the time of most palpable blindnes."[76] By presenting the translation as compatible with the "truth of God," Rogers endorses its doctrinal purity, authorizing Kempis as suitable reading for Protestants.

In many ways the functional and practical habitus of female translators resembled the attitudes toward translation displayed by their male counterparts. Nevertheless, female translators faced an additional burden of conforming to contemporary expectations of feminine virtues, such as chastity, silence, and obedience. Perhaps the most noticeable difference between the male and female translator, then, is the overwhelming tendency for women's translations to be characterized as private works based in the domestic sphere. In Nicholas Breton's *Olde Mans Lesson* (1605), the titular character Chremes advises a younger man that learned wives should occupy their time with translation: "If she be learned and studious, perswade her to translation, it will keepe her from Idlenes, & it is a cunning kinde taske: if she bee unlearned, commend her huswifery, and make much of her carefulnesse."[77] This view of translation as an appropriate domestic activity for women originated in the circle of Thomas More, which contended that humanist education—usually

framed as a means of training young men for government careers—could be adapted to prepare women for their roles as wives and mothers.[78] Such arguments attempted to forestall objections that learning might encourage women to indulge in supposedly feminine vices such as lust. Breton's use of the term "cunning" to describe translation inadvertently gestures at this possibility as this word could mean both "learned" and "sly."[79] If Florio felt compelled to defend the way that translation could disseminate knowledge, then female translators had to be particularly careful in circulating their work, which might be perceived as trespassing on the masculine sphere of learning. Two seventeenth-century assessments of Elizabeth I's translation of Boethius suggest the potential range of reactions to women's translations. William Camden admiringly claimed that Elizabeth translated Boethius after Henry IV's conversion to Catholicism, implying that such a learned activity was fit for a queen: "At this time, she daily turned over Boetius his books, *De Consolatione,* and translated them handsomely into the English tongue."[80] The French Jesuit Nicolas Caussin, however, criticized Elizabeth for this translation while praising Mary, Queen of Scots for avoiding such learned displays: "[Mary] was experienced in the knowledge of tongues and sciences, as much as was necessary for an honest Lady, who ought not to appear too learned. [Elizabeth] gave her self to such a vanity of study, that often-times she committed some extravagances; as when she undertook to translate the five books of the Consolation of Boëtius, to comfort her self on the Conversion of Henrie the Fourth."[81] If an "honest Lady" should refrain from seeming "too learned," then Elizabeth's demonstration of her facility with Latin merely shows her "vanity" and "extravagances." Of course, these different assessments of Elizabeth's translation reflect Camden's and Caussin's divergent religious beliefs. Nevertheless, Caussin's reaction is a useful reminder that the activity of translation itself did not spare female translators from attack. Female translators and their allies therefore countered any potential criticism of the translator's virtue by framing this activity as a suitably domestic exercise, subsuming potentially unacceptable displays of learning within a patriarchal structure.

Despite these domestic frameworks, the cultural agendas of women's and men's translations bear striking similarities. Just as printers and male translators used translation to generate economic profit and to seek patronage, so women offered translations to potential or actual patrons. Mildred Cooke Cecil straightforwardly presents her translation of Basil the Great to Anne Somerset, the Duchess of Somerset, as payment for previous favors: "I . . . thought mete with these fewe leaves thus by me translatyed to move your goodnes ether to take them as some small

parte of my service I owe, or in sted of some meane frende to intreat for my dett."[82] Male translators were not alone in using their work to import theology and devotional practices from the Continent. Francis Bell, OFM, for example, explained that he hoped to provide a model of Franciscan piety for readers by publishing a life of Saint Elizabeth of Portugal translated by Abbess Catherine Greenbury of the Third Order Franciscans in Brussels: "I had scruple to hide what was so behovefull for the commun good. . . . For nothing moveth more to perfection then the examples of those saintes that were in all respectes of the same profession that our selves are."[83] Greenbury's translation offered English readers an example of Continental hagiography even as it publicized the newly resurgent English Franciscan order. Finally, women used translation to support or oppose the official church much as their male contemporaries did. A notable example is Anne Bacon's translation of Jewel's *Apologie,* which Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, presented as a substantial contribution to current ecclesiastical policy: "By which your travail (Madame) you have expressed an acceptable dutye to the glorye of God, [and] deserved well of this Churche of Christe . . . and besides the honour ye have done to the kinde of women and to the degree of Ladies, ye have done pleasure to the Author of the Latine boke, in deliveringe him by your cleare translation from the perrils of ambiguous and doubtful constructions: and in makinge his good woorke more publikely beneficiall: wherby ye have raysed up great comforte to your friendes."[84] Parker's oblique allusion to the defects of the previous English translation ("perrils of ambiguous and doubtful constructions") only reinforces the public necessity of Bacon's translation. Meanwhile, Elizabeth Cary framed her translation of Jacques Davy Du Perron's defense of Catholicism as an intervention in the largely Protestant culture of English universities: "I was mooved to it by my beleefe, that it might make those English that understand not French, whereof there are ma[nie], even in our universities, reade Perron."[85] These parallels between the functions of religious translations by men and women suggest that women were well aware of the cultural and political uses of translation.

The practical habitus of the female translator typically hewed closer to faithfulness than freedom. If Meres and Rogers sought to reclaim authors such as Augustine and Granada for Protestant readers, female translators were less likely to work with texts outside of their confessional identities. This difference may reflect contemporary views that women should not be exposed to doctrinally suspect works. Anne Gawdy Jenkinson, a Protestant woman who translated a Catholic work by Guillaume du Vair, Bishop of Lisieux, offers an important counterexample to this trend.

Jenkinson's rendering of du Vair's *Meditations upon the Lamentations of Jeremy* (1609) carefully aligns the work with Protestant beliefs, but she does not mention these alterations in her preface.[86] Rather, Jenkinson notes that her father both presented the text to her and asked her to translate it, thus giving her translation a paternal seal of approval. Women who translated conservatively had the same incentives as faithful male translators. Some had encountered double translation as part of their education and subsequently applied its principles to their work. The stylistic awkwardness of Elizabeth I's surviving translations from Latin may be explained in part by her familiarity with double translation, as she replicated her source texts as exactly as possible.[87] Yet women's faithfulness in translating religious works also resulted from their perception that authoritative source texts needed to be rendered precisely so as to preserve proper doctrine. Like Thomas Norton, Anne Lock intended her translation of Calvin to be as faithful as possible to the original: "I have rendred it so nere as I possibly might, to the very wordes of his text, and that in so plaine Englishe as I could expresse."[88] Women, like men, often exercised a localized freedom in their translations, but women were much more likely to translate approved religious authorities whose texts required close translation, with the exception of the psalms.

  In keeping with these functional and practical aspects of habitus, the female translator generally took a submissive authorial position that emphasized the original author but that could also authorize the translator—a practice that once again parallels the authorial poses of male translators. Some female translators were completely invisible to the wider public, even if selected readers might have known their identity, as with Katherine Parr's anonymous translation of John Fisher (*Psalmes or Prayers Taken out of Holye Scripture*, 1544). As in the case of the English Bible, the translator's invisibility allowed her work to become part of a larger governmental agenda to popularize vernacular piety. Other translators invoked the prestige of their source texts in ways that developed their own literary and scholarly credibility. Mary Basset claimed that she hesitated to present Mary Tudor with her manuscript translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* because such an important work "requyred . . . the dylygent labour of a wyse, eloquent, expert, and in all kyndes of good lyterature, a very well exercysed man."[89] Nevertheless, her dedicatory preface demonstrated an outstanding grasp of Greek and Latin by identifying errors in both the printed Greek edition of Eusebius as well as in Rufinus's Latin version, knowledge befitting her role as Thomas More's granddaughter. Meanwhile, Lock compared the production of her translation of Calvin to the preparation of medicine: "This

receipte God the heavenly Physitian hath taught, his most excellent Apothecarie master John Calvine hath compounded, & I . . . have put into an Englishe box."[90] By presenting herself as a mere packager of Calvin's divinely inspired wisdom, Lock minimizes her role in the creation of the translation. At the same time, Lock—like Nicholas Lesse—uses her association with an authoritative theologian to legitimate the publication of her own work. Lock appends a sonnet sequence on Psalm 51 to her translation, characterizing it as the work of a friend. The likelihood that Lock herself composed this work is heightened by the fact that her later translation of Jean Taffin was also accompanied by a poem inspired by her source text.[91] Finally, just as Cox had appropriated Erasmus for his own ends, some female translators reframed or rewrote their source texts to serve new purposes. Catherine Magdalen (Elizabeth) Evelinge, a Poor Clare, asserts that her translation of the life of Saint Clare came "totally out of the R[everend] F[ather] Francis Hendriques," even though she, or her collaborators, added a lengthy new section compiled from fifteen or more different sources: "Of many and admirable acts wrought by the holy Order of S[aint] Francis in the Church of God. But more especially in these latter ages, in the Indies."[92] This interpolation transformed the text from a simple hagiography of Saint Clare into a history of the Franciscan order, offering English readers evidence of the Franciscans' vitality as agents of conversion. As these examples suggest, female translators—like their male counterparts—found the authorial multiplicity of translation a productive means of assuming authorial poses that established their personal credibility and advanced larger political and religious agendas.

The following chapters explore the major cultural functions and authorial roles associated with early modern Englishwomen's religious translations. Since women generally did not translate the Bible, I largely concentrate on women's translations of nonbiblical religious texts. The lone exception to this rule is Mary Sidney Herbert's *Psalmes,* a work that represents the importance attached to psalm translations and paraphrases during this period. Rather than focusing on female translators in isolation, I situate these women within their social networks as well as their broader cultural contexts. In each chapter, I examine one cultural function performed by translation by surveying its appearance in a range of early modern translations. I then trace the way that religious, pedagogical, and political factors affected the manifestation of this phenomenon by focusing on two interrelated case studies of translations by women from the same family or milieu. Placing the female translator in the

context of other translators from her immediate circle (whether family members, tutors, or members of her religious community), I reveal that these women's translations were not anomalous but rather emblematic of specific cultural agendas linked to translations emerging from these social groups. After establishing the functional habitus of translation particular to these women's coteries, I analyze the historical and literary contexts of their translations. Through material characteristics (such as title pages, woodcuts, and scribal hands), female translators and/or their editors created distinct authorial personae that positioned these works as contributions to ongoing debates. I then consider the translators' practical habitus, identifying translation choices that react to the translators' historical contexts and authorial roles. This interplay of methodologies drawn from historicism, textual studies, and Translation Studies allows for a detailed understanding of the similarities and differences between male and female translators of the period. More important, this book outlines how early modern translators—whether male or female—manipulated the authorial connotations of translation to legitimate their participation in ongoing religious and political controversies.

Chapters 1 and 2 focus on the ways that women's translations exercised political agency and thus circumvented restrictions on women's participation in the public sphere. Chapter 1 examines translation's role as a leisure activity, which translators emphasized to present their publications as evidence of their private lives. Printed translations by Margaret Roper and Mary Basset, the daughter and granddaughter of Thomas More, took advantage of this connection between translation and domesticity to shape public ideas about More himself. Chapter 2 discusses the use of translation as propaganda, particularly in cases where translations gained cultural significance thanks to the fame of the translator. Male editors of translations by Mary and Elizabeth Tudor appropriated the princesses' works as propaganda for the Edwardian Reformation, using the translators' rank as a means of authorizing religious change. Chapters 3 and 4 turn to female translators who restricted public awareness of their roles as translators, in the process enhancing their own legitimacy as spiritual and political authorities. As chapter 3 shows, learned courtiers offered counsel to their patrons through manuscript presentation copies of translations with lavish physical characteristics. Both Mary Sidney Herbert and Elizabeth I prepared unique manuscript translations in response to contemporary debates over England's support for foreign Protestants, transforming their educations into justification for their political views. Chapter 4 addresses the tendency among members of dissident religious groups to issue anonymous translations that spoke

on behalf of their factions. Mary Percy and Potentiana Deacon, Benedictine nuns living on the Continent, each published translations endorsing Jesuit practices that were controversial within their convents. Neither Percy nor Deacon could claim to represent their convents' spiritual practices, but anonymity allowed them the appearance of doing just that.

These case studies demonstrate the cultural importance of faithful translation as an agent of religious change and as a source of political controversy. Like their male contemporaries, female translators participated in a vital activity whose authorial connotations offer new models of early modern authorship. Translators, editors, and others working within the space of religious translation cultivated a rich variety of possible authorial poses, ranging from the private citizen to the famous aristocrat to the learned counselor to the anonymous member of a religious group. Instead of simply foregrounding a text's original author, these authorial strategies often helped advance the cultural and religious agendas of the translators or their editors. Gender expectations may have played an important role in determining the way that women made use of translation and its authorial possibilities, leading them to ward off criticism of their displays of learning through devices such as the modesty topos. Nevertheless, religious translation offered women as well as men a significant, if often overlooked, means of contributing to larger cultural conversations sparked by the English Reformation.