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“Delivered at Second Hand”: Translation, Gifting, and the Politics of Authorship in Tudor Women’s Writing

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Abstract

This dissertation explores manuscript translations made by four women of the English Renaissance, and argues that these translations subvert dominant modes of discourse through the act of translation, both linguistic and inter-semiotic and the performance of self/identity through the conventions of gift-giving. Mary Bassett (d. 1572), Jane Lumley (1537-1578), Jane Seager (fl. 1589), and Esther Inglis (1570/1-1624) each translated an existing printed text into English; each woman translated her source text on a linguistic level – from Greek, or Latin, or French into English – but also translated on an inter-semiotic level – from print to manuscript, sometimes with striking additions in terms of painting, drawing, needlework, calligraphy, and bindings. I argue that the late Renaissance offered a transitional moment in the conceptualization of translation and that each of these women recognized and exploited the ambiguities of translational authority during the period so as to maintain the ability to both claim and repudiate a politicized speaking voice.

The early modern women of this study make themselves visible through the materials and partatexts of their manuscripts and through established conventions of gifting and patronage. The particular intersection of translation and Renaissance gift-culture has been little studied, and I argue that Bassett, Lumley, Seager, and Inglis adroitly negotiate the rhetorics of translation and gift-culture in order to articulate political and religious affiliations and beliefs that were allowed no other public outlet. This particular set of translations has not previously been considered as a related group and as a whole this project offers a critical lens through which to read Renaissance translations in relation to the materiality of Renaissance gift culture.

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My greatest debt – and the one for which no amount of gratitude can ever be adequate – is of course to my family: Derek, Lorin, and Gwen. Thank you for sharing in this journey with me.

Dedicated to the memory of

Hilary Mary Inglis

1948-2008

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Chapter 1 Introduction: "Transformance": Renaissance Women's Translation and the Performance of Gift Exchange

The feminist translator immodestly flaunts her signature in Italics, in footnotes – even in a preface – Godard, 1990

Barbara Godard describes in the epigraph above a translational practice completely at odds with the model of translation prevalent from the end of the seventeenth-century and still largely privileged today, in which the success of a translation is judged by the "invisibility" of its translator and its illusion of transparent transfer of meaning from one language to another. This model has been strenuously challenged in recent years by many translators and theorists, Lawrence Venuti being himself the most "visible" of these.[1] Transparency, as Venuti argues, is the "absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities" which effectively "conceals the numerous conditions under which the translation is made, starting with the translator's crucial intervention" (*Invisibility* 1). Venuti and others find such transparency ethically problematic, as it silently colonizes the source language of a text and elides both the translator's creative work and her cultural biases. The epigraph from Godard above emphasizes the way in which the twentieth-century feminist translator challenges the ideal of transparency, working to emerge from the shadow of her source text and make herself visible in the material and paratexts of her book.[2] For Godard, feminist discourse *is* translation as it "set[s] out to 'destroy the discursive mechanism' by assuming the feminine role deliberately, in an act of 'mimicry,' which is

[1] See *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (1998) and *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. 2nd ed. (2008).

[2] Godard was a scholar of Quebec women writers who translated writers like Antonine Maillet and Nicole Brossard into English. Her work considers the theory and practice of translation by women and of women's work. Translators that Godard cites include Daphne Marlatt, Penny Kemp, and Suzanne Lamy. Godard opens her essay thinking about recent challenges that translators have encountered when rendering the work of French feminist writers into English. She notes that the translations must necessarily interrogate the "relationship between the theories of discourse advanced in these texts and the theories of translation which have produced the English version" (87).

to convert a form of subordination into an affirmation and to challenge an order resting on sexual indifference" (90). Godard asserts that feminist discourse must first of all define itself within and against the dominant, masculine language even as it seeks to find a space wherein women can represent themselves and exert their agency by means of a new language. In this way, all feminist writing must be translation, as it sets out to transform "male discourse" into a language capable of articulating female agency.

This dissertation explores manuscript translations made by four women of the English Renaissance, a period not generally recognized for its significant gains in feminist thought,[3] and argues that these translations – by subverting dominant modes of discourse through the act of translation, both linguistic and inter-semiotic and the performance of self/identity through the conventions of gift-giving – participate in what we would now recognize as feminist discourse. The term "translation" as I use it throughout the study is informed by Godard's notion of feminist discourse and translation as "transformance." Transformance describes the way in which feminist discourse challenges the "poetics of transparence and ethics of wholeness of writing oneself into existence through writing directly one's own experience" and instead allows for a "poetics of identity that…emphasize[s] the work of translation, the focus on the process of constructing meaning in the activity of transformation, a mode of performance" (90).

[3] See, for example, Joan Kelly's well-known article, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?," in which she argues that in some ways the Renaissance was in fact more repressive for women than the middle ages had been. Some landmark works in the history of scholarship on women's Renaissance writing include: Margaret Hannay, ed., *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works* (1985); Elaine V. Beilin, *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (1987); Tina Krontiris, *Oppositional Voices: Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance* (1992); Barbara Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (1993); Margaret Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (1993); Burke, Donaworth, Dove, and Nelson, eds., *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (2000); Patricia Demers, *Women's Writing in English: Early Modern England* (2005); Edith Snook, *Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England* (2005).

Godard and other feminist translators frame their discourse in terms of "issues of identity and difference" (87),[4] arguing that language as a masculine construct alienates women and forces them outside dominant literary discourses. For Godard, feminist translation (and feminist writing) works from within this space of "otherness" in order to articulate and make visible a poetics of identity that seems to at once deny and subvert the dominance of "male discourse" (88). While the English Renaissance women considered in this study are far from the feminist project of creating a new language within which to frame female selfhood, I argue that for these women, translation offered a way in which to express a "poetics of identity" that at once conformed to and subverted dominant social conventions around women's literary and political participation.

Mary Bassett (c. 1522-1572), Jane Lumley (1537-1578), Jane Seager (fl. 1589), and Esther Inglis (1571-1624) each translated an existing printed text into English; each woman translated her source text on a linguistic level – from Greek, or Latin, or French into English – but also translated on an inter-semiotic level – from print to manuscript, sometimes with striking additions in terms of painting, drawing, needlework, calligraphy, and bindings. I will argue that the late Renaissance offered a transitional moment in the conceptualization of translation and that each of these women recognized and exploited the ambiguities of translational authority during the period so as to maintain the ability to both claim and repudiate a politicized speaking voice. The early modern women of this study, like the feminist translator described in the epigraph from Godard, make

[4] See, for example, Sherry Simon, discussed below and Lori Chamberlain, whose essay "Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation" provides a comprehensive discussion of the gendered language used to theorize translation. Chamberlain concludes that "what is required for a feminist theory of translation is a practice governed by what Derrida calls the double bind – not the double standard. Such a theory might rely, not on the family model of oedipal struggle, but on the double-edged razor of translation as collaboration, where author and translator are seen as working together, both in the cooperative and the subversive sense" (470).

themselves visible through the materials and paratexts of their manuscripts and through established conventions of gifting and patronage. The particular intersection of translation and Renaissance gift-culture has been little studied, and I argue that Bassett, Lumley, Seager, and Inglis adroitly negotiate the rhetorics of translation and gift-culture in order to articulate political and religious affiliations and beliefs that were allowed no other public outlet.

During the seventeenth century, as notions of authorship and individual artistic "genius" coalesced, so did the ideal of an invisible translator who would act as the conduit of meaning between source and target language, but who would always be subsumed to the original or source text. The translations on which I focus in this study were produced between the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in the period immediately prior to the solidification of the ideal of the invisible translator. What I see in these particular women's translations is their seizing of a moment during which ideas of authorship and translation were very much in flux; I argue that these translators recognized and utilized this transitional moment in order to enter into public political discourse.[5] The theoretical framework that allows me to understand Renaissance translation in this way is twofold. On the one hand, contextualizing women's translations in terms of Renaissance ideas about originality, authorship, and transmission reveals the degree to which these writers understood and made use of competing discourses surrounding translation and gift-culture in order to authorize their literary self-presentations. On the other hand, approaching these translations through the language of

[5] In introducing this study, I will situate this translational moment in terms of both medieval and seventeenth century theories of translation. Although my focus is Renaissance translators, it is essential to understand the ideals that come immediately before and after this period in order to locate the "transitional moment" that I will argue the translators considered in this dissertation took advantage of.

feminist and post-structuralist theory that underlies current thinking about translation allows for a more flexible, inclusive, understanding of translation – and one in which the translator and her interventions are central to the new text, rather than peripheral to the old one.

i. Tracing Early English Theories of Translation: Middle Ages to Renaissance

While critics sometimes think of the Tudor period as the great age of English translation, this glosses over somewhat the vast number and cultural importance of translations in the middle ages. In fact, the early Renaissance inherits a great deal from the medieval period in terms of thinking about translation, and the vocabulary of translation changes little from period to period. Critics tend to identify the medieval period as one in which translation was particularly fluid or flexible, eschewing literality and the authority of the source in favour of an interpretive strategy based in experiential knowledge. L.G. Kelly, for example, notes the way in which the text's authority over its translator can be mitigated by personal experience during this period: "Where the translator could visualize in his own terms, or add understanding on several dimensions, he stretched fidelity beyond the literal" (208). As Sherry Simon puts it, "[d]uring the Middle Ages, the boundary between one's own words and those of another was fragile, equivocal, often purposefully ambiguous" (44). This kind of translation allowed for a wide range of practices to be considered under its aegis and, in many cases, encouraged translators to reflect on their particular practice in prefaces and epistles to the reader. These paratextual materials are what critics now look to in formulating a theory of medieval translation, but

their very particularity (of purpose, practice, audience, etc.) makes it difficult to articulate a single, coherent "theory" of translation in the middle ages.

In seeking to formulate a medieval theory of translation, critics often point to the distinction made in early prefaces between word for word and sense for sense translation. Aelfred's preface to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* is one famous example. In it Aelfred identifies both the pragmatic reason for his translation – the decline of scholarship in the monasteries and the consequent loss of knowledge available only in Latin editions – and notes that in forging an Old English prose style that remains true to the Latin of his source, "ongan ic ongemang oðrum mislicum ond manigfealdum bisgum ðisses kynerices ða boc wendan on Englisc ... hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgiete" [I began among other various and manifold concerns of this kingdom's to translate the book into English ... sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense] (par. 5, my translation). Critics have sometimes taken these strategies – of word for word fidelity and sense for sense exegesis – to be opposing theoretical positions on translation, in this period at least. As Nicholas Watson argues, however, these strategies, inherited from Horace's *Ars Poetica* and Augustine and Jerome's early biblical translations, are in fact "conceived as interlocking pragmatic resolutions of this conflict [between literal meaning and linguistic construction], not as differing theoretical positions" (74). Aelfred's early invocation of these ideals in the preface bears out Watson's observation, as do many early translation prefaces that comment upon and develop a theory of translation based on pragmatism and necessity, in the service of original authors but not in thrall to them.

The pragmatism of translation theories in the Middle Ages leads critics to characterize the period as one in which relatively "free" translation was the dominant paradigm. Daniel Russell describes medieval and early Renaissance translation's cultural imperatives when he argues that "the goal of the translation was not to replicate, with as much reproductive accuracy as possible, the original text and the intent with which the author had produced it. On the contrary, the goal was usually to appropriate the text being translated for the needs of the target culture" ("Introduction" 29).[6] Thus the translator had relative freedom to make interpretive changes to the source text depending upon his or her own personal obligations and/or cultural requirements. Not only was there greater freedom to manipulate the original text, but Russell concludes that the name of a source text's original author "was a mere name attached to a text and drew his or her authority only from the text; the name implied no specific intention and left the work open to appropriation for other localized needs in other cultures" ("Introduction" 34). It is this malleability and flexibility of authority that allowed medieval translators to work in what we now consider to be a strikingly liberal framework.

I do not want to suggest that this framework was taken for granted or without consideration by medieval translators. On the contrary, the role and responsibilities of the translator with regards to his or her source text and target language were taken seriously by translators and readers alike. Flora Ross Amos, in an early study of medieval and Renaissance translation theory, finds that medieval translators were very much in the habit of commenting on their creative process and she notes that "there is an advantage in their very garrulity" (46); still, Amos seems frustrated by the quality of the theoretical

[6] The theories of translation I refer to throughout the study are those concerned with non-scriptural texts. Scriptural texts needed to be treated with different standards of authority in which "[l]iteralism constitutes the law of translation" (Hermans, "Task" 14).

discussions by translators like Bokenham, Caxton, and Lydgate, calling their comments "confused and indefinite" and lamenting that "they do not recognize any compelling necessity for faithfulness" (45). John Lydgate reflects on the question of faithfulness and the translator's privileged position in regards to his source when he comments on his own intermediary source for *The Fall of Princes*, Laurent de Premierfait's *Des Cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (1409):

> In his [Laurent's] prologe affermyng off resoun,
> Artificers hauyng exercise [being experienced]
> May chaunge and turne bi good discrecioun
> Shappis, formys, and newli hem deuyse,
> Make and vnmake in many sondry wyse,
> As potteres, which to that craft entend,
> Breke and renew ther vesselis to amende. (I, i. cited in Watson 84)

Lydgate, in this passage, ascribes great responsibility to the translator. The translator ("artificer") has the right – due to his "exercise", or experience, and "discrecioun" – to make substantial changes to the substance and form of his source material. In Lydgate's formulation, the source text becomes the clay which the translator-as-potter can and must reshape to suit his own ends. The violence of the image of the translator "breaking" his vessel in order to "amend" it may tempt us to recall Lawrence Venuti's objections to modern practices of transparent translation in which the target language extinguishes all remnant or remainder of the source language's cultural otherness. As I have suggested, however, one of the things that distinguishes medieval and early Renaissance models of translation from the problematic, invisible ideal of modern translation is the visibility of

the translator in the paratexts of the new work. While modern translators may work without comment (or even recognition in many cases), the very processes of dedication and reflection in medieval translations render the translator and his practice visible to the reader.[7]

Lydgate's Italian contemporary, Leonardo Bruni, articulated what was likely the only circulating Renaissance theory of translation in his 1420 treatise, *De interpretation recta*. This text espoused the first coherent theoretical formulation of translation as the transfer of one text from one language to one other language by one writer, and Belén Bistué has recently argued that Bruni's treatise inaugurated the humanist model of translation with its innate respect for the sanctity of the original author and concomitant elision of the labour and creative input of the translator (142). Bruni's text is innovative in a number of ways; it uses, for the first time, the verb *traducere* to designate linguistic translation. The word's Latin meaning "designated a physical transfer, from one place to another, or from one status to another, as well as a passage through time" (142). Bistué notes that in addition to this "lexical innovation," Bruni's treatise implemented radical new guidelines for the translator and his craft, guidelines the significance of which we fail to appreciate since they now form our foundational understanding of translation practice (142).[8] Bruni presents three central criteria for "the correct way to translate": the translator must have a "wide, idiomatic, accurate, and detailed" knowledge of both the

[7] To extend Lydgate's metaphor then, modern translation amends its vessel by reshaping it and filling the cracks so as to be invisible. The reader is never meant to consider the shape of the original vessel. On the other hand, medieval translation practice, through its paratexts and practices, reshapes the vessel with its cracks still visible to the reader. It forces the reader to recognize the original and the labour of the translator. My thanks to Mary Polito for suggesting this extended metaphor.

[8] There is little evidence regarding the extent of Bruni's influence in England. His treatise was known among humanist scholars and provoked lively debate in works by Alfonso of Cartagena, for example (Bistué 142). This suggests that Bruni's ideas proliferated amongst educated humanists and were likely available to English humanist thinkers and translators. See also Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus*.

source and target languages (218); he must appreciate and attempt to render the rhythmical qualities of the original; and finally, he must attempt to retain the stylistic properties of the original (218-220). The rigour Bruni demands of the translator's knowledge and skill recalls Lydgate's claim that the translator has the right to change his text by virtue of his experience and skill. Bruni differs from Lydgate, however, in his insistence on the primacy of the original. In Bruni's formulation, the translator's principal responsibility is to the particularities of his source, while for Lydgate the translator is responsible primarily to his own and his culture's needs. This distinction highlights the changing conceptions of authorship and translation in the period; the fact that these two conceptions could and did exist simultaneously makes clear the competing discourses surrounding translation and the transitional nature of this period in translation theory.

It is this competing discourse regarding the rights and responsibilities of the translator that the English Renaissance inherits. Many critics have identified a shift from collective to individual identity and the concomitant shift from authority to author that occurs throughout the early modern period. Foucault calls this "a reversal" and locates its origin in the late seventeenth century, when "scientific discourses began to be received for themselves, in the anonymity of an established or always demonstrable truth," while "literary discourses came to be accepted only when endowed with the author function. We now ask of each poetic or fictional text: From where does it come, who wrote it, when, under what circumstances, or beginning with what design?" ("Author" 109). The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries marked the beginning of the end of the ambiguous and fluid translation practices of the Middle Ages as the centrality of the original author and thus the importance of translatative fidelity to him began to be more strongly

asserted. As Foucault puts it, in the modern conception of authorship, "literary works are totally dominated by the sovereignty of the author" (126), and it seems to me that with the advance of modernity through the seventeenth century, works in translation likewise came to be "totally dominated by the sovereignty of the author," so that it became increasingly necessary to elide the translator's interventions in a text and to present the author's work as truly and transparently rendered in the new language.

While humanist ideals such as Bruni's encouraged fidelity and responsibility to the source text and – more importantly – to its author, many translations in this period were full of the stamp of the translator. The ideal of humanist translation spread, but its acceptance occurred along different timelines in different European nations. As F.O. Matthiessen (1965) argues in his early and tone-setting study of Renaissance translation, early English translators felt a great freedom to change and shape their source material:

> Perhaps his [the translator's] greatest gift, that which more than any other accounts for the freshness and vigor of his work, was one that he shared with the dramatists of his day. He had an extraordinary eye for specific detail. Whenever possible he substituted a concrete image for an abstraction, a verb that carried the picture of an action for a general statement. The result was an increased liveliness, a heightened dramatic pitch that often carried the words into a realm of imagination and feeling unsuggested by the original. Theoretically, there may be no defense for such a method of translating, but in practice it succeeded as no other method could. For it made the foreign classics rich with English

> associations; it took Plutarch and Montaigne deep into the national consciousness. (4)

Matthiessen celebrates the free-spirited approach to translation that he identifies in English Renaissance translations as a patriotic and nationalistic project that helps to consolidate the English language as one capable of poetic greatness. Lawrence Venuti finds such a domestication of the source text to the target language problematic in modern texts that perform their work of domestication violently and silently and thus deny a translational practice "motivated by an ethics of difference" that he considers essential in ethical translation (*Scandals* 115). The Elizabethan translators, however, do not perform their work silently, and many Renaissance translations are accompanied by paratexts in which their translators sign their own names and illuminate the work of domestication they perform.

This approach grounded in freedom and liberality in fact co-existed in the period with the humanist-inspired ideal of fidelity to the original author and his text. Thomas Hoby, for example, subscribes to a translational theory grounded in literality. He claims in his preface to Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* to "have endeavoured my selfe to follow the very meaning and wordes of the Authour, without being misledde by fantasie, or leaving out anye parcell one or other" (6). Massimiliano Morini argues that this stated intention "finely sums up the awe these early translators felt towards their originals" (20). It is this co-existence and state of fluctuation of translation theories and practices that allows for a unique space within which humanist educated women such as Bassett, Lumley, Seager, and Inglis could insert their own voices through the perceived "safety" of translation.

Tina Krontiris's *Oppositional Voices* (1992) argues that translation offered women an unprecedented opportunity to write and publish in a society that valued women's silence and obedience. Because writing-women wanted to have their voices heard and listened to, they had to "accommodate rather than reject dominant notions regarding virtuous female behaviour" (22). Krontiris cites Margaret Tyler's preface to her translation of Diego Ortúñez's Spanish romance *The Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* (1578) as one example supporting the idea that women could safely "hide behind" (21) an already authorized male author through the act of translation. Krontiris reads Tyler's statement that translation is "a matter of more heed than of deep invention or exquisite learning" as a pre-emptive counterargument for the charge that a woman should not be translating and publishing a secular romance (78-9). Margaret Tyler in fact argues strenuously for her right to translate the Spanish romance despite the fact that her readers might believe it to be "a matter more manlike then becometh my sexe" (A.iii.r). Tyler uses various strategies to authorize her text, including her age and middling social status, both of which helped to guard against the charge of wantonness or promiscuousness in the publishing of a print romance. She also uses the fact of translation to help legitimize her publication of the text, reminding her reader that "[t]he inuentition, disposicion, trimming, & what els in this story, is wholy an other mans, my part none therein but the translation" (A.iii.v). While it may sound like Tyler is attempting to "hide behind" Ortúñez's already authorized work, her rhetoric is far more complicated as she at once distances herself from the text and claims her authority for and over it. Tyler, like many other Renaissance translators, revels in the paradox that although the work is "an other mans," she herself is sufficiently responsible for the new

text that she could be censured for its content and suitability. It is no accident that Tyler describes her work of translation in the terms used by other Renaissance poets to describe the function of poetry when she tells her reader the book is "by me…done into English for thy profit & delight" (A.iii.r).

Renaissance translations demand that we read the complicated and self-conscious way in which the translator manipulates conventions of hierarchy and authority, source and target text. The potential for women to use translation as a genre for self-expression has long been acknowledged. In 1985 Margaret Hannay argued that such expression included the political: "women occasionally subverted the text, even in translation, in order to insert personal and political statements" (*Silent* 4). While Hannay recognizes the capacity "*even* in translation" for women to assert an authorial or political identity, she hardly overstates the case and in fact seems to understate it quite radically. This dissertation argues that translation, particularly when combined with other representational media, offered the most effective means for a woman in this period to assert a public, personal, political, and literary identity. Women who translate are not simply taking advantage of what Deborah Uman calls a "valuable loophole" that allows women to write without "breaking the restrictions of silence, obedience, and chastity" (*Women* 11); rather, they are engaging with an important, effective, and controversial genre of writing that cannot necessarily be considered "safe" simply because it contains the name of another, original, author. Translation and the competing and complex authorities inherent in it offer an unprecedented way for the women of this study to voice political and personal affiliations.

I thus argue that Mary Bassett, Jane Lumley, Jane Seager, and Esther Inglis avail themselves of the competing imperatives around translation that coexisted at this point in time. They each rely to some extent on the safety of humanist translation with its fidelity to the original author, but also remove themselves from that safety through their employment of earlier models of translational strategies, paratexts, and participation in the patronage system. On the one hand, these women translate with a fluidity and interpretive purpose that was at odds with the emerging paradigm of faithful, invisible translation and that resembled more closely earlier models of the translator's task. On the other hand, they also claim an authorial position and privilege through the signing of their proper names to their translations and in their efforts to circulate their work (and themselves as learned personages) within a system of patronage and gifting that helped to establish literary works as objects of value and their authors' names as commodities.

ii. A "Renaissance in Translation Studies"?: Contemporary Translation Theory

The post-Enlightenment paradigm of the invisible translator and the transparently accessible target text has been challenged in recent decades by theorists like Venuti and Godard, cited earlier, and by practitioners like Caroline Bergvall and Robert Majzels and Claire Huot in their post-modern translations of early texts.[9] Such recent challenges to the

[9] These translators challenge the ideals of fidelity, unity, and transparency in works like Bergvall's "Shorter Chaucer Tales" (collected in *Meddle English*, Nightboat Books, 2011) in which the translator reworks Middle English tales using a variety of strategies including translation, transcription, homophonic translation, and pastiche. Bergvall reflects on this process:

> I did wonder what kind of translative operations could transport the reader from various aspects of contemporary English to Chaucer's Middle English and back. Chains of variations could be created from the diachronic and homophonic use of vocabulary. To engage across the centuries in a crochet of allusions or puns: there you have the principle and seeming insousciance of linguistic games…It was my intention to try to keep the historic reality of cultural and linguistic traffic an aspect of these translative associations. This very historicity would reinforce the arbitrariness of the sound-sense features of

dominant paradigm have not yet had a major impact on mainstream publishing and academia. Ideas about the relatively "value-less" nature of the translator's labour, I argue, colours our current perceptions of the value of translation in the early modern period.

Luise von Flotow observes in "Translation in the Politics of Culture" that the devaluation of translation in modern literature has much to do with cultural investment in national literature and celebration of not only individual, but national, "genius," as critical attention remains focused on creative and original works that displace translation to the margins of canonical hierarchies of reading and study. Nevertheless, recent years have seen what von Flotow calls a "renaissance in translation studies" ("Culture" 9), as critical interest in translation and its political and cultural significances increases. von Flotow's work centres primarily on women's translations since the nineteenth century,[10] but she provides a succinct statement of the state of translation theory and the academy in her essay introducing the work of theorists in medieval and Renaissance translation. I think her phrase, "a renaissance in translation studies," which she uses principally to highlight the topicality of the collection of essays she introduces, is in fact particularly apt as it expresses the state of translation studies in general today, and, more obliquely, suggests that there may be a current "renaissance in *Renaissance* translation studies."[11]

> individual words, the naturalised, rather than essential, connection of language to its referent world. ("Short Aside" para. 3)

The work of Robert Majzels and Claire Huot in their "85s" project likewise participates in an ethics of translation that destabilizes historical notions of translation and works to "apply a non-mastering ethical view of the translator's task" (para. 2). The project translates Chinese poems into English visual poetry. Each poem consists of 85 letters and forces the reader to confront the words of the poems in vertical lines without spaces between the words, asking the reader to question her response to cultural and literary "otherness."

[10] See, for example, her *Translating Women* (2011) and *Translation and Gender* (1997).

[11] Such a "renaissance" is signaled by current critical work but also by projects like that undertaken by The Modern Humanities Research Association in their new series dedicated to Tudor and Stuart translations (there are nine volumes currently available in the series, with projected publications of a further ten volumes through 2013-2014). This project identifies and seeks to redress the relative paucity of scholarly

Not only is there a growing interest in translation as a literary activity to be studied in its own right (translation across literary genres and periods); there is also a shift in our conceptualization of the "task of the translator" informed by the work of post-structuralist and feminist theorists in recent decades.[12] Following the conceptual shifts begun by Benjamin and continued in the writings of post-structuralists like Derrida,[13] important new questions about translation begin to be asked in the "cultural turn" in translation studies.[14] The "cultural turn," Sherry Simon explains, includes a shift towards understanding translations as documents that "exist materially and move about," so that critics begin to ask not what constitutes "correct translation," but what the translation does and how it circulates (7). Simon's influential *Gender in Translation* does much to

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editions of Renaissance works in translation. As the MHRA website notes, "[t]he series aims to restore to view a major part of English Renaissance literature which has become relatively inaccessible and to present these texts as literary works in their own right." See project website at: http://www.mhra.org.uk/Publications/Books/tudor.html

[12] The formulation "task of the translator" refers of course to Walter Benjamin's seminal essay "The Task of the Translator." Benjamin began the process of destabilizing the centrality of the author/translator to translation itself as he formulated the translator's task as being to "release in his own language that pure language which is under the spell of another, to liberate the language imprisoned in a work in his re-creation of that work" (80). Benjamin's formulation liberates the translator from servitude (as when he compares translation to a "tangent [that] touches a circle lightly and at but one point" and which then "pursues its own course according to the laws of fidelity in the freedom of linguistic flux" [80]) but it imposes upon the translator a task that is surely rendered impossible in real terms: the achievement of "pure language" (82).

[13] Benjamin's formulation challenged theorists like Derrida and Ricoeur to recognize and worry over the paradox of a model of translation possible in theory and impossible in practice. As Ricoeur notes, Benjamin's "dream of the perfect translation amounts to the wish that translation would gain, gain without losing" (9). For Ricoeur this becomes attainable (at least in a compromised form) in the concept of linguistic hospitality, in which the translator must "translate differently, without the hope of filling the gap between equivalence and total adequacy" in order to achieve "linguistic hospitality…where the pleasure of dwelling in the other's language is balanced by the pleasure of receiving the foreign word at home, in one's own welcoming house" (10). For Derrida, translation must be theorized in the language of gift, debt, obligation, and paradox. Derrida reflects that after Babel, God "*at the same time* imposes and forbids translation…Translation then becomes necessary and impossible, like the effect of the struggle for the appropriation of the name" ("Tours" 170). Derrida identifies the problem as residing in the translation itself as an object in the cycle of debt and obligation: "the bond or obligation of the debt does not pass between a donor and a donee, but between two texts" ("Tours" 179). It is the text that requires or demands translation: the 'original' "is the first debtor, the first petitioner; it begins by lacking and by pleading for translation" ("Tours" 184) and it would do so even if it never found its translator.

[14] Or, perhaps a better formulation is 'important questions begin to be asked anew' – the questions themselves are not new, but we have not been asking them consistently enough.

situate feminine and feminist voices in translation and she elucidates the multiplicity of ways in which gender "reframes conditions of textual authority" (167). Simon's work is foundational to this study in the way that it foregrounds feminist theory as a means of uncovering "a renewed sense of *agency* in translation…[that] must be understood in relation to the various sites through which the translating subject defines itself" (29), and I do not wish to underestimate her relevance to the field of gender and translations studies. That said, I think Simon allows her understanding of translation theory today to too radically colour her perception of translation in the Renaissance, particularly in her assessment of women's relationship to translation.

When Simon traces (in the introduction to a book otherwise concerned with current, feminist, translation theory) the rise of the "translatress" (45) in the Renaissance, her understanding of the operation of authorship in the Renaissance and the fact that translation was one of the few intellectual activities authorized for a woman's participation leads her to posit an either/or situation for women translators: "We are led to wonder whether translation condemned women to the margins of discourse or, on the contrary, rescued them from imposed silence" (46). In either scenario, it seems to me, the agency in fact lies with the translation itself, rather than with its practitioner. In neither instance posited by Simon do the translators exercise agency, as *translation* itself either "condemn[s]" or "rescue[s]" them. I will argue throughout this study that the choice to translate is not one that women of the period make purely out of necessity or fear. They choose to work in translation precisely because it affords them the most effective means of expressing a specific political agenda and/or asserting an authorial identity. I would point out that one would hardly suggest that translation condemned Thomas Hoby or

John Florio to the "margins of discourse." Part of the work necessary in early modern studies is to more clearly recognize the centrality of translation in the period and to sift claims of valuelessness made in Renaissance translation-prefaces (and stemming from a conventional and expected modesty topos) from current-day preconceptions about the valuelessness of translation stemming from a critical and cultural heritage of devaluing translation as a secondary and derivative art. Glyn P. Norton gestures toward the overwhelming importance of translation to Renaissance culture when he claims that "translation was more than an act of writing; it inhabited a space of real locomotion with energies derived from the impelling volition of thought itself" (334). Norton recognizes the central importance of translation in creating and circulating cultural energy in a period defined by its textualities. Ideas about translation were very much in flux during this period and I argue that the translators of this study exploited the very malleability of the genre in order to express political and subject positions in their writing.

iii. Having it Both Ways: Translation and Renaissance Gift-Culture

If the transitional nature of translation theory and practice in this period gave women an opportunity to express their personal and political agency from a position of relative safety, the complex and well-established system of Renaissance patronage gave them an unprecedented opportunity to circulate their work within specifically targeted communities of readers. The intricacies and social obligations attendant upon gift-giving in the Renaissance are explored in Natalie Zemon Davis' important study, *The Gift in Sixteenth Century France*, in which she invokes Marcel Mauss's conception of gift-giving as a system of obligation and reciprocity that nevertheless exists outside of

economies of trade and exchange.[15] Davis identifies two main conceptual strains underlying Renaissance ideas of gift giving: one, that all creation is a gift from God and humanity has a responsibility to honour Him as the original giver; and two, that humanity in-the-world is "held together by reciprocity," a belief inherited by the Renaissance from Aristotle (12). These two conceptions link human and divine giving and reciprocity and helped to perpetuate a social system within which the importance of gift-giving cannot be overestimated. Social, political, economic, and familial relationships between and among all classes were predicated on a complex system of giving and receiving that, depending on the precise situation, could be formal or informal, obligatory or free.[16]

While the giving of books certainly occurred within formal occasions of gift exchange – like the New Year's gift exchange between monarch and courtiers in Tudor England – it also occurred in more informal, voluntary ways;[17] it is into this latter category that the manuscripts I examine in this dissertation fall. Each of the manuscripts includes either a dedication or an epistle dedicatory to the giver's potential patron explaining the circumstances and hinting at the political and personal implications of the gift. As Jane Donawerth argues of gifts in the period more generally, the letters which accompany them "need to be considered part of the gifts" (9). This is certainly the case with the gift books I examine in this study, though I will read the letters as both gifts and as performances of identity with myriad and sometimes competing agendas. The gift of a

[15] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*.
[16] See Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos (2008) for a comprehensive study of informal networks of gift exchange in the English Renaissance. Ben-Amos distinguishes support (gifting) into categories of informal/formal and voluntary/involuntary.
[17] Jane Donawerth records the fact that Tudor New Year's gift lists include books-as-gifts only from male courtiers, never from women, though Princess Elizabeth's gift of "The Glass of the Sinful Soul" belies this as a hard and fast rule (8). It is also likely that Jane Seager's *Divine Prophecies* was given or intended as a New Year's gift to Elizabeth (see discussion of this manuscript, Chapter 4). On books as gifts in Renaissance patronage culture, see also Jason Scott-Warren's *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (2001).

book to a friend, family member, or potential patron could have immense significance in terms of the giver's own social standing, but it also (and more importantly for the purposes of this study) allowed a carefully calculated avenue for the dissemination of one's own written work. For women particularly, for whom print publication may have been difficult or dangerous, the Renaissance system of gift-exchange offered a way of circulating works with political implications to an audience who may have been amenable to or capable of assisting in the circulation of contentious views. Translation likewise offered a medium from within which women could offer images of themselves and their political viewpoints while maintaining a pose of deniability. The conjunction of gift-exchange and translation, far from diluting self-expression, in fact allowed for a striking range of personal and political affiliations to be exercised. Translation – from the careful choice of a source text to the accompanying epistles/prefaces, to lexical choices and even decorative symbolism – allowed women an unprecedented opportunity to make their voices heard and seen by allies, friends, family, and patrons. This study considers manuscripts made by four women, each of whom demonstrates a specific political agenda in her gift of translation.

The chapters of this dissertation treat each of the manuscript-gifts as an individual case study that illuminates particularities in the relationship between text, translator, reader, and dedicatee. Chapter 2 considers Mary Bassett's translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, written and presented to Princess Mary Tudor c.1547-53. The terms of Basset's dedication to the princess Mary are unequivocal and even daring. Written during the reign of Edward VI, the dedication celebrates the Princess Mary, whose "synguler and manyfolde gyftes bothe of god and nature" include learning, virtue,

and piety (50-1). Bassett and Mary shared a devotion to the Catholic faith, and Bassett refers throughout the epistle to "my moste lefe and deryst freends," a reference I will argue is intended to remind Mary of the community of Catholic readers associated with Bassett (f1v). Far from eliding her own identity or her religious affiliations in the epistle, Bassett uses the medium of translation in order to express her loyalty and devotion to her faith and to the princess Mary as a potential defender of that faith. Chapter 2 offers a close reading of Bassett's lexical choices and what these reveal about her own cultural milieu and her articulation of both political and religious community in the manuscript.

Chapter 3 treats Jane Lumley's translation of Euripides's *Iphigenia at Aulis* in the early 1550s. The translation exists in a single manuscript held at the British Library. It is the only one of the manuscripts in this study without a clear dedication, but I suggest, based on the pattern of translation-gifting in the family, that it was likely intended for Lumley's father, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. As Patricia Demers argues, the composition of this translation comes at a time when its subject matter – including "the turn of fortune's wheel and the attempt to use daughters and young women to advance political power" (*Women's* 79) – would have been extremely topical. The likely date of composition includes the period of Lady Jane Grey's attempted coronation in between the death of Edward VI and the accession of Mary I, events with which Arundel was politically involved. This chapter situates Lumley's work as a translation intimately associated with the social and political events of its day.

In Chapter 4 I consider Jane Seager's *The Divine Prophecies of the Ten Sibills*, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I in 1589. Seager crafted an exquisite physical setting for her translation of her Latin source, and Chapter 4 argues that the forging of the material

book itself constitutes an act of translation. Like many of her contemporary translators, Seager opens her text with a dedicatory epistle that addresses the desires and purported inadequacies of the translator herself. Seager's dedication is less concerned with the kind of theoretical issues of translation that concern Bassett in her epistle dedicatory; it does, however, constitute a clear and confident statement of Seager's affiliation (specifically as a virgin) with Elizabeth I and constructs carefully the author's right to speak frankly through her translation to the queen. Again, the text itself articulates a politicized voice, but most strikingly in Seager's manuscript, the visual imagery and dual translation into English and a shorthand system called "characterie" combine to offer a multi-semiotic (rather than simply an inter-semiotic) translation of political and personal desire.

Finally, Chapter 5 considers Esther Inglis, the famed calligrapher, as a translator. Inglis, who dedicated and presented manuscripts to a wide variety of patrons throughout the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, is in some ways the most difficult of these writers to categorize as a translator, and thus the most difficult to place within the study. Many of the recipients of her manuscripts were unacquainted with Inglis, though one common thread among them seems to be an association with the Protestant cause in England. Dedicatees include Queen Elizabeth I (in both 1591 and 1599), Christian Friis, Chancellor to the King of Denmark, the Earl of Essex, Anthony Bacon, Prince Henry, and Prince Charles among many others. Inglis' source texts are mostly religious works, including the *Discours de la Foy*, the *Octonaires* of Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Psalms*, and the *Quatrains* of Guy da Faur. Inglis often re-presents her source text in its original language or in an existing translation, though always in a highly decorated form. Despite the ostensible fact that Inglis was a copyist (in fact she is most

often referred to as a calligrapher), I think we can profitably approach her manuscripts from the perspective of translation. Her elaborate visual repackaging of the source texts is itself an act of translation and I consider the ways in which Inglis, working in calligraphy, in miniature, in textile and embroidered bindings, and in painting, succeeds in presenting an inter-semiotic translation that takes her source texts from the printed page into the realm of visual arts. Chapter 5 focuses specifically on the emblem book, *Cinquant Emblemes Chrestienes*, that Inglis dedicated to Prince Charles in 1624. The book reproduces 49 of the 100 emblems from Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises Chrestiennes*; Inglis reassigns the 49 emblems to members of the English court and nobility and I argue that the striking politicality of the associations Inglis creates between each emblem and courtier is the clearest example of her work as a translator.

This particular group of translations has not previously been considered as a related group and even though the chapters are relatively self-contained case studies, as a whole this project offers a critical lens through which to read Renaissance translations in relation to the materiality of Renaissance gift culture. I conclude the study by discussing the coming shift in translational practice in the mid-seventeenth century and offering final connections among this important group of manuscript translations.

Chapter 2: "Thys my poore labor to present": Mary Basset's Translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*

Mary Basset (d. 1572) is perhaps best known as the granddaughter of Thomas More and the translator of his *De Tristitia Christi*, printed in 1557 in More's collected English writings.[18] Her translation of the first five books of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* from Greek into English and Latin is less well known, in part because of its manuscript form, dedicated to the Princess Mary (later Mary I) and now held at the British Library.[19] The Harley catalogue records that the now leather-bound copy of Basset's *EH* was at one time "bound in a Cover of Purple Velvet, Gilt on the Edges, &c. Seemeth to have been the Present-Book to the above mentioned Princess" (BM 269). Evidence that the manuscript was actually given to Mary is not conclusive, but the elaborate binding and visual presentation of the text itself (with embellished capitals and neatly ruled margins in red) suggests that this was likely the copy destined for her. Basset's gift includes a long and detailed dedicatory letter in which she reflects on her methodology and theoretical stance in making the translation. Basset's voice emerges clearly and confidently from within the conventions of the dedicatory letter and this chapter will explore the ways in which her translation and its circulation as a gift to the princess Mary Tudor offered Basset an opportunity to declare publicly her religious and political affiliations to this controversial figure. I will argue that Basset capitalizes on her familial legacy, which was still of great cultural currency in Edwardian England, in order to

[18] For clarity, I will refer to Basset by her last married name throughout. She is usually referred to as Basset, though her first married name, Clarke, is also occasionally used and is the name that appears in the dedicatory letter to Harley 1860. She is occasionally referred to by her full name, Mary Roper Clarke Basset.

[19] BL MS Harley 1860. Basset translated Books 1-5 into English and Book 1 into Latin. When citing from manuscript sources throughout, I have retained original spelling and punctuation. I have expanded abbreviations and supplied missing letters in italics.

consolidate as a community the like-minded Catholic supporters with whom Basset and Mary were both associated. Basset employs various strategies in the translation to make her private identity and public convictions visible to her reader(s).

i. Mary Basset and the Morean Educational Legacy

Mary Basset's mother, Margaret Roper, is perhaps the best known of the pupils at Thomas More's "household academy," and it is important to consider the academic legacy that passed from More to Roper to Basset in order to more clearly understand the tradition upon which Basset draws in her translation and its dedicatory epistle. The legacy of humanist educational values Thomas More handed on to his daughter and literary custodian, Margaret Roper, has been well-documented and consequent interest in Roper's daughter, Mary Basset, has burgeoned in recent years.[20] Margaret Roper was celebrated for her learning in the academy of the More household; More's conviction that both women and men should be educated as virtuous humanists to the betterment of the state emerges clearly in a letter to one of the children's tutors, William Gonell (c. 1518):

> Since erudition in women is a new thing and a reproach to the indolence of men, many will gladly attack it…If a woman – and this I desire and hope with you as their teacher for all my daughters – should add to eminent virtue even a moderate knowledge of letters, I think she will have more real profit than if she had obtained the riches of Croseus and the beauty of Helen. I do not say this because of the glory that will be hers, though glory follows virtue as a shadow follows a body, but because the reward of

[20] Recent work on Basset's manuscript translation includes articles by Goodrich (2010) and Merino (2007), and discussions by Ross (2009, p. 161-166) and Hosington (2011, p. 103-106). Biographical details and work on *De Tristitia Christi* also appear in Wynne-Davies (2007, p. 12-27) and Demers (2005, p. 76-78).

> wisdom is too solid to be lost like riches, or to decay like beauty. … Nor do I think the harvest [of the fruits of learning] will be affected whether it is a man or a woman who sows the field. They both have the same human nature, and the power of reason differentiates them from the beasts. Both, therefore, are equally suited for those studies by which reason is cultivated and is productive like a ploughed field on which the seed of good lessons has been sown. (qtd. in Reynolds 15-17)

In keeping with other humanists like Desiderius Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives who advocated for women's education, More emphasizes his belief in the power and efficacy of education only when it is allied with Christian virtue. The final simile of the passage emphasizes the importance of education, not for its own sake, but in productive service of the state and of god. In furtherance of this humanist ideal, More and a succession of well-respected tutors educated his children in classical languages and rhetoric, a curriculum planned by More and overseen by both him and his second wife, Alice More (Reynolds 12-15). Margaret Roper and her sisters' education occurred in the household; as Sarah Gwynneth Ross notes, the "social realities" of sixteenth-century England dictated that women had no access to institutional learning and their education had to be undertaken at home, "surrounded with the legitimizing framework of familial – and particularly patriarchal – sanction" (121, 122). Nevertheless, it is important not to trivialize the quality of education that pupils of the household academy would have received.[21] As Ross goes on to note, "contemporary authors did not represent household academies as

[21] For recent studies on women's education in this period, see Margaret W. Ferguson, *Dido's Daughters* (2003); Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (1999); Retha M. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (1983).
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inferior to public institutions" and instead compared the household academy to the Platonic academy, domesticating "the Platonic paradigm…into a Christian framework" (122). Margaret Roper and her siblings were educated by a series of distinguished scholars, including John Clement, William Gonell, and Richard Hyrde, and the students' achievements, particularly those of Margaret, were praised in the highest humanist circles in Europe.

Thomas More was unstinting in his praise of his daughter and pupil and "regularly used superlatives when addressing" her (Demers *Women's* 71). More's friend Erasmus likewise extolled Roper's learning and virtue in letters written to her father and other noted humanists. In his *Life of Sir Thomas More*, Nicolas Harpsfield (whom William Roper enjoined to write the biography) records that "Erasmus, for her [Roper's] exquisite learning, wisedome and vertue, made such an accompt of her, that he called her the flowre of all the learned matrones in Inglande" (80). Roper's reputation for learning and Christian virtue, established before More's imprisonment and execution in 1535, and her publicly touted intellectual affinity with her father combined to make her instrumental in perpetuating her father's legacy in a political climate ill-disposed towards the celebration of a Catholic martyr.[22] Jaime Goodrich argues that after More's execution the women of the More family (specifically Margaret Roper and Margaret Clement, More's ward) maintained a "Catholic coterie" and were questioned regarding their participation in acts perceived as subversive to Henry VIII's rule ("Dedicatory" 305). Margaret Roper's retention of her father's writings and relics was particularly threatening to a regime that wanted to discourage More's reputation and legacy as Catholic martyr.

[22] Harpsfield, for example, records that "of all other mistris Margarete Roper did pricke nearest her father, as well in witt, vertue and learning, as also in merrye and pleasaunt talke" (78).

Margaret Clements's husband was interrogated about the women's political opinions – opinions about Henry VIII's religious policies that the two continued to voice publicly in the years following More's execution. Goodrich notes that the views espoused by the women reveal that "Margaret Roper and Margaret Clement were not just mouthpieces for More's views. Rather, they actively applied More's values to contemporary events, such as the dissolution of the monasteries, actions that made the More women an ongoing source of dissidence" ("Dedicatory" 306).[23] Margaret Roper actively participated in and perpetuated a familial tradition of education and Christian humanism that must be recognized as both an individual scholarly achievement and as a contribution to the values and legacy of a family network.

Margaret Roper's scholarly reputation, her training in the More household academy, and her participation in the political dimension of her family's struggle are essential to reading her daughter, Mary Basset's, contribution to and continuation of the More "familial discourse." Familial discourse, as defined by Marion Wynne-Davies,

[23] The extent to which Roper's work can be read as constituting an agential or authorial presence is something that continues to provoke debate among critics. Rita Verbrugge, for example, lamented in 1985 the fact that "almost anything that can be said of her [Roper] has to acknowledge her father's involvement at some level" (31), and Tina Krontiris has argued that Thomas More discouraged his daughter's public voice by praising her proper modesty in seeking to circulate her writing only among her immediate family (6). While his praise of her is apparent, it seems somewhat disingenuous to read this as disapproval of a woman having a public voice, since More himself circulated her work to some of the most eminent thinkers of the day. Additionally, Roper's published translation of the *Devout Treatise Upon the Pater Noster* appeared c. 1524 and, while containing only the initials of its translator, was accompanied by a dedicatory letter from Roper's one-time tutor, Richard Hyrde, that so lauded her reputation and achievements that her role in the translation can hardly have been a secret. Marion Wynne-Davies has identified the cyclical nature of modern criticism on Roper, with scholars like Betty Travitsky and Mary Ellen Lamb questioning the extent to which Roper's writings can be separated at all from her father's influence and later critics like Lamb and Jonathan Goldberg finding in Roper's writing a site of resistance to patriarchal authority (*Familial* 15-16). Although Wynne-Davies concludes that "critical opinion has judged Margaret's work as derivative because of her dependence upon a tradition of writing inherited from her father and her preferment of translation" (*Familial* 16), Wynne-Davies' reading of the familial discourse at work in the More line of writers offers an important way in which to read Roper's (and later Basset's) writings and translations as at once individual literary productions and facets of a much more complex familial identity and discourse.

obtains when a family "develop[s] a set of self-presentation skills that project a defined identity across an array of cultural, social and political domains" (1). As Wynne-Davies points out, the fact that a family expresses a defined identity is insufficient to constitute familial discourse; rather, this requires a "combination of group, initiating individual, and material context," all of which contribute to the formation of individual cultural and textual productions that, as part of a familial discourse, become "powerful cultural instruments" (2, 3). Certainly this is the case with Mary Basset's manuscript translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*; her participation in the familial discourse – defined, in part, by a commitment to faith and/through Christian humanism initiated by Thomas More – is evident in the translation and its accompanying letter. Basset's education, religious affiliations, and familial connections give her an extraordinary opportunity to voice a political agenda in a translation that circulated amongst like-minded members of the Catholic community during the Edwardian era.

Margaret Roper perpetuated the educational values she inherited from Thomas More in educating her daughter. There is less extant evidence for Basset's schooling than for Roper's, but Harpsfield records that:

> This mistris Bassett is very well experted in the latine and greeke tonges; she hath very handsomely and learnedly translated out of the greeke into the englishe all the ecclesiasticall storye of Eusebius…she hath also very aptly and fitly translated into the saide tonge a certaine booke that Sir Thomas, her grandfather, made vpon the passion, and so elegantly and eloquently penned that a man would thinke it were originally written in the saide englishe tonge. (83)

Harpsfield's comment makes it clear that Basset, like her mother, had a reputation for academic achievement, specifically in the classical languages and translation. The comment also suggests that the translation of Eusebius that now exists in only a single manuscript was recognized and praised at the time and likely had a wider circulation than its single remaining copy might imply. Jaime Goodrich records a number of esteemed tutors engaged by Margaret Roper, including John Morwen, Henry Cole, and John Christopherson ("Dedicatory" 303). A letter from Roger Ascham to Basset reveals that Roper had also approached him to act as tutor, a position he was unable to take up, although he knew of Basset's reputation for scholarship and commends her on it in the letter (Ross 80). This evidence reveals that, like her mother, Mary Basset received a carefully orchestrated program of education, stressing the humanist core curriculum, including Greek and Latin.

Letters and Thomas Stapleton's early biography of Thomas More reveal his interest in translation as an educational tool; even before Ascham popularized "double translation" (translating from Latin into English and then from English back into Latin, for example), More advocated just such a practice to his children in their studies (Hosington 98). Reynolds describes More urging his children to practice double translation so as to fully concentrate on the language of translation; he enjoins them to "scrutinise the whole sentence and then every part of it" (qtd. in Reynolds 25). Basset appears to have been raised in a household that valued education highly and valued translation as both an educational tool for learning the classical languages and as a means of understanding and perpetuating patristic writings that were otherwise unavailable. It is clear that Margaret Roper oversaw the education of her own children, and Harpsfield

praises her as a "double mother [as] one not content to bring them forth onley into the world, but instructing them also her selfe in vertue and learning" (78). Harpsfield's comment again makes clear the fact that learning in both men and women is valuable only when allied with personal and civic virtue. Roper seems to have raised her own children with just such humanist values in addition to passing on an interest and belief in the value of translation as an educational tool and politically powerful pursuit that Mary Basset takes up in the next generation.

ii. *Eusebius's* Ecclesiastical History *in Context*

Mary Basset's choice to translate Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* is significant to the larger context of her educational background and her affiliation with important Catholic circles during the reign of Edward VI. Basset's choice to translate one of the patristic writers is perhaps related to the stress placed upon translating the church fathers by More (and presumably later Roper as well) in order to render them more accessible. As Brenda Hosington notes, England "lagged behind the continent in editing and translating Greek patristic texts" and this was something about which More expressed concern in his letters (104). Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* was available in Rufinus' fifth-century Latin translation throughout the middle ages; this translation was printed "from the fifteenth century onwards," and in 1523 appeared in a version compiled by the continental humanist Beatus Rhenanus that notes the lack of an original Greek text and reflects on the value of reading church history, which "provid[es] its readers with the edifying example of Christian martyrs who patiently endured tortures for their faith and with the warning example of emperors and other civil rulers who did everything in their power to

stop the progress of Christianity" (Backus 420, 421). The example of the early Christian martyrs is a symbolic paradigm claimed by both Catholic and Reformist thinkers in the English Renaissance, and Eusebius is cited by writers on both sides of the religious controversy.[24]

Doron Mendels has argued that the *Ecclesiastical History* represented a new genre when it was written, since Eusebius departed from previous models of historiography in that he "did not write a comprehensive history of his topic, the rise of Christianity. Rather, he wrote in the manner of our modern media" (3). Mendels sees Eusebius as attentive to and solicitous of the needs of his target audience, building in redundancies for accessibility and editing his content carefully, "shaping what people should know and deciding what they should forget (a matter he himself bluntly acknowledges in *Hist. Eccl*. 8.2.2-3)" (3). Perhaps it is the early modern era's own obsession with historiography and media-awareness that drew the attention of humanist scholars to Eusebius in the sixteenth century. Eusebius' wide and varied access to source material certainly interested early modern writers. Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams emphasize the mosaic-like qualities of Eusebius's *EH*, with sources drawn from the massive resources at his disposal, and they argue that at the height of his career, "Eusebius's workplace must have become a substantial research institution, at once an archive, a library, and a scriptorium" (215). Eusebius' work is important in a number of respects, not the least of which is this access to and transmission of early ecclesiastical documents subsequently lost. Basset cites this as one of the reasons she chooses to translate his text in particular: "Eusebius alledge[s] many aucthorytyes out of sundrye

[24] A few of the many writers who invoked Eusebius are reformers like John Bale, John Foxe, and Thomas Becon and traditionalists like Edmund Bonner (during the rule of Mary I) and one of Basset's tutors, John Christopherson.

Greke aucthors, which were in hys tyme abrode in mennys hands, but syns have bene loste, and are nowe therfore to our knowledge, no where to come by" (f5). Because of this, she claims, the text requires careful translation by a reader who understands the sense of these allusions, even if the original textual remnants have been lost. Basset clearly and carefully illuminates her own fitness for this role in the dedicatory letter, to which I will return in the following section of this chapter.

In addition to his incorporation of myriad source texts in his writings, the "imperial theology" developed by Eusebius seems likely to have appealed to the Tudor kings and queens, arguing as it does for the central role of the emperor in the religious lives of his subjects: "In Eusebius' ordered and vertical universe, the Christian emperor is head not only of the state but of the state religion, leading the human kingdom toward the heavenly kingdom, different from each other only in degree" (Å. Bergvall 6). Eusebius' work resonated with both Catholic and Reformist writers who appropriated his *Ecclesiastical History* in support of their respective answers to theological disputes. Eusebius seems to have been invoked particularly on questions of clerical celibacy, a practice that Eusebius endorses, though the *EH* also gives various examples of married church leaders (Parish 61). Ambiguity on questions such as this allowed Eusebius to be cited as an authority on either side of theological issues, but he was also instrumental in foundational arguments over the relationship of Catholic and Protestant beliefs to the early Christian church. As Felicity Heal argues, despite the pitfalls of using history in religious polemic – especially for Protestant writers who tended to privilege the scriptural Word over the historical example – "there were both Catholics and Protestants for whom it was an absolutely essential tool in persuading men to the true faith," and some

"historians tuned their texts to Protestant or Catholic legitimation" (112, 113). Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* was "tuned" to legitimation by writers on both sides of the religious controversy, with writers like John Christopherson and Edmund Bonner citing it in support of Catholic doctrine while Reformists like John Bale and John Foxe used it to legitimate their positions. Foxe, in his dedicatory letter to Elizabeth I in *Acts and Monuments*, explicitly compares his project of seeking out and chronicling martyrs of the true church to Eusebius's similar task for Constantine in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Foxes's "invocation," argues Gretchen Minton, "is clearly an attempt to establish a reliable precedent for his work, as well as to draw a comparison between the age of Constantine and the age of Elizabeth" (717). On the other hand, as we will see, the *Ecclesiastical History* is a powerful legitimizing text for Catholic writers, especially in the face of Reformist appropriation, and Basset's choice of source text is calculated to convey the politically charged message of solidarity and sympathy with the Catholic cause in England during the Edwardian reign.

Basset translates the *Ecclesiastical History* from the Greek text that became available to English readers for the first time in 1544 when it was printed in Paris by Robert Estienne (Backus 421). Unfortunately, Basset claims in her dedicatory letter to the translation, the Greek version of the *EH*

> ys in sundrye placys wonderfully unperfecte and corrupte, *th*e blame wherof can I not wholy ympute to the prynter, but rather doo I coniecture that the copyes whych the prynter folowed were eyther untreulye wrytten, or ells perchaunce w*ith* longe lyeng in suche wyse worne and peryshed

> that in every place thorowly the words and sentencys therof coulde not well be redd and discerned. (f5)[25]

Basset's comment reveals something of her own facility with the Greek language that she is able to so cogently comment on the corruption of the original source. Despite its imperfections, the newly accessible Greek text allows Basset to evaluate Rufinus's widely disseminated Latin version of the text and to expose some of the problems evident in his translation. As Basset reveals, Rufinus "doth not in all poyntes thorowly perfourme *th*e offyce of a treue interpretor, sometyme alteryng *th*e very sence sometyme omyttyng whole sentences to gyther, sometiyme addyng and puttyng to of hys owne, as manyfestly in hys translacion apperyth (f7v-8). Basset's theory of translation, part of the Morean educational legacy she inherits, leads her to condemn the heavy-handed way in which Rufinus alters, cuts, and amends his source.

While Basset's own practice reveals some degree of willingness to provide an interpretive translation rather than a strictly literal one, she does make an observation on Rufinus's style and practice that is shared by other readers of his work. Rhenanus had also criticized Rufinus's poor translation, and Backus notes that Rufinus simply added books ten and eleven to the *Ecclesiastical History* (421). Basset's criticism reflects the transitional moment that I argued in the introduction was at work in this period. While Basset's practice indicates her interpretive shaping of the text and the paratexts of letter and material gift form of the book render her work as translator particularly visible, she also cannot accept a translation that meddles overly much in its interpretation of the

[25] See Appendix 1 for a transcription of the complete letter.

source material. Her work reflects a desire to be (and to read) a translator who is simultaneously faithful and visible.

iii. The Religio-Political Context of Basset's Ecclesiastical History

Basset's choice of source text, no less than her dedicatory letter and translation, reveals her intervention in the religious controversy of her time. Before Foxe constructs his Eusebian parallel for Elizabeth in his dedicatory letter, Basset draws on the religious and symbolic connotations of the *EH* in her dedication to Mary in order to express her political affiliation and religious community during a regime that was hostile to Catholic belief. Basset chose a text that had significance to the familial tradition within which she was writing and which had broader implications in the ongoing religious controversy in England. Her translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* marks a reclamation of a patristic writer who, though valued by both More and Erasmus – formative agents in the education and values of Roper and later Basset – had been appropriated by Reformist writers in support of their vision of the Protestant church enduring the martyrdoms of its faithful in its mission to return to the purity of the early church. Calvin used Eusebius extensively in his writings, as did John Bale, including in his glosses on Anne Askew's examinations.[26] Basset recontextualizes the *Ecclesiastical History* within a community of those faithful to English Catholicism in her dedicatory letter and she invokes the Princess Mary as a

[26] One instance among many in Bale's commentary reads: "In most terryble persecucyons of the prymatyve churche, were the examynacyons and answers, tormentes and deathes of the constaunt martyrs written, and sent abroade all the whole worlde over, as testyfyeth Eusebius Cesariensis in hys ecclesyastyck hystorye ("to the Christen readers" 124-7). Bale reappropriates the suffering of the early Christian martyrs in order to conflate it with the examinations and tortures endured by Askew and other reformist martyrs. For Calvin's use of Eusebius, see Irena Backus, "Calvin's Judgment of Eusebius of Caesarea."

unifying symbol for that community. Basset also makes the English version of the text available through manuscript circulation within this community.

As Micheline White has recently argued, "to write about religion as a woman in the Tudor and Jacobean periods was perforce to position oneself in relation to a range of 'orthodox' and 'heterodox' beliefs about theology, ritual, devotion, language use, ecclesiastical government, and female piety" (4). Basset's position in regards to her source text and her community is made abundantly clear in the dedicatory letter, and the most visible element of the translation's heterodoxy is its dedicatee. Basset refers to Mary as "the most noble vertuous and prudent prynces, Ladye Marye" and Edward VI as "o*ur* moste dreade soveraigne Lorde king" (f1). The terms of the dedicatory letter indicate its composition during Edward's rule, between 1547 and 1553, though Basset could potentially have begun the translation as early as the Greek text's printing in 1544.[27] The dedication of this particular text to Mary Tudor is significant for a number of reasons, including Mary's own educational background and the fact that she represented a visible figure of opposition to reformist policies perpetuated during Edward's reign. Mary was thus a doubly suitable dedicatee of the translation and could have been expected to appreciate the text's significance to the wider religious controversy and to the Morean educational legacy now situated in Basset.

[27] Goodrich speculates that Margaret Roper's death in that year may have inspired Basset to begin the translation (311). Merino believes the translation to have been made during the Edwardian era and presented to Mary after she became queen (88). I incline to agree with Goodrich, who points out that to have given Mary the translation using the title of 'Lady Mary' after her succession would have been "an unwelcome reminder of her disinheritance" (320). There is no evidence of the two women having had contact before 1553, when Basset is listed as a lady in waiting to Mary I, although most of the people with whom Mary surrounded herself at this time had already been part of her circle before their official appointments (Loades *Life* 192). I suggest that the public escalation of Mary's resistance to Edward's attempt to quash her religious non-conformism in 1550-1551 may have spurred Basset to dedicate her translation to Mary during that period in praise of her resistance and as encouragement to continue it.

In addition to their commitment to the traditional church, Basset and Mary shared a similar educational background that emphasized humanist principles of learning allied with virtue in the service of the state. In his discussion of her early years, John Edwards finds that Mary's education was initially overseen by her mother, Catherine of Aragon, who ensured that Mary received "the full formal education that princes were customarily given" (8). This included training in the classical languages, rhetoric, and grammar by leading humanists of the day (Edwards 5-15). The same claim could be made of Basset's own upbringing, overseen by Margaret Roper in the tradition of Thomas More's household academy. Basset reminds Mary of the gifts of learning they share – although not in terms that would conflate their positions and couched, to be sure, in the encomiastic language of the dedicatory genre:

> I coulde fynd none… comparable to your noble grace, howebeyt, after that I had resolved and called to my mynde fyrst on the one partye, the nobylyte, the excellencye, and maiestye of your parsonage, dyscendyng of moste hyghe and royall blood, your so excellent and wondrefull verteues, your greate knowledge and learnyng, the synguler and manyfolde gyftes bothe of god and nature, whych are in your highnes so plentuously planted, that any man were he as eloquent as Cicero or Demosthenes as profoundely learned as Plato and Aristotell w*ith* as greate prudence and wysedome endewed as Solon and Licurgus, might well be abashed to presume to present any worke of hys, unto so honorable, so verteuouse, so wyse and well learned a prynces, as your grace ys. (f3-3v)

While the terms of Basset's address to Mary reflect something of the flattery we would expect in a letter from a supplicant to a potential patron, it is important to note that the praise of Mary's nobility is almost overshadowed by Basset's focus on her learning, virtue, and piety.[28] Basset's characterization supports David Loades' contention that "[a]ll the information which can be recovered about Mary's personal piety suggests two things: the intensity of her devotion to the sacrament of the altar, and the learned and reflective humanism in which she had been reared" ("Personal" 25). It is sometimes difficult to disentangle terms of praise used in deference to the conventions of dedicatory letters and those used for more personal or rhetorically sophisticated reasons; even in the context of the expected hyperbole of a dedicatory letter, Basset's celebration of Mary's learning has the effect of allying the two women as educated humanists dedicated to the service of the true church. The simile of learning planted in its bearer resembles the terms of More's reflection on women's learning as a productive seed that brings honour to the bearer but only when allied with virtue. Basset's use of the simile in reference to Mary reminds the reader that Basset, like Mary, bears the fruit of such humanist learning.

In the dedicatory letter, Basset quite clearly envisions a community of like-minded co-religionists, and Mary's position during the Edwardian regime when the translation was made was one of public dissent from the regime's official religious policies. Basset capitalizes on Mary's visible position as a symbol of resistance to the reforms of Edward and his council in order to both legitimize her translation and disseminate the ideals which underlay its composition. Mary's position during Edward

[28] I agree with Goodrich's assessment of the reference to Mary's "high and royal blood." She sees this as one of the subversive elements of Basset's text since it reminds Mary of her descent from Henry VIII and denies the validity of his divorce from Katherine of Aragon by emphasizing the legitimacy of their daughter (318).

VI's reign was a difficult one, particularly during its final years. As Edward matured and began to exert his own influence on the council that governed in his name, he began to apply more pressure on Mary to conform to his religious policies, which she flouted by continuing to hear mass in her private household and, more significantly, by allowing other people to hear the mass in the safety of her household.[29] Thus, during Edward's reign, Mary was an important and public figurehead for resistance to church reform in England. Edward's increasingly rigid stance towards his sister's religious practice stems, Loades argues, from the King and council's awareness that Mary "had to be crushed in order to destroy her credibility as a leader of the opposition" (*Life* 164). The position of Thomas More's family as symbols of opposition after he was condemned and executed is not dissimilar and I have noted the ongoing persecution of Margaret Roper, Margaret Clements, and their families that constituted one of the contexts of the More familial discourse. Basset confirms Mary's central role in defending England against the reforms of Edward and the "ecclesiastical" members of his council.[30] Basset describes the way in which, since the ascension of Christ, "yt hath pleased the goodnes of allmighty god to worcke wonderfully by hys servants, to beutyfye and adorne hys holy churche w*ith* the gyfts of learnyng, treuth, fervent fayth, of vertuouse and godly lyvyng" (f6v). That the terms Basset employs here are so close to those she used in describing Mary's learning and virtue as gifts of god is no accident. Basset's careful repetition of terminology here underscores Mary's central role during a time of challenge in serving the true church to which she and Basset share devotion. She is a true and faithful servant of the true faith,

[29] The preceding was based on discussions of the early 1550s in MacCulloch (38-39) and Edwards (64-79).
[30] These included men like Edward Seymour (the Lord Protector until 1549), John Dudley, William Parr, Thomas Cranmer, William Paget (MacCulloch 8).

and Basset's translation and accompanying letter serve to remind Mary of and encourage her in this role.

One of the claims made by early Protestants was that the church reforms they proposed would in fact return it to the purer form it embodied before the corruptions of recent centuries, and Basset's letter clearly challenges this idea, aligning the purity of the early church with the Catholic faith. After Basset describes the way in which god works through his faithful servants to ensure the glory of his church, she notes that there is no time in the church's history, "even tyll our dayes," that can compare with "the prymytyve churche, in whych floryshed so many gloryouse martyrs, so many holy confessors, so excellent, so syncerely learned doctors, so notable worckers of myracles, so noble prelates, and bysshoppes, so dylygently tendring the weale of theyr flocke" (6v).[31] Basset also tells Mary that there is never likely to be so glorious a time for the church again, a claim that challenges reformation rhetoric promising reforms that would "regain the glory of the early Christian church" (Goodrich "Dedicatory" 317). In fact, as I have noted, both religious traditionalists and reformists represented their tenets as those which would return the church to its former purity and Basset's dedication participates in the Catholic rhetoric of an appeal to history that displays "an overwhelming confidence in the continuity of the visible church" (Heal 115). Another member of the More family circle, John Rastell, used just such arguments to refute Protestant doctrines, claiming for the Catholic church "three places of refuge, Universalitye, Antiquitye, and Consent" (qtd in Heal 115). Basset's implication that the early Christian church is contiguous with the Catholic church to which she is faithful represents an explicit challenge to reformers who

[31] Goodrich notes that the bishops and prelates invoked here by Basset are emphatically not those of Edwardian England, who "rejected papal control" (316). Again, Basset's dedication betrays her challenge to the reformist policies of the Edwardian reign.

felt that the model of the early Christian church expressed in the *EH* should be applied to their own religious houses, some even going so far as to encourage the *EH* be made available to reformist clergy (Backus 422). Basset's careful translation underscores the sense of the church entrenched in a struggle for ascendancy in both Eusebius's time and Mary's. The first sentence in Eusebius's work explains his purpose in writing it, and Basset renders Eusebius's words in the following terms: "[M]yne entente and purpose ys to putt forthe in wrytyng the successyons of the holy Apostles, and the dyscourse of the tyme from our savyour downe evyn to our owne dayes" (f61). The phrasing is almost identical to that used by Basset in the dedicatory letter, cited above, to refer to Edwardian England and to glance at the Church's struggle for which Mary is a figurehead. Basset's choice to use this same phraseology in rendering Eusebius' mention of his own age clearly links the two time periods and again emphasizes the continuity of the early Christian church that Eusebius chronicles and the embattled Catholic Church represented by Mary.

In addition to celebrating Mary's central role in fighting for the true faith in Edwardian England, Basset's dedicatory letter invokes a community of educated co-religionists to whom she refers throughout the epistle as "my moste lefe and deryst freends" (f1v). These references must be intended to remind Mary of the community of Catholic readers associated with Basset. Basset draws Mary's attention to this community in a way that initially seems to elide her own authority in making the translation, as she claims to have begun it "for myne owne onley exercise" without thought of sharing it (f1). Certainly this kind of private exercise in the translation of a religiously appropriate text is consistent with the kind of exercise we might expect of a daughter of the Morean

educational tradition. On the other hand, as I have shown, translation in the More circle acted as both private educational exercise and publicly circulated proof of community and shared values. Basset's protestation of private exercise is likely expressed as no more than an expected trope, a gesture of modesty employed by male and female translators alike in the period.[32] Basset's claim that the translation was intended to have no audience is belied by the fact that she circulates it to not one but two groups of readers before dedicating it to Mary.

The first group of readers acts almost as a focus group, reading the translation well before its completion. Basset does not declare how much she has finished when these readers see it, but the fact that they read it before its completion is another point against its existence as solely a private exercise. Basset devotes a large portion of the dedicatory letter to the narrative of her friends' reaction to the text. She describes their initial response:

> [M]y labor that I tooke for all readye fynyshed, I founde of trewth in effecte very farr from that poynte and in manor lytle more then begonne, for when I had once shewed my translac*i*on unto some of my deryst freendes, and that they had dylygently perused yt, then they not leaving the matter so, nor making an ende therwyth, but being after that very ernestly in hand w*i*th me, laboured to persuade me, in all that ever they might, to procede forth farder, w*i*th that I had begonne in translatyng more of the same storye out of Greeke, into our vulgare tongue (f1v).

[32] Brenda Hosington also notes the topos of private exercise, and pointedly asks: "In any case, if such were the case, why did she [Basset] abandon her Latin translation upon hearing that a 'greate learned man' (presumably John Christopherson, her former tutor and an exile in Leuven) had finished his Latin translation of the text?" (104). Certainly this suggests her intention of circulating both her English and Latin versions of the work.

Basset represents this initial group of readers as "dear friends" but it is clear that they do more than simply praise and encourage Basset in order to flatter a friend. They "diligently peruse" the work, implying their careful scrutiny of her initial translation. They clearly find it exceptional, and strenuously urge her to continue this important work (such a reading is clear in the letter, despite its modest phrasing). After Basset accedes to her friends' request to continue her work, they press her further, insisting not only that she complete the work, but that she make it public. Throughout the letter Basset protests her reluctance for such public notoriety, but in accordance with her friends' wishes, "when I sawe they lyked my booke so well, and woulde in no wyse I shoulde kepe theym secreate to my selfe," she decides there can be no more fitting dedicatee than Mary (f3). Basset's readership surely comprises the kind of like-minded community that Goodrich ascribed to Basset's mother Margaret Roper and her circle a generation earlier. The dedicatory letter implies that this community is closely connected with Basset and that they are receptive to her work. Given the topicality of the text itself as an affirmation of the validity of the Catholic Church and its continuity with the early Christian Church, Basset's invocation of a devoted community of friends and supporters reads as reassurance to Mary of their loyalty and commitment to the religious struggle she was publicly representing.

In addition to the close friends invoked in the letter, Basset reveals her connection to a community of educated readers who can and do evaluate her work (Ross compares their legitimization of her text to a peer review process, and I tend to agree that Basset's characterization of their role does resemble this [163]). Basset reflects that although her friends have been enthusiastic about the translation's merits, they could perhaps have,

"for the tendre love they bare unto me, by reason of affectyon, [been] blynded and therfore of my translacion, not so syncerely iudge and dyscerne the treuth" (f4). Basset's claim here does the double duty of reinforcing the strength of her friend's devotion to her and explaining the further review process she undertakes for her translation. To remedy the possible bias of her friends' assessment, Basset

> shewed the same unto other also mo[re] then one or twayne very wyse and well learned men desyryng theyr advyse and iudgement therin, beyng suche of them selves, as I well wyste were neyther w*ith* favour borne toward me, lykely to be corrupted, nor againe for theyr wytt erudycion and knowledge unable to conferr my translacion w*ith* the Greke, and soone perceyve where I had swarved or varyed therfro, when they therfore whose advyse and councell for theyr wysdome and learnyng I asked in yt behalf, and whych have at my request vouchesafed to rede over my books had laysorly perused, examyned, lyked and allowed the same. (f4v)

Basset stresses her readers' impartiality and, while she makes it clear that they bear no undue "favour" towards her, she also betrays her access to these well-educated and knowledgeable men who are willing to carefully consider her work (all 379 folios of it) and its merit as a translation of an important patristic text.[33] The identities of the men among whom Basset circulates her text are not specified, though other commentators on the letter have suggested that Basset's former tutors would have been likely candidates. Certainly John Christopherson's "reputation both as a scholar and a staunch Catholic" suggests his fitness for inclusion in the learned circle of Basset's readers (Merino 84

[33] It is notable that while she is clear that her reviewers are men, Basset's "friends" are not gendered and could potentially have included both educated women and men, implying a broad community of sympathetic contacts.

n26). The dedicatory epistle reveals the extent to which Basset's text circulated even before its dedication to Mary. Despite the tendency of scholars still to see the dissemination of texts in manuscript as categorically more limited than print publication (Goodrich, for example, remarks that Basset "limited her authorial voice to manuscript and marginalia, modes that were only quasi-public" ["Dedicatory" 315]), scholars like Harold Love and Arthur Marotti have exposed the extent to which manuscript circulation was effective *because* controlled and that it could perform community-building functions in a way that was impossible for print publication. Love finds, for example, two important functions of what he terms "scribal publication":

> At a very simple level it was one of several means of acquiring and transmitting information, to be chosen *in preference* to other media according to the audience addressed but also because this was usually privileged information, not meant to be available to all enquirers. A second function which was of great importance was that of bonding groups of like-minded individuals into a community, sect or political faction, with the exchange of texts in manuscript serving to nourish a shared set of values and to enrich personal allegiances. (177, my emphasis)

These functions clearly apply to Basset's project in the translation, and reveal the extent to which it is necessary to read her publication medium as a thoughtful and calculated choice in keeping with her invocation of a circle of friends and scholars in the letter, rather than as a limitation of her "authorial identity." In the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, manuscript transmission was "a crucial medium of communication for English

Catholics and for the official church that wished to retain their allegiance" (Marotti *Religious* 73). While Edwardian England was less acutely dangerous a climate for Catholic supporters (MacCulloch notes the relative peace and tolerance of the Edwardian government, finding that "no Catholic opponents of the regime suffered execution" [17]), Basset nevertheless chooses to circulate her text in a mode that allowed her to retain some control over its dissemination, perhaps because her current allegiances and familial legacy positioned her in opposition to the official religious policies of the regime. Translation, like manuscript circulation, has often been dismissed as a lesser mode of textual production in its lack of authorial agency; as I will argue, however, Mary Basset crafts a visible identity in both her dedicatory letter and her translational practice.

iv. Translational Voice and Authority in Basset's Ecclesiastical History

As I have argued, during this period thinking about the nature of translation and translators was in a state of flux, as ideals were beginning to shift away from an interpretive and almost exegetical model of translation towards a model that privileged the authority of the original writer and believed in the inviolability of the source text. This latter model was moving towards a model of translation that, while never strictly literal or word-for-word, domesticated the source text to the target language as it strove to render the processes and practice of translation (and thus the translator) invisible. Belief in the secondary nature of the translator-as-conduit allowed a certain illusion of safety from within which women might write and publish in a culture that otherwise discouraged such public displays of agency. On the other hand, the translators in this study, like Mary Basset, were far from invisible in their works and instead reflect an

authorial position that, for all its perceived weakness, was strengthened on account of the medium in which they worked. Mary Basset uses various strategies in the epistle dedicatory to legitimize her translation and to reveal its political import. Both the letter and her practice in the translation betray a careful positioning in regards to her socio-political voice and her agency as translator.

Both her friends' approval and the dedication to Mary help authorize Basset's text; I have discussed the lengthy narrative of review and praise that Basset relates in the letter. While Ross compares the process to peer review, it is certainly not *blind* peer review, and the process that Basset describes is one that legitimizes the text and makes visible her own agency in its creation. Mary's own role as constructed by Basset is one of further legitimization. She reminds the princess that "yf of your highnes my doyngs were approved, they shoulde undoubtedly, be of all other a greate deale *th*e better accepted" (f4). While Basset's claim here is in part a conventional expression of authorial modesty, it is important to note the fact that the expressed need for approval from Mary means that there is something in Basset's work that requires sanction. She does not pretend to present Mary with a transparently English version of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* (a text that could not possibly require Mary's authorization); instead she makes it clear that this is a version that is explicitly Basset's own doing. Certainly her willingness to accept credit for her scholarly work is complicated by her gender, which she presents as a hindrance to her academic pursuits:

> besyde all other unabylytyes, I was also but a woman, where as the translatyng of suche a worke (in my opinion) requyred rather ye dylygent labour of a wyse eloquent, expert, and in all kynde of good lyterature, a

> very well exercysed man, for these respects was I surely not a lytle abashed and troubled in my mynde. (f3v-4)

Nevertheless, Basset does take up the challenge and relates the favourable opinions of all her readers, a practice that contradicts her pose of humility and her stated belief that she has composed a "rude translacion" (f3v). Near the end of the letter Basset declares that the *Ecclesiastical History* is "worthye to be redd studyed, and knowen of every good chrysten man and woman" (104-5). While ostensibly she means Eusebius's work in this sentence, it is impossible given her condemnation of the existing Latin translation of the work and the lack of any other vernacular translation to ignore the fact that she must also be referring to her own version as worthy of being read and studied by the community of "good Christian men and women." The authorization of Basset's voice is a complex process that resides in the power of her dedicatee, the authority of her source text, and her own education and virtue, transmitted through the More-Roper familial discourse to which she is heir.

When Basset introduces herself in the translation, she seems to do so in a way that minimizes her matrilineal descent, and thus her connection to More. She calls herself "Mary Clarcke … humble oratryce wydowe, and doughter to wyllyam Rooper Esquyre" (f1). Ross and Goodrich read this self-construction in different ways, with Goodrich arguing that Basset's choice to name her father, rather than her mother, might have been because "the political climate of Edwardian England made Thomas More a delicate subject" ("Dedicatory" 316), so that Basset wanted to approach her lineage only obliquely. Ross, on the other hand, considers that this introduction "foregrounds [Basset's] paternal heritage and cultural normality…As biological legitimacy followed

the patriline, …so too did intellectual credentials" (*Feminism* 161). For Ross this heightens Basset's legitimacy and her right to offer an academically sophisticated work to a woman of far superior social standing. I am unconvinced that Basset had to elide her mother's lineage for reasons of security. After all, given Roper's own public connection to the More family and their associated circle, naming William Roper surely did nothing to lessen Basset's connection with the matriline. By the time Basset dedicated the translation to Mary, Margaret Roper had died and William Roper continued his public association with the More family circle and their cause. Naming William Roper seems just as effective a way of situating herself within the More familial discourse, and perhaps a more effective way of arguing for that discourse's continuing relevance to and support for English Catholicism. This self-construction is, I think, another example of Basset's conscious and careful presentation of authorial identity in the book.

While I am not sure that Basset elided Margaret Roper's name from the translation for reasons of security, I do not want to suggest that the work and its dedication to Mary were without subversive potential. They certainly were, and naming William Roper in the epistle is one of the subversive elements of the text given his ongoing and public association with Thomas More's circle, some of whom, like William Rastell and John Clement, fled to Louvain during Edward VI's rule (Trevor-Roper par. 8). I want to argue for the primacy of the political motivation behind Basset's elaborate gift to Mary, although its role as a patronage-gift should not be underestimated either. Brenda Hosington focuses on the potential for personal and familial advancement the translation represented. Dedicated to "the queen-in-waiting," the translation, for Hosington, represents a bid for "family restitution" and personal advancement once the

queen and the church were restored (105). While the gift certainly participates in the Tudor system of exchange and patronage and carried subtle social obligations with it, I am not sure that Basset could have been certain of Mary's ability to reciprocate the gift in the future. Mary's position from the time of her mother's dismissal had been a fraught one, and in fact, near the end of his reign, Edward attempted to have his sisters excluded from succession to the throne (MacCulloch 39-40); it would have been difficult for Basset to be sure that her patron would remain in a position of political power sufficient to recompense a gift motivated primarily by social ambition. That said, the gift undeniably does the work of proving Mary Basset's potential as a member of the royal household. Tina Krontiris notes that ladies in waiting had an important and particular role in Tudor England: "Their public function demanded of them to follow not the rules of silence and obedience but those of controlled speech and gesture… the requirement for the court lady focuses not on the woman's capacity to hold her tongue but on her ability to manipulate speech effectively" (14-15). That Basset possessed this ability in spades is certainly something that the translation proves to its dedicatee. Hosington is right to look forward to what may have been partially an effect of the gift: the appearance of Basset in 1553 as a member of the royal household and the forthcoming restitution of her family to royal favour (105). As Ross has argued of Basset's later published translation of More's *Tristitia*, Basset's "superfluous scholarly flourish[es]" show that she wants credit for her intellectual work of translation; she offers an "unabashed editorial 'I' to the reader" (*Feminism* 165).

Basset's "editorial 'I'" emerges in the Eusebius manuscript as well, as she both demonstrates her facility with the written word and imparts the theoretical basis of her

translation practice in the dedicatory epistle. The latter is something that Ross calls "distinctive" in Basset's text (*Feminism* 164). I agree that this reflection on translational practice is distinctive; it is not, however, unique in translators' dedicatory epistles and prefaces, and Basset quite clearly places herself in a tradition of learned translators with her reflections on good translation. She is careful to respect the sense of the original author, while at the same time she uses words and phrases that would allow her reader to comprehend the meaning she interprets in the passage. Basset explains: "thys one thyng was I evermore well ware of, that when so there chaunced any suche strange names to comme to my hands, neyther dyd I empayr the sence and meanyng of the aucthors, nor yet leave againe the place so obscure and darcke, but that yt might well and easely ynough be perceyved and understanden" (f5v-6). Basset's practice in the translation is slightly at odds with her stated fidelity to the author's sense and meaning, as she adjusts the text at the level of word and even sentence order in order to heighten the contemporary resonances of the early church's history to that of the Catholic Church, which Basset calls the "latyn church" in the epistle, in Edwardian England (f7v). Jaime Goodrich has discussed Basset's practice of using doublets in the translation; she frequently replaces a single word from the source text with two (or more) in her translation. For example, Basset intensifies Eusebius's mention of heretics who "for desyre of chaunge and alteracyon, fell into so extreme erro*u*r and blyndnes that they letted not openly to shewe theym selves authors and ringleaders of false doctryne" (f61-61v). Goodrich explains how "[w]ell-placed doublets heighten the travesty of religious alteration as well as the voracious nature of the innovators. Basset renders 'innovations' as 'chaunge and alteracyon'; 'error' as 'error and blyndenes'; and 'introducers' as

'authors and ringleaders'" ("Dedicatory" 313). Not only does this "heighten the pathos" of the Eusebian original, as Goodrich argues ("Dedicatory" 313); it serves to more obviously politicize the reference, which in its use of "authors and ringleaders" recalls those who attempt political, as well as religious, coups. The language of the translated text recalls the language of religious polemic in this period, with Catholics and Reformists alike pointing out the blasphemous "error" of the other side.

The use of doublets to heighten political import occurs throughout Basset's translation. The beginning of the *Ecclesiastical History* relates its author's project to "record in writing the successions of the sacred apostles,…the number and character of the transactions recorded in the history of the Church" (I.i.i).[34] Basset translates this as: "myne entente and purpose ys to putt forthe in wrytyng the successyons of the holy Apostles, and … what stormes also and ruffles with other things besyde, are mencyoned in the storye of the churche" (f61). Again, Basset heightens the sense of controversy and embattlement in the text, forcing her reader to conflate the politics of church history with the politics of Edwardian England. Rendering the events of church history as "storms and ruffles" again politicizes the contemporary resonance of the text as it heightens the sense of the true church's struggle against erroneous factions. The parallel with rhetoric on both sides of the religious controversy in sixteenth-century England is apparent. In fact, the OED gives the definition of "ruffle" as "Riotous disturbance, tumult; contention, dispute" (*n*2.*obs*.1.a.), and cites Thomas More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (1532) as one contemporary use of the word in this sense: "Neuer shall y^{e} cuntre long abyde wythout debate and ruffle where scysmes & factyouse heresyes are suffered a whyle to grow"

[34] Modern English translations come from Kirsopp Lake's English/Greek facing page edition.

(1.a.). Basset – in this translation and later in her translation of the *Tristitia* – chooses to use a word with specific connotation of the struggle of the contemporary church in order to emphasize the ongoing struggle of the religious cause she shared with her dedicatee and the larger community of her readers.

Other features of the translation reveal its suitability as a gift to a potentially powerful patron and a potent symbol of religious faith. While the text's first person plural voice and its second person address in various places are not features exclusive to Basset's translation, they do underscore the suitability of the text to translation and dedication, allowing, as they do, a conflation of the translator's and author's voice in the "we" and the association of both Eusebius's and Basset's audience in the "you" of the text.[35] There are even moments in Basset's text that appear to reveal a more feminine voice than Eusebius's, such as the description of the Fall, when "the fyrste man lyvyng in welth, evyn by and by, at the very begynnyng, by neglectyng and disobeying the co*m*mandment of god, was caste downe, in to thys frayle, mortall, momentarye lyfe, and in stede of those pleas*a*unte godly delytes, he had before in paradyse, receyved the laboryous paynes of thys cursed earth." (f70). Perhaps the use of "laborious pains" to describe earthly life is simply a literal understanding of the work and toil of man's life after expulsion from the garden. On the other hand, perhaps it introduces an allusion to the pains of childbirth, also experienced after the fall. Lake's translation is far less evocative, with its: "the first man, despising the command of God, fell at once to this mortal and perishable life, and exchanged the former divine delights for this earth with its curse" (I.ii.18). Basset's sentence is representative of the flowing and balanced style of

[35] For example, the close of Chapter 2 reminds the reader what has been "signified and declared unto you" (f69v).

her translation, with its emphatic heightening of the transience of earthly life and its balancing of "pleasant godly delights" of paradise with "laborious pains" of the "cursed earth."

Certainly there are places in the translation that match very closely with both Lake's modern version and Meredith Hanmer's 1577 version of the *Ecclesiastical History*.[36] For example, in the fifth book of the History this passage appears:

> These things hapned to *th*e churches of chryste, in *th*e tyme of *th*e foresaid Emperowr, whereby maye we very well coniecture what things befell in other provinces" (Basset f271v).
>
> Such were the calamities which happened vnto the Churches of Christ, vnder the sayd Emperour, whereby we may coniecture by all likely hoode, what befell vnto other prouinces. (Hanmer 81).
>
> Such things happened to the churches of Christ under the emperor mentioned, and from them it is possible to form a reasonable conclusion as to what was done in other provinces. (Lake V.ii.2)

The passages are remarkably similar, save only Hanmer's more loaded "calamities" in place of "things." In other instances, however, we clearly see in Basset's translation the kind of expansion that Goodrich argues is the hallmark of her style, specifically her use of doublets to emphasize certain areas of the text. Directly following the previous sentence is this one:

> Very expedient and necessary ys yt owt of thys pystle to combine hereunto certain other words of theirs beside, wherin ys lyvely expressed *th*e greate

[36] Merino argues that Hanmer may have seen Basset's translation and that she was the "honorable ladie" with whom he had read the Greek version mentioned in the preface to his published translation.

> humylyte and lowly mekenes of *th*e foresaid martyrs, in thys manou*r* of wyse. (Basset f271v)
>
> Neither shal it be amisse, if out of the same epistle we alleadge farther testimony, concerning the mercy and mekenesse of the foresayd Martyrs. (Hanmer 81).
>
> It is worth while to add other statements from the same document, in which the gentleness and kindness of the martyrs already mentioned have been set down in these very words. (Lake V.ii.2)

Basset's use of "lively expressed" (rather than the "set down" or "allege" of the other versions) emphasizes the clarity and truth of the words recording the martyrs' sufferings while the expansion of "worth while" or "not being amiss" into "expedient and necessary" actually gives the phrase a much more urgent tone and lends weight to the author's purpose in citing this particular authority.[37] Again, Basset's amplification of the words associated here with the early Christian martyrs serves to intensify the contemporary political significance of the text. The struggles of the faithful and description of the martyr's "great humility" and "lowly meekness" would surely remind sympathetic readers of the righteousness of the true church's cause in the present day, especially given the continuity Basset establishes between the ancient and the early modern "latyn church." Perhaps emphasizing the humility of the martyrs is a countermeasure to the association of pride and "popery" in early modern reformist polemic.[38]

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[37] Lively, in its obsolete definition, means "Clearly" or "plainly" (OED, adv. 2b), and seems always to connote "truthfully" or "true to life."

[38] Such as the works of John Bale and John Foxe discussed earlier.

Throughout Basset's ambitious translation are evident her interpretive and stylistic choices. Eusebius's name is prominent in the material presence of the manuscript, with "Of Eusebius" appearing as a running head on every folio page of the manuscript. The reader is not allowed to forget whose *History* she reads; in fact, as I have argued, the *History*'s unique editorial function and contemporary resonance in Renaissance England make it particularly suited to the political dimension of Basset's gift to Mary Tudor. Basset's skillful translation makes Eusebius's text available to a limited but targeted audience who would have appreciated both the historical significance of the Eusebian history and the contemporary connotation of Basset's language. Far from eliding her own identity or her religious affiliations in the epistle, Basset uses the medium of translation in order to express her loyalty and devotion to her faith and to the princess Mary as a potent symbol of that faith and its community of believers. Basset's authorial identity is made visible in the presentation-binding of the manuscript intended for a powerful royal patron, in the sophisticated and theoretical epistle dedicatory, and in the myriad and politicized interventions in the textual object. Her work may be legitimized by its noble patron and the friends who encourage its circulation, but Basset never lets the reader forget that this is also "my booke," a unique literary production existent in the materials of its presentation and the new social and political circumstances into which she delivers it.

Chapter 3: "For the comodite of my countrie": Nation, Gift, and Family in Lady Jane Lumley's *Tragedie of Iphigeneia*

Jane Lumley's translation of Euripides's *Iphigenia at Aulis* does not have an accompanying dedicatory letter that marks it out as "my booke," in the way that Mary Basset's work so clearly does. In fact, Lumley's name does not appear on the pages of the translation itself. The work is bound with two other translations that bear dedicatory letters to Lumley's father, one of which is signed by her (f4). The first page of the play bears only its title: "The Tragedie of Euripides called Iphigenia translated out of Greake into Englishe" and responsibility for the work is attributed to Lumley by another hand at the front of the manuscript book that reads "The doinge of my Lady Lumley doghter to my L. Therle of Arundell" (f1).[39] Instead, scholars of the first Greek play translated into English look for traces of the authorial self in the situation and characters of the play Lumley translated and, of course, in her translatorial choices in reworking the play for a wholly new set of social and political circumstances. In this chapter, I will do the same, arguing for a reading of the play that comprehends the specific political situation of Lumley's family and suggests a different familial allegory than those proposed by other critics who have seen early modern historical figures as counterparts of the characters in Lumley's version of the play. Lumley's condensed version of Euripides's play valorizes its female lead's integrity and virtue in the face of overwhelming personal and political pressure, even as her version of the play more clearly criticizes the waste of its hero's education and potential. Building on Deborah Uman's argument for seeing women's rhetoric as a primary focus of the play, I suggest a new reading of Clytemnestra's

[39] All citations from the play will be from the manuscript, BL MS Royal 15.A.IX, with reference to Diane Purkiss's edition noted when appropriate.

speeches and argue that the rhetorical basis for Iphigenia's pleas appears to be early modern petitionary letters. I will also argue that the play, which did not circulate as a manuscript production in the way that Basset's work did, nevertheless enters into the potential of the patronage and gift economy through its association with Lumley's father, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and through its performance possibilities.

The two translators – Basset and Lumley – are close contemporaries of each other and they produced their translations at about the same time. In organizing these chapters (chronologically) so that Lumley follows Basset, I am taking something of a stand in the date-debate over her translation. There is no definitive dating for Lumley's translation of the play or of its incarnation in this particular manuscript.[40] Estimates for its composition include various dates in the range of 1550-1557. I will address the dating question in more detail in this chapter because, as various critics have remarked, given the volatile political situation in the 1550s and the sometimes pivotal role played by the Earl of Arundel in the courts of five successive monarchs (Henry VIII, Edward VI, Jane Grey, Mary I, and Elizabeth I), the political context of the play must be read differently depending on the date of its composition and/or performance(s). I incline, based on the availability to Jane Lumley of the source texts she used, to a date after 1553, when the confiscation of Thomas Cranmer's library and its subsequent transfer to the Earl of

[40] The manuscript under discussion is the only copy of the translation, and Harold Child speculates in his early edition of the play that the manuscript is likely a copy book where Lumley would have written rough drafts of her work to be copied in good later (vi). This may be the case, though the manuscript of *Iphigenia*, with its neat hand, carefully centred headings, relatively consistent catchwords, and lack of revision appears cleaner than one might expect a first draft of a difficult translation to be. Also, the presence of eye-skip errors suggests that Lumley may have been copying into this book from a previous draft. See, for example, f72v, in which the word "withe" is crossed out two lines below its appearance in the correct line.

Arundel would have made available the Latin and Greek sources that Lumley evidently used in her translation.[41]

Jane Lumley, as we will see, made a number of significant changes to her source play. The basic story of Euripides's play remains the same. The Greek army is encamped at Aulis, waiting for favourable winds to sail to Troy and reclaim Helen, stolen from Menelaus by Paris. The winds are dead, however, and the seer Calchas informs the leaders of the Greek army, Agamemnon and Menelaus, that the only way to sail to Troy and achieve victory is to sacrifice Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia to the goddess Artemis. When the play opens, Agamemnon has already sent for his daughter, feigning that she is to be married to Achilles in order that her mother Clytemnestra will send her without question. Agamemnon repents his decision to sacrifice Iphigenia and writes letters cancelling his former order. Agamemnon's servant is intercepted carrying the new letters by Menelaus, who demands them back. Agamemnon and Menelaus fight over the legitimacy of sacrificing Iphigenia and just at the moment when it seems Menelaus is content to give up his war and let Iphigenia live, Clytemnestra and Iphigenia show up at the camp. Events happen quickly after this, as Agamemnon's plan is revealed to Achilles's horror and wounded pride. Again, it seems that Iphigenia might be reprieved, but she herself accepts her fate at the crucial point and willingly goes to her death so that the Greek armies might sail and achieve victory in Troy. After the sacrifice, a messenger relates to Clytemnestra that a hart was substituted on the altar at the last minute and the girl taken by the goddess. Clytemnestra is thus denied both her daughter's life and the

[41] For a discussion of various dating theories see Hodgson-Wright (1998); Demers (1999; 2005), and Purkiss (1999). Proponents of an earlier date around 1550-1551 include Child (1909), Greene (1941), and Crane (1944). Purkiss considers the play in light of a range of potential dates, while Wynne-Davies (2007; 2008) argues for a much later date, post-1557.

chance to properly mourn her. The play ends on the somewhat empty pronouncement by the Chorus that Agamemnon can now sail happily for Troy. The play was one of the more popular of the Greek dramas in early modern England and as I will argue, its specific subject matter must have held particular appeal for Jane Lumley given her own familial history and the political milieu in which she resided.

i. The Arundel-Lumley Household

Jane Lumley shared with Mary Basset an upbringing in which she was privileged with educational materials and encouragement. While the two women came from different social strata, they nevertheless both benefited from a familial tradition of education and – more unusually – a familial commitment to women's education. Jane Lumley (*née* Fitzalan) was born circa 1537, the daughter of Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel, and his first wife, Katherine (*née* Grey). Jane Lumley, her brother Henry, Lord Maltravers, and her sister Mary (later Mary Howard, Duchess of Norfolk) were encouraged by their father to pursue their studies and were provided to that end with what eventually became the largest private library in England.[42] Jane Lumley received an education in, as Marta Straznicky puts it, the "fullest sixteenth century sense of the word," including instruction in classical and modern languages (21). Lumley, of course, would have been educated in her home, university education being formally closed to her. Based on the remaining manuscript evidence of Lumley's translations and scholarly exercises, Straznicky judges her to have been a keen and motivated scholar whose interest in learning was not just about advancing her family's position, but which

[42] Jayne and Johnson's *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609* (1956) provides a history of the library and the complete 1609 catalogue.

represented a sincere desire for knowledge and education (21). Such an evaluation is evident too in Patricia Demers's assessment of Lumley's translation existing for "the pleasure and intellectual challenge of the translator herself" ("On First" 31).

While Lumley's gift for learning is apparent and she may have pursued her studies for the sake of her own pleasure in doing so, Diane Purkiss points out that the Earl of Arundel's reasons for educating his daughters would have been rooted in the political game that he was so inextricably caught up in. Since a young woman in sixteenth-century England could have had no practical use for a humanist education (she would have been neither expected nor permitted to use it in the public sphere), Purkiss suggests that the education of girls like Jane Lumley was a strategy on the part of fathers who recognized that such learning could be a sign of wealth and prestige. Humanist learning in a woman was "conspicuously useless," Purkiss argues, and served only as an ornament to her family's reputation ("Introduction" xv). Such an argument does not, however, fully take into account the examples of learned women of the previous generation. While women like Margaret Roper and Mary Basset undoubtedly contributed to their father's reputations among fellow humanist scholars it is inaccurate to categorize the effect of their learning as conspicuously useless. If ever there was a time when recent precedent showed that women of sufficient social standing could and did use their education for politically motivated ends, surely it was the early to mid-sixteenth century, with the examples of Roper and Clement, Katherine Parr, and the Cooke sisters in recent memory.

Lumley's brother, Henry Maltravers, attended Cambridge University but left in 1549 before taking a degree, a common practice for Catholic students (Wynne-Davies *Women* 65). After Maltravers returned to his father's home with his school fellow John

Lumley, there seems to have been an atmosphere of what Wynne-Davies calls "quiet scholarly days" (*Women* 65), during which the siblings, their step-brother John Radcliffe,[43] and their companion John Lumley (soon to be Jane's husband) studied the classical languages, producing translations such as the ones recorded in the Lumley Inventory as:

> Exercises in Greeke and Latin of the lorde Matravers, the lorde and ladie Lumley, done when theie were yoonge, of theire owne hande wrytinge, bownde together, manuscript. (Jayne and Johnson 206, no. 1743)

John Lumley's English translation of Erasmus's *Institution of a Christian Prince* (BL, Royal MS 17 A.xlix) also dates from this period and "is inscribed to Arundel at the end, 'your lordshippes obedient sone, J. Lumley 1550'" (Barron para. 2). It is this work that leads some scholars to believe that Jane Lumley's translation of Euripides dates from around the same time, suggesting that the two may be companion pieces, since both share a "concern with the notion that corruption stems from the people's wilful ignorance of the good of the community in favour of the their own interests" (Purkiss "Introduction" xxiii). What is certain is that many of the translations produced by the family were dedicated to the Earl of Arundel and were given to him as New Year's gifts.[44] While *Iphigenia* shows no signs of being formally prepared as a presentation manuscript (lacking a dedicatory letter or presentation binding), I think, based on the pattern of the

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[43] After the death of Fitzalan's first wife, Katherine Grey, he remarried Mary Radcliffe (*née* Arundel). Radcliffe's name appears spelled variously as Ratcliffe, Ratcliff, Radcliff, and Radclyffe. I have chosen what seems to be the most-used version, Radcliffe.

[44] For example, British Library MS Royal 12 A.I-IV contains four translations into Latin presented by Mary Fitzalan to her father, and the two translations of Isocrates (into Latin) made by Jane Lumley that precede Iphigenia in Royal 15.A.IX are also dedicated to her father. Stephanie Hodgson-Wright notes that one of Mary Fitzalan's translations was produced as a collaborative effort with her step-brother John Radcliffe ("Howard" para. 1).

family academy's practice of dedicating translations to Arundel, it is reasonable to suppose that Lumley would have envisioned her father as the play's first reader/audience member, even if it was not formally dedicated to him.

The play may have been a particularly pointed gift for Lumley's father in the 1550s, given his quickly changing political fortunes during this period and his careful machinations behind the scenes of Mary I's succession. Born in 1512, Arundel was a successful politician during the reign of Henry VIII. He served in various diplomatic positions and Henry appointed him lord chamberlain and privy counsellor in the latter years of his reign.[45] Arundel's political fortunes fell somewhat during Edward VI's rule as other favourites tended to be given choice honours and positions. Arundel nevertheless managed to maintain a presence in the court and eventually, with Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton and John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, managed to secure the council's removal of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, as Lord Protector in Edward VI's minority. In a reversal of fortunes that seems particularly typical of Arundel's career, he was implicated in one of Somerset's plots to regain power and was arrested in 1551, imprisoned in the Tower for a year, and heavily fined. Wynne-Davies notes that during this period it would have been Arundel's wife Mary Radcliffe who would "have had immediate control over the education of the young people in her charge" and suggests that the New Year's gift-translation undertaken during this year may have been completed with the encouragement of Radcliffe (*Women* 66). Wynne-Davies makes a compelling case for the presence of a shift in the subject matter of the Latin translations presented to Arundel in the years immediately following his imprisonment:

[45] The following biography is my summary of information in Julian Lock's comprehensive *ODNB* entry for Arundel (2004).

> In 1552, the oration to Demonicus focuses on basic ethics, while the similitudes cover a range of commonplace pronouncements. However, by 1553, the advice to Nicolem and the example of Alexander Severus are explicitly political and directly concerned with a young king who has inherited the throne from a strong father and needs good advice from his subjects. Such a topic must have been close to the heart of the Earl of Arundel, alienated from the young King Edward. … The alteration in the subject matter of the translation undertaken by Arundel's children occurs precisely at the point when freedom and political bitterness allowed the Earl to renew his influence over their studies. (*Women* 67)

This suggests that the Arundel pupils were encouraged to see translation as a profitable means of communicating political dissatisfaction and that Arundel may have encouraged them to see the ways in which the careful selection and re-presentation of a historical source text could reflect one's involvement in and attitude towards the contemporary situation. When Jane Lumley came to translate Euripides' play, itself centred on the exercise of power and covert political manoeuverings, perhaps it was with just these considerations in mind. Certainly, as I will argue, she seems to heighten particular aspects of her translation in a way that makes the Greek play highly relevant to the mid-Tudor political situation.

Arundel's most spectacular political manoeuver occurred in 1553 when he was instrumental in the downfall of Jane Grey in favour of the princess Mary. Jane Grey was the daughter of Frances Brandon and Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset; Frances Brandon's parents were Henry VIII's sister, Mary, and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Jane

Grey thus derived her claim to the throne and was in line for the succession only in the event that all the children of Henry VIII died without heirs. In 1553, when Edward VI realized the severity of his poor health, he attempted to revise the succession act in order to name Jane Grey his immediate successor. Grey's claim over Henry VIII's two living children, Mary and Elizabeth, was tenuous at best and there has been speculation that the change was prompted by Edward's advisors, particularly the Duke of Northumberland. The document revising the succession is in Edward's hand and some scholars have argued that the document was Edward's own iniative, in an attempt to preserve the religious reforms to which he was devoted (Edwards 78). Jane Grey's education was, like her cousin Jane Lumley's, unusually extensive for a woman of the period and she was renowned for her command of languages, particularly Greek.[46] Grey's education was completed partly in the company of Edward VI under Katherine Parr's direction and Edward's decision to try and circumvent the succession to Mary may have stemmed from his shared religious and educational background with Grey.

Shortly before his death in 1553, Edward caused letters patent to be created that named Jane Grey his heir. Without time to ratify the letters through parliament, Grey's claim was very weak indeed, though Edward had his counselors swear an oath of allegiance to his planned succession. After Edward VI's death, Jane Grey's father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, worked to ensure that the signatories of the letters patent and the accompanying oath upheld their terms, and Grey was proclaimed queen three

[46] Details of Grey's education can be found in Susan E. James, *Kateryn Parr: The Making of a Queen* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) and Alison Plowden, *Lady Jane Grey: Nine Days Queen* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003). Original documents relating to Grey and her program of studies have been published in *Memoirs and Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey*, ed. Harris Nicolas (London: Henry Colburn, 1832) and *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1846, 1847).

days after Edward's death (Edwards, 79, 85). Arundel, uncle by marriage to Grey, played a key role in the events of her brief rule and subsequent fall. Arundel initially supported Grey's succession and accompanied her on progress (possibly with his family, including Jane Lumley) to the Tower for her coronation. He was, however, "communicating secretly with Mary" at the same time (Wynne-Davies *Women* 68). When his opportunity to do so arose, Arundel urged the other lords who had been skeptical of and reluctant to follow Edward's plan for the succession to support Mary in her armed bid for the throne. The efficacy and importance of Arundel's manoeuverings to subsequent events are the subject of some debate, though Wynne Davies speculates that:

> Without his opportunistic contrivance, particularly in one key speech, Jane Grey might have remained in the throne with all the realignments in political, cultural, and spiritual history that this would have necessitated. (*Women* 67-8)

Arundel's intervention took the form of a rhetorically adept speech urging the support of Mary's claim, delivered in concert with the Earl of Pembroke to the "discontented nobles" forced to support Grey's claim to the throne. Wynne-Davies notes that the dissemination of the speeches in contemporary texts suggests that the two men may have had pre-written versions of their words prepared for transmission in order to win further support for Mary's cause (*Women* 69). In the event, of course, Mary's claim was successful and Jane Grey was held in the Tower until the events of the Wyatt rebellion forced Mary I to execute Grey in 1554.

Lorraine Helms and others have noted the bitter irony of these events, in which the participation of Grey's father, Henry Grey, in the Wyatt rebellion against Mary I

practically assured his daughter's death (66-7). The role of strong male actors in the "tragedy" of Jane Grey has led to a critical view of the young queen as a sacrificial pawn in political machinations beyond her control. Arundel's role in his niece's downfall would certainly seem to resonate with the subject matter of the play Lumley chose to translate for her father, in which the Greek commanders Agamemnon and Menelaus treat the body of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia as a tool of exchange in the events leading up to the Trojan War. As I argue throughout this dissertation, the choice of a source text can be seen as a critical intervention into contemporary political events, and I argue that Lumley's choice to translate *Iphigenia* has to be read in the context of her family's participation in the religious and political culture of the 1550s.

Given the events I have just described, Arundel is often viewed as a staunch religious conservative. However, as Andrew Boyle argues, although Arundel's religious conservatism may have grown over time, in the early 1550s "his religious identity…suggests an outlook based on eirenic compromise" (28). Arundel may have maintained a religious position in keeping with "the 'politique' stance of contemporaries such as Russell, or William Paget and the Earl of Pembroke, Arundel's political allies in the reign of Mary," showing that Arundel could subordinate his religious outlook to the demands of his political or financial fortunes (29). Boyle notes that Arundel signed a letter supporting the use of the new prayer book in 1549 and that his second wife, Mary Radcliffe, was a member of Catherine Parr's court circle. Additionally, John Radcliffe, Arundel's stepson and a fellow pupil of his own children and son-in-law, dedicated a translation of Parr's *Prayers or Meditations* to Arundel (28); this was the same text that the princess Elizabeth had given to Parr in a multi-lingual presentation copy with an

embroidered binding in 1545 (BL MS Royal D.7.X). Such indications emphasize the fact that even though religious affiliation and political outlook are often interrelated in this period, they are by no means certainly inextricable from each other. Although Wynne-Davies sees a "carefully policed division between Catholic and Protestant" during this period, she too notes the way in which familial allegiances and political ambition might disrupt such "expected discourses" (*Women* 64). Jane Lumley's decision to translate this play reveals a complex state of sometimes competing allegiances, both religious and political, in the Fitzalan/Lumley family. For example, it may easily have been the case that the Catholic Jane Lumley attended both the coronation of her coreligionist Mary I – contemporary documents place her there for this event (Helms 68; Wynne-Davies *Women* 70)[47] – *and*, nine days before that, the procession of her cousin the protestant claimant Jane Grey to the Tower to await her coronation (Wynne-Davies *Women* 68). The play's dramatization of the events surrounding the sacrifice of a daughter/niece for the sake of a political cause must have been potent subject matter in the Fitzalan/Lumley household in the 1550s.

ii. Nation, Gift, and Family in Jane Lumley's Iphigenia

Jane Lumley's choice to translate a Greek play at all is itself unusual. Greek drama did not form part of the usual curriculum for translation and was, as J. Michael Walton has argued, difficult matter for a translator, in part because of its *avant-garde* nature even in its own time (3). While David Greene characterizes the Elizabethan era's relationship

[47] It is interesting that both Basset (see Chapter 2) and Lumley attended Mary I during her coronation procession. It seems possible that two women knew each other, since both of their families benefitted significantly under Mary's rule, both women participated in the coronation events, and John Lumley's time at Cambridge overlapped with that of John Christopherson (Straznicky 41), Basset's tutor and, I have suggested, one of the learned acquaintances of her dedication.

with Greek drama as one of "almost total ignorance" (537), later scholars have noted the availability – in translation and in the original Greek – of Euripides's plays in particular.[48] Robert Miola points out that there were at least nineteen translations of Euripides' plays in to European vernaculars before 1600 and that there was at work in the period a "recovery of Euripidean tragedy" (34). One reason for Lumley's choice of *Iphigenia* as a source text may have been its availability, though I believe that her choice is more deliberate than that, stemming from an interest in the specific subject matter of the play. Nevertheless, *Iphigenia in Aulide* was one of the most widely accessible Greek plays, particularly after Erasmus translated it and *Hecuba* into Latin in 1506. These plays became "over the next century the most frequently performed and translated of all ancient dramas" (McCallum-Barry 52). Given Jane Lumley's humanist educational background, her reasons for choosing to translate this play may not have been vastly different to those that McCallum-Barry ascribes to Erasmus; Erasmus desired to showcase his education and linguistic skill, and:

> Euripides' plays were most suited to current tastes, providing an abundance of moralizing reflections and a rhetorical atmosphere. His characteristic agon or debate between exponents of competing views had great appeal for men nurtured on rhetoric and dialectical method. As well as the gnomic style, full of quotable aphorisms, Erasmus admired the economy and delicacy of Euripides' language and his clever handling of rhetorical themes. (58-9)

[48] For a concise review of the surviving plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides and their transmission and reception, see the introduction to Garland's *Surviving Greek Tragedy*. Garland finds that although the least successful of the tragedians in his lifetime, Euripides was the most influential in the Middle Ages and Renaissance (9-11).

Other scholars have noted the way in which Lumley's translation distills many of the speeches in *Iphigenia* into moral maxims or sententiae, and in this she seems to be expressing a personal preference nurtured by her humanist training.[49] As McCallum-Barry notes above, such "moralizing reflections" were particularly attractive to Renaissance scholars, and Lumley is no exception to this, as her desire to have a transcription of the moral sententiae painted on the walls of Nicholas Bacon's home at Gorhambury reveals.[50]

There has been some (still unresolved) debate on the extent to which Lumley was translating from the Greek and/or using as her source Erasmus's Latin translation. One early commentator suggests that "there is nothing to show that Lady Lumley's version was at all based on a Greek text. … Lady Lumley is merely translating Erasmus' title, *e graeco sermone . . . traducta,* as well as his version of the play, according to Renaissance custom. …[H]er Euripides is purely and simply a translation of Erasmus, and a poor one at that" (Crane 227-8). Crane's assessment of Lumley's source text seems at least as much based on his desire to scorn David Greene's earlier article on Lumley as on his own reading of the textual evidence, and most recent critics of the translation take Lumley to have been working from the Greek text, supplemented with reference to Erasmus's Latin version, both of which would have been available to her in her father's library after 1553. The most compelling evidence that Lumley had access to Erasmus's version is the fact

[49] For Crane, this distillation is too much; he considers Lumley's play to have "succeed[ed] only in reducing high tragedy to a mediocre tale of 'troble'" (228). His assessment complains about the use (over-use, as he sees it) of the word "troble" in referring to Iphigenia's predicament. While modern connotations of the word "trouble" certainly make it too light to describe Iphigenia's situation, the older sense of the word has far stronger connotations of "affliction; grief; perplexity; distress" (OED).

[50] On this, see Demers, *Women's Writing* (80), Dianne Purkiss "Introduction" (xxv-xxvi and n26) and Beilin (126). The manuscript is listed as item number 2208 in Jayne and Johnson's edition of the Lumley Library catalogue (249).

that she translated his *Argumentum*, which was not present in the Greek text. The 1609 Lumley Library catalogue records two versions of Euripides, one of which is "*Euripiids tragediae duae, Hecuba, et Iphygenia, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete*" (191). This edition of Euripides's plays records Cranmer as its former owner, as does item 1736. This makes it most likely that Lumley made her translation after 1553, when Mary I confiscated Cranmer's library and gave it to the Earl of Arundel (Jayne and Johnson 3).

While the basic plot of the play is straightforward, the political and gendered associations of Lumley's translations render it a complex piece to interpret. I will offer a three-fold reading of her play that argues for its political suggestiveness, its intervention in the debates surrounding women's education, and its potential as a performance piece. As the biographical sketch in my opening pages made clear, Jane Lumley's family was caught up in political manoeuverings at the highest level. The Earl of Arundel astutely managed his position and preferment in the reigns of successive monarchs, each of whom had a different agenda as far as religious reform went. In this sense, Jane Lumley's interest in the Greek play with its powerful father-figure who manipulates his way into power is obvious. In Lumley's version of the play, Menelaus accuses his brother of political conniving, reminding him that:

> whan you desired to be made capatine ouer the grecians you semed to refuse it. althoughe in deade you wisshed for it: howe lowlie than did you shewe your selfe, takinge euerie man by the hande, and kepinge open householde, and salutinge euerie man after his degree, as thoughe you wolde haue bought your honor withe the good will of the people. But as sone as you had obtained this honor ~~withe~~ you began to change your

> condicions: for you refused the frendshipe of them whiche had shewed them selues frindly to you afore, and then you waxed proude, kepinge your selfe secretly within your house. But it dothe not become a good man to change his fassions after that he is in honor. for he oughte than to be more faithefull to his frindes, when that he is in place to do them pleasure. (f72v-73)

Menelaus is himself of course a consummate politician, as revealed in this speech as he attempts to convince Agamemnon that his honour depends upon showing constancy in his decisions. He is trying to convince Agamemnon that he should stay committed to the plan to sacrifice Iphigenia, a plan that Agamemnon has repented and written letters countermanding, which Menelaus has intercepted. Menelaus compares Agamemnon's actions in gaining command of the Greek armies to his abrupt change of mind in sacrificing his daughter. The charge of "keeping open household" in order to secure political favour only to refuse the friendship of those he had cultivated would have been a serious one for the Greek audience, as it was for the early modern reader. In sixteenth-century England, the patronage and gift economy extended to include hospitality, which carried with it reciprocal obligations.[51] Menelaus suggests that Agamemnon is "unconstant" in his friendship, most seriously now in the matter of his daughter, whom

[51] Interestingly, Theo Hermans identifies "host" as one of the pervasive and structuring metaphors in Renaissance ideas about translation ("Images" 125). The image of the translator as host is one available to women, whose role as domestic host was accepted and well-established within the decorum of early modern hospitality; however, the metaphor was one to be used with care, since the image of over-liberal hospitality was closely related to wantonness and unchasteness as well. Margaret Tyler uses the trope when she compares her translation to "giving entertainment to a stranger" (40-41). It is an image she is careful to temper, however, by drawing attention to her advanced age and implying that this makes her an unlikely candidate for any kind of promiscuous behaviour with such a "stranger."

Agamemnon must sacrifice in order to ensure a safe passage and victory over the Trojans.

Agamemnon's answer to this is rhetorically adept, as he refutes Menelaus and attempts to undermine his moral position. Agamemnon preserves his regard for decorum, as he tells Menelaus he will "speake to you as it becumethe one brother to another" (f74). This regard for propriety seems entirely admirable, until Agamemnon proceeds to mock his brother as a cuckold and a man too caught up in his own personal desires:

> tell me I praye you, why do you sighe so? Who hath done you any iniurye. Do you lament the takinge awaye of your wife? But we can not promise you to get hir againe for you. For you your selfe haue bene the occasion of your owne troble. Wherfore seinge I haue not offended you: ther is no cause that I shulde suffer ponishement for that whiche I am not giltie of. Dothe my preferment troble you? or els dothe the desier of your bewtifull wife vexe you? (74-74v)

The speeches in this section reveal the play's interest in the conflict between public duty and personal desires that plagues the principal characters. As Agamemnon points out, he can hardly be expected to sacrifice his daughter simply to satisfy the sexual desires and jealousy of his cuckolded brother. Agamemnon accuses Menelaus of being jealous of both Paris, who has stolen his wife, and of Agamemnon himself, who has achieved political preferment above Menelaus. One of the cuts that Lumley makes to her source text is to excise the end of this speech in which Agamemnon explains the background of the Greek kings' commitment to retrieve Helen. When the various Greek suitors were vying for Helen's hand, her father Tyndareos had them all swear an oath to fight on the

behalf of whomever ended up marrying Helen, should he be challenged in any way. Menelaus calls upon the suitors to uphold their oaths after Helen's abduction by Paris. In Euripides' play, Agamemnon recalls the oath at the end of this speech, claiming that the suitors were "so misguided as to swear an oath to Tyndareos while lust was upon them" (493-5). Although Agamemnon questions the legitimacy of an oath sworn under duress, the reminder in the original serves at least to rationalize the Greek's commitment to the Trojan conflict. In Lumley's version, with this justification removed, the conflict seems all the more personal rather than political and Iphigenia more obviously an object of men's competing desires. Removing this line removes the political justification for the war against Troy and focuses much more clearly on Menelaus's personal motivations for pursuing the conflict. Lumley's version of the play asks the reader/audience member to think about the waste and futility of wars or political manoeuverings pursued for personal gain and without consideration for the good of the state. Such a concern would seem to reflect Lumley's own humanist training and her interest in the conflict between national and personal desires.

I want to address the possibility of a familial allegory at work in these passages, since Marion Wynne-Davies has suggested specific correspondences between the play's characters and contemporary players in the events surrounding Jane Grey's brief time on the throne. As most of the critics who have written about this play suggest, it is impossible to ignore the resemblance between Iphigenia and Jane Grey, both of whom are young women caught up in the political schemes of their male family members and both of whom die as a result of or in order to further those political schemes. I agree that this resemblance is clearly present in the play and that it offers a compelling reason for

Jane Lumley's interest in its subject matter. I also agree with Wynne-Davies that the play offers something of a reconciliation of Lumley's father's role in the events surrounding Grey's death. I depart from Wynne-Davies's assessment, however, in her specific mapping of early modern political figures onto Lumley's version of the play. Wynne-Davies's argument relies on reading Agamemnon as the Duke of Suffolk, Henry Grey (Jane Grey's father); Ulysses as the Duke of Northumberland, John Dudley (Jane Grey's father-in-law); and Menelaus as the Earl of Arundel, Henry Fitzalan (Jane Grey's uncle and Jane Lumley's father). While these correspondences make sense in terms of the "real life" familial connections between these men and Jane Grey, I would suggest that they are not entirely borne out by the revisions that Lumley makes to the play. Wynne-Davies sees Menelaus's character as significantly more positive in Lumley's version of the play and suggests that this is because she is attempting to vindicate her father's role in the Jane Grey affair:

> This reading of the text fits with the significant improvement made in Menelaus's character and would also explain Lumley's methodical omissions of all overt references to Helen as Menelaus's unfaithful wife. [Lumley] transmutes both narrative (the story of Helen) and character (Menelaus) in order to vindicate her own family's participation in the execution of Jane Grey. (*Women* 83)

Firstly, I do not see the "improvement" to Menelaus's character that Wynne-Davies does. As I noted above, he is represented through Lumley's revisions as a jealous schemer who has manipulated Agamemnon into an untenable position. Additionally, Wynne-Davies's assessment ignores that fact that, earlier in the very speech she uses to claim Lumley's

elision of references to Helen's adultery (74-74v, cited above), Agamemnon explicitly mocks his brother for pining after his missing wife. Given Lumley's overall reluctance in the play to, as Patricia Demers has noted, discuss "sexual betrayals" openly (*Women's* 82), this speech – "Do you lament the takinge awaye of your wife? … dothe the desier of your bewtifull wife vexe you?" – seems to me a remarkably straightforward mention of Menelaus's marital "trouble." Additionally, given the prevalence of the Trojan myth in renaissance culture, I cannot imagine that a reader or spectator of the time would have needed Lumley to highlight the fact that Helen was "Menelaus's unfaithful wife." It would seem to me a serious breach of decorum for a daughter to represent her father as history's most famous cuckold, even within the context of otherwise vindicating him from blame in his niece's death. I would be more inclined to see Menelaus as a composite of Northumberland and Suffolk, the scheming dukes who pushed to have Jane Grey proclaimed queen upon Edward's death. This would accord with Lumley's revisions to exclude political motivation for the war to reclaim Helen and to focus instead on personal ambition and jealousy.

I would suggest that if he is shadowed by any character in the play, Henry Fitzalan is represented in the character of Agamemnon. While this distorts the actual family relationships in Lumley's time, it makes sense in terms of the alterations to his character. Towards the end of this first exchange between Agamemnon and Menelaus, Lumley transposes a set of lines and attributes them to the opposite speakers. Again, there is mixed opinion as to whether this transposition is deliberate or the mistake of an inexperienced translator. Marta Straznicky, for example, sees the line confusion as an accident that is nonetheless significant as it serves (among other changes/mistakes) to

"orient the issue to Agamemnon's predicament" (37-8). I would suggest that at least some of the changes that Lumley makes are deliberate, since they betray a consistent pattern of focusing interest on Agamemnon's struggle and eliding the pathos of the play. The misattribution of lines in this section of the play, for example, serves to heighten the audience's sense of Agamemnon's loneliness as he is faced with a devastating choice that no one seems able to help him resolve:[52]

> Cho. Thes saienges truly do not agree withe that whiche was spoken before. Yet not withestandinge they do teache us well that we oughte not willingly to hurte our children.
>
> Aga. Alas I wretche haue neuer a frinde.
>
> Mene. Yes you haue diuers frindes, excepte you will neglecte them.
>
> Aga. But it dothe become frindes to lame*n*te one withe an other.
>
> Mene. If you wolde haue frindes, you weare beste to loue them, whom you desier to helpe: and not them who you wolde hurte.
>
> Aga. Why, do you not thinke that grece nedethe helpe in this matter?
>
> Mene. Yes, but I thinke that bothe you, and grece also are bewitched of some god.
>
> Aga. Brother me thinkes you are to proude of honor: Wherfore I muste seake some other waie, and get me other frindes. (f74v-75)

These lines follow Agamemnon's mocking reply to Menelaus cited above (page 75). In Euripides's version, Agamemnon ends by clearly declaring "I will not kill my

[52] In their recent production, the Rose Company chose to reassign these lines to follow the Euripidean original. I suggest that the lines are more effective in the context of Lumley's revisions when spoken by the characters she attributes the lines to. The exception to this is the line "Yes, but I thinke that bothe you, and grece also are bewitched of some god," which is a powerful lament coming from Agamemnon and makes less sense in the mouth of Menelaus.

children…I will set straight my own affairs" (504-516). In this context, Menelaus's reply that he is wretched and without friends makes sense, since Agamemnon has outright refused him. In Lumley's version, however, the issue remains unresolved at the end of Agamemnon's speech – there is no declaration of refusal – and so the lines attributed to Agamemnon make more sense in the light of Lumley's revisions. It is Agamemnon in this context who feels like he is alone and without friends (alluded to earlier in Menelaus's speech as well). When Menelaus accuses him of neglect, it is because of his own wavering – Menelaus is still trying to convince his brother that he owes Menelaus the sacrifice because of his duty to both his people and his brother. The final line in this speech is actually far more effective if spoken by Agamemnon. At this crucial moment, Agamemnon is resolved to "seake some other waie, and get me other frindes," which I read as Agamemnon's refusal of his brother and determination not to sacrifice his daughter. At precisely this moment, the Nuncio interrupts the scene, informing Agamemnon that he has brought Clytemnestra and Iphigenia to Aulis. At the very moment that Agamemnon seems resolved to deny his brother's demand, it is made impossible for him to do so by the women's arrival and the revelation that "all the grecians" (f75v) know Iphigenia is there. Once again, it seems Lumley has chosen to highlight the impossible choice facing Agamemnon and to make Menelaus seem the waffling unconstant, consumed with his own personal desire for vengeance.

It seems a stretch to too closely associate these historical figures with clear counterparts in the play; however, Lumley's condensed version of the play highlights Agamemnon as a man trying to do his best for the state as his responsibility as commander comes so clearly into conflict with his responsibility to his family. I think

that Lumley's Agamemnon is relatively sympathetic as he struggles to get Menelaus to change his mind about requiring the sacrifice and then comes to terms with the necessity of Iphigenia's death once it becomes clear that it is no longer a private matter. Perhaps in shadowing Agamemnon's struggle to come to terms with having to sacrifice the life of a family member in order to do what is right for the good of the country, Lumley is offering a thoughtful consideration of the dilemma her own father must have faced in choosing to denounce his niece's claim to the throne in favour of Mary I. By emphasizing Menelaus's personal and hardly honorable motives in pursuing the war against Troy, Lumley may be attempting to suggest that the responsibility for Jane Grey's manipulation and execution in fact belongs to Northumberland and Suffolk. If their motivations were those of personal gain only, then Lumley's own father would seem to be justified in rejecting their claimant (though this would send her to her death) for the good of the English people.

While, as I noted above, religious affiliations did not necessarily mean corresponding political allegiances in this period, as kinship ties crossed and complicated the border between Catholic and reformist loyalties, it remains impossible to ignore Lumley's own position in a household and a community dedicated to resisting the reforms of the Edwardian era. From the Arundel household's perspective, the protestant Jane Grey on the throne, puppeted by powerful male relatives, cannot have been a pleasing prospect. Lumley's changes to the play, I have argued, suggest a more favourable view of Agamemnon, who may shadow Arundel. Perhaps Lumley, writing in the early years of Mary's reign, wants to represent her father's actions as necessary and possibly even laudatory in the context of bringing to the throne the pious and

committedly Catholic Mary Tudor. Even the subject matter of the play itself may have appealed to Jane Lumley as a Catholic woman. Edith Hall has argued, for instance, that certain features of *Iphigenia* – "the marriageable maiden's graceful obedience to her father, the wielding of his absolute patriarchal authority, the motif of human sacrifice" – made the play "congenial to the Christian, indeed dominantly Catholic, culture" while it remained relatively unpalatable to reformist taste (4, 5). Lumley's revisions emphasize Iphigenia's martyr-like acceptance of her fate and work to redeem the appalling figure of a man willing to sacrifice his child for the good of the state.

The impossible situation that Agamemnon faces as a result of his brother's desires is made clear in a speech that exposes his terror and pity for the deed he must commit:

> But what shall I saye whiche am thus in troble, and yet may not bewaile my owne miserye for this occasion they whiche are of meane estate seme unto me verie happie. for they may copmplaine of their miserie, and bewaile withe teares the deathe of their children but to noble men no suche thinge is graunted, for I dare not lament my unfortunate chaunce, and yet it greuethe me that I may not shewe my miserie. … Alas, Alas: What a greate reproche it is, the father to be an occasion of ~~the~~ his owne childes deathe. Howe therfore am I trobled. On this parte pitie and shame, on the other side honor and glorie dothe moche moue me. (75v-76v)

Not only does Agamemnon despair at his personal situation, he is anguished at the thought of not being able to properly mourn his daughter. His reflection on the role of "noble men" having to do what is right for the state and not necessarily their own families seems to me one of the points at which Lumley's own family's dilemma can be

discerned. Additionally, she pinpoints the nature of the dilemma by adding the lines – "On this parte pitie and shame, on the other side honor and glorie dothe moche moue me" – that show Agamemnon's choice to be one between private emotion and public duty. Other places where Lumley's translation heightens the audience's sympathy for Agamemnon include the first meeting between father and daughter. In Euripides, Clytemnestra speaks to Iphigenia as father and daughter embrace: "You were always, / of all the children I bore him, the one / who loved your father most" (835-7). In Lumley's play, this line is given to Agamemnon instead and its object is reversed: "Neither am I sorie of your companye daughter, for of all my children I loue you beste" (75v). This intensifies our pity for the grief that Agamemnon feels at his terrible responsibility. Also, Lumley elides completely Clytemnestra's lines in Euripides that establish Agamemnon as a child-killer: "You killed the husband that I had, Tantalos. / You ripped from my breast / my baby, still / living, you smashed it on the ground" (1543-6). The pattern of Lumley's translatorial choices seems clearly designed to mitigate Agamemnon's culpability for the tragedy – or at least to mitigate the audience's revulsion for him.

The result of Agamemnon's impassioned speech is Menelaus's abrupt change of heart. He decides, too late, that Iphigenia need not be sacrificed. This speech, while it appears to show Menelaus's brotherly compassion, in fact confirms his fickleness and hypocrisy. Menelaus reveals himself to be changeable in his opinions, just as he had previously accused Agamemnon of being:

> I do consider she is my kinswoma*n* and hathe not deserued to dye for Helen's cause: Wherfore I will councell you not to sacrifice your daughter, but rather to sende home againe the whoole hooste, And as for my parte, I

> will agre unto you. For I consideringe howe a father oughte to loue his childe, haue changed clene my opinion. (f76v-77)

Menelaus thus shows himself guilty of the fault that he had previously accused Agamemnon of and confirms the reason behind the conflict, from Menelaus's point of view, to be "Helen's cause." In fact, Lumley removes the last line of the speech in which Menelaus explicitly claims his change of mind is that of a man seeking to do what is right, not "the vacillation of a weakling" (660, Lake translation), thus allowing the audience to read Menelaus's change of heart in a less than generous fashion. Not only are Menelaus's words too late – as Agamemnon will claim later in the scene, if the whole camp knows Iphigenia is here as a sacrifice, they will kill Menelaus and Agamemnon, along with his entire family if they try to refuse to kill her – they seem somewhat disingenuous. Surely a seasoned commander like Menelaus knows that it will be no simple matter to "sende home againe the whoole hooste." His words appear as an empty attempt to preserve a semblance of fraternal feeling after events have already begun their inexorable progress.

iii. The Performance of Women's Rhetorical Power in Lumley's Translation

The women in Lumley's play are subtly different than those in the Euripidean original. Deborah Uman argues in a recent essay that the play shows a concern with women's rhetorical agency and that, in Lumley's translation, *Iphigenia* "suggests that women can appropriate rhetorical power to establish agency and affect their audience" ("Rhetoric" 58). I agree with Uman's claim that Lumley is interested in establishing the power of her

heroines' rhetorical speeches, though I depart from her reading of Clytemnestra[53] and I will suggest that the rhetoric of Iphigenia's pleas seems based in part on Lumley's understanding of the genre of petitionary letters between parent and child. The more direct focus on women's rhetorical power allows Lumley to showcase the tragedy of wasting the life of an intelligent and educated young woman. Jane Lumley's version of this play differs from its source text in the degree to which Lumley focuses on her female heroes' rhetorical abilities over their emotions and there are a few instances of cuts from the source text in which Lumley chooses to excise speeches of moving pathos in order to focus instead on rhetorical ability.

In Euripides's play, Clytemnestra's words sometimes foreshadow the events that will follow the Trojan War: she and her lover kill Agamemnon in retribution for Iphigenia's sacrifice and Clytemnestra is in turn killed by her son Orestes in vengeance for his father's murder. It is interesting that Lumley removes all reference to these later actions, a strategy that I think highlights Clytemnestra's grief without having her descend into disordered or "hysterical" actions. While Lumley's characterization may thus seem somewhat disappointing and conformist, it actually allows her to present Clytemnestra as a decorous and rhetorically adept woman whose attempts to save her daughter in this play are not overshadowed by the mention of her future crimes. When Clytemnestra confronts Agamemnon about his plan, she does so in terms that closely resemble Agamemnon's own arguments to Menelaus. She too tries to understand why their daughter should be sacrificed for one man's private desires; to kill his daughter for "Helens sake…can be no lawfull cause, for it is not mete, that we sholde sleye our owne childe for a naughtie

[53] Uman tends to see Clytemnestra's words as veiled threats against Agamemnon, while I argue that Lumley deliberately lessens the moments of threatened violence in order to highlight Clytemnestra's logic and rhetoric.

womans sake" (f87v). In Euripides, Clytemnestra continues on, growing more heated until she threatens Agamemnon, imagining that upon his return "almost any occasion / would serve, for my other children and me / to give you the welcome you will have earned. / In the name of the gods, don't force me to turn against you" (1586-90). In Lumley's version, on the other hand, Clytemnestra is able to govern herself and her tongue, saying merely, "Wherfore if you will not be moued withe pitie, take hede leste you compell me to speke thos thinges, that do not become a good wife: yea and you your selfe do thos thinges that a good man ought not" (f88). While her response lacks the passion of the original, it does let Lumley keep the focus on Clytemnestra and her daughter as logical, reasonable beings. While it may be a somewhat unsatisfactory stance in terms of the play, Lumley is experimenting with female characters who clearly defy the stereotypes of emotional, irrational women governed by disordered humours that were so pervasive in the sixteenth century.

Gone too is Clytemnestra's parting promise to Iphigenia that Agamemnon "will not like the course he must face because of you" (1975). Clytemnestra says this in response to Iphigenia's plea that her mother not hate her father for his actions. The "course" that Agamemnon must face is his murder at Clytemnestra's hands. In Lumley's version Iphigenia offers an explanation for Agamemnon's behaviour not present in the source. He was, she says, "compelled to do it for the welthe and honor of grece" (f94). In Clytemnestra's response, the veiled threat of the original is completely absent and instead Clytemnestra speaks the somewhat surprising lines: "If he hath done this willinglye then trulye he hathe committed a dede farre unworthie of suche noble man as he is" (f94). What is so shocking about these lines is the way in which they show Clytemnestra

attempting to understand Agamemnon's actions and perhaps even coming to question her assumptions about his motivation because of Iphigenia's certainty about her father. It has been clear throughout the play that Agamemnon has *not* "done this willinglye" and the conspicuous conditional here suggests that Clytemnestra may yet reconcile herself to Agamemnon's actions; or, at the very least, to understand that he has responded not to his personal desire but a higher political necessity, a fact that may render him "noble" despite the horror of his deed.

Iphigenia's character, too, undergoes revision in Lumley's translation, most significantly I suggest, in the ways in which her pleas to her father are based upon formal rhetorical structures. Gone is Iphigenia's wish that she "had the tongue of Orpheus" (1627); Lumley cuts this part of Iphigenia's initial plea to her father, along with her claim that she has only tears and her body to offer him as argument against her death (Uman "Rhetoric" 61). Instead, the speech is concise and direct, resembling a formal letter of suit or petition and containing some of the hallmarks of this genre. James Daybell has reconstructed the letter-writing practices of early modern women and argues that the petitionary letter

> conform[s] more rigorously to epistolary conventions and models relating to structure, rhetoric, language, and manuscript layout…[L]etters of petition highlight female mastery of the literary, rhetorical, and formal conventions of the epistolary form, and shed light on the skills, albeit textual and rhetorical, associated with courtiership and the pursuit of patronage. (229)

Although the object of Iphigenia's suit is of far greater consequence than the ends implied by "courtiership and the pursuit of patronage," her words conform quite closely to the genre of the petitionary letter, the intent of which was "to persuade and convince the recipient of the writer's cause. Erasmus adopted a classical rhetorical scheme of categorization for epistles, grouping petitionary letters in the deliberative or persuasive class, distinct from demonstrative, judicial, and familiar letters" (Daybell 232). Lumley's Iphigenia opens her suit succinctly: "Nowe O father I knelinge uppon my knees and makinge moste humble sute, do mooste ernestely desier you to haue pitie uppon me your daughter, and not to sleye me so cruelly" (f88v). This resembles closely the example cited by Daybell to establish the rhetorical pattern of suits from children to parents:

> The petitionary mode was commonly used in letters from daughters (and sons) to parents… as well as in other letters where the addressee was socially superior to the writer. Writing to her father Sir John Littleton for forgiveness, Elizabeth Willoughby appropriated the language of petition, 'beseeching' him 'for the love of god' to take pity on her as his 'naturall childe', and to have 'compassion' on her as 'a distressed woman'. The letter ends by presenting the image of her in the abject position of humble petitioner submitting herself before him upon her knees. (233)

Like Willoughby, Lumley's Iphigenia highlights her position as supplicant and calls on her familial relationship and mutual affection to help establish her right to plead. The image of the suitor humble upon her knees is present in both texts as well. Daybell's work makes clear that such claims of abjection are not necessarily representative of a

capitulation to social demands of female obedience or submission; rather, they indicate women's ability to appropriate these tropes for their own rhetorical purposes.

Such a strategy is clearly present in Lumley's *Iphigenia*. While the language of pleading and of pity is present in Euripides, Lumley structures Iphigenia's plea to more closely resemble the rhetoric of early modern letters of petition. Again, Daybell's work on women's letters of the early modern period reveals the extent to which they conformed to clearly established rhetorical traditions. The letter of petition:

> consisted of five main rhetorical parts which were commonly employed in Renaissance epistles: *exordium* (introduction), *narratio* or *propositio* (declaration of the substance of the letter, which often included a request or *petitio*), *confirmatio* (amplification), *confutatio* (refutation of objections), and *peroratio* (conclusion). Not all of these rhetorical parts were relevant for use in all situations. In general, good letters, framed by a salutation and subscription, were those that combined 'aptness' and 'brevity' with 'comeliness' and 'persuasiveness', and were 'skilfully' written with 'invention', 'disposition', and 'elocution'. (240-1)

It is perhaps the stricture demanding "aptness" and "brevity" that motivates Lumley's excision of the more overwrought passages from her source text. Her Iphigenia is a rhetorician and orator in this speech, as she moves concisely through her *exordium*, *propositio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, and *peroratio*:

> Nowe O father I knelinge uppon my knees and makinge moste humble sute, do mooste ernestely desier you to haue pitie uppon me your daughter, and not to sleye me so cruelly. For you knowe it is geuen to all mortall

> men to be desirous of life. Againe remember that I am your daughter, and howe you semed euer to loue me beste of all your children, in so moche that you waere wont euer to desire, that you might see me maried to one worthie of my degree, and I did euer wish agayne that I mighte liue to see you an olde man, that you mighte haue moche ioye bothe of me, and also of your other children. And will you nowe consent to my dethe? forgettinge both that whiche you weare wont to saye, and also what paine you and my mother take in bringing me up, knowinge no cause in me worthie of deathe. for what haue I to do withe Helena. But nowe father seinge you are nothinge moued with my lamentation, I will call hether my yonge brother Orestes, for I knowe he will be sorie to see his sister slayne, and againe you can not choose, but you muste nedes haue pitie either of him, or els of me, consideringe what a lawfull requeste we do desier, for you knowe that all men are desirous of life, and ther is, no wise man, but he will choose rather to liue in miserie than to die. (f88v-89v).

Iphigenia states her petition clearly and proceeds to enumerate the reasons that Agamemnon should give up his proposed course of action. Lumley's Iphigenia does not have the same tone of pleading as Euripides's and she presents her points logically and almost dispassionately.[54] Her focus is on the unjustness of Agamemnon's cause and relies

[54] Angel Day discusses petitionary letters in his *English Secretorie* (1586). He requires that the letters adhere to the proper structure: "the first, being the Exordium, the matter of the same is drawne out of the person of him to whome it passeth, by preferring his care & willingnesse to do good. Then the Narration and Proposition setting foorth the occasion of the demaund. The Petition next, …. Then the Possibilitie and meane deliuered to compasse the same, the one liable to his authoritie, the other to his trauaile. Lastly a remuneration, by declaration of good acceptance & promise of requital" (173). Day also recognizes that letters written between family members may be more than usually urgent in tone. He cites one example of a letter of petition from son to father and remarks that "The stile of this Epistle is vehement, because the passions of him from whence it came were vehement, and is deducted as you see from the nature of

on claims like "no cause in me [is] worthie of deathe" and "what a lawfull requeste we do desire" in order to establish her position. In fact, it is noticeable throughout the play that Lumley uses legalistic language to heighten the rhetorical position of her characters. On the other hand, Iphigenia in Euripides relies far more on passion and pity in her speech, begging her father to remember her as his first born child and to recall the times "we held each other, we loved each other" (1642). Lumley makes it clear that in killing his daughter, Agamemnon loses not just a child, but an educated and rhetorically sophisticated familial ally. He will destroy the potential that he himself invested in his daughter as an educated and marriageable woman. In her final speech, Iphegenia makes it clear that she understands her own "value" to the nation and to her father as a tradable commodity in the gift economy of the nation.

Iphigenia's final acceptance of her fate is couched in similarly rhetorical terms by Lumley. As Patricia Demers has argued:

> [Iphigenia] generates her own apotheosis in ways different from the Greek and Latin texts. Using mainly subjunctive rather than indicative moods, Lumley's heroine also emphasizes form, law, and authority…Lumley's Iphigenia sees her death as patient suffering for a lawful cause. Furthermore, an ambivalence about the value or disposability of a woman's life is at the heart of this tragedy, in which the liberty of the

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Reconciliatorie, which as well for the submissiue and lowest termes it beareth, as also for the vrgent petition therein contayned, I haue rather chosen to place among the Petitorie. The part of Honest herein deliuered, is passed in woordes meckest and of great obedience, wherein he studieth by all possibilitie to mitigate towardes himselfe, the too muche seueritie of his father. The Exordium is carried by Insinuation, expressing the vehement effectes and surcharged conceites of a minde more than ordinarily greeued" (174). Thus the rhetorical demands of the letter could be shaped to fit extraordinary circumstances; the submissive tone and initial emotion of Iphigenia's plea is part of its rhetorical strategy.

> heroine to offer her life and thereby be the only one to win the day subverts commonplaces about a woman's negligible worth. (*Women's* 82)

Lumley's Iphigenia begins to realize almost immediately that her suit to her father has been in vain and she recognizes the nationalist agenda behind her sacrifice, reminding her mother that "in dede I throughe my deathe shall purchase the grecians a glorious victorie" (f90). Again, in her speech to her mother, Iphigenia enumerates the reasons for her death and appears to recognize their validity in the context of the greater welfare of the state:

> Consider I praie you mother for what a lawfull cause I shalbe slaine. Dothe not bothe the destruction of Troye, and also the welthe of grece, which is the moste frutefull countrie of the worlde hange upon my deathe? And if this wicked enterprise of the Troians be not reuenged, than truly the grecians shall not kepe neither their children, nor yet their wiues in peace: And I shall not onlie remdie all thes thinges withe my deathe: but also get a glorious renowne to the grecians for euer. Againe remember how I was not borne for your sake onlie, but rather for the comodite of my countrie…Wherfore I will offer my selfe willingly to deathe, for my countrie: for by this meanes I shall not only leaue a perpetuall memorie of my deathe, but I shall cause also the grecians to rule ouer the barbarians, whiche dothe as it weare properly belonge to them. (f92-92v)

Iphigenia refuses to call her death murder once she accepts its inevitability and necessity. Instead, Lumley's translation emphasizes the profitability of the sacrifice as a necessary step in re-establishing the Greeks' natural place in world affairs. Iphigenia accepts that she must die for her country's sake and she accepts this willingly.

It is important that the final decision to give up her life is Iphigenia's. In this way, she enters her body into the economy of the gift, as she offers up that gift (her life and death) for which there can be no reciprocation. In this way, her willing sacrifice empowers Iphigenia to a remarkable extent. Jacques Derrida has questioned the very possibility of the gift. In his formulation:

> If there is a gift, the *given* of the gift…must not come back to the giving (let us not already say to the subject, to the donor). It must not circulate, it must not be exchanged, it must not in any case be exhausted, as a gift, by the process of exchange, by the movement of circulation of the circle in the form of return to the point of departure. If the figure of the circle is essential to economics, the gift must remain *aneconomic*. Not that it remains foreign to the circle, but it must keep a relation of foreignness to the circle. (*Given* 7)

Elsewhere, Derrida ponders the "gift of death" to be the only gift that can sufficiently rupture the circle of economy to be considered a true gift and specifically considers willing sacrifice as "not given in the first instance as annihilation. It institutes responsibility as giving one's death, *putting oneself to death* or *offering one's death*, that is to say *one's life*, in the ethical dimension of sacrifice" (*Gift* 48). Iphigenia recognizes her death as at once implicated in and outside of the circle of economy. She uses the language of commerce to explain her sacrifice, perhaps because the vocabulary of early modern English is really only capable of conceiving of sacrifice in terms of exchange. Iphigenia tells her mother: "withe my deathe I shall *purchase* unto them [the Greeks] a glorious victorie, bringe me therfore unto the aultor of the temple of the goddes Diana"

(94v; my emphasis). Likewise, when Iphigenia bids farewell to her life with "a literalness devoid of poetry" (Demers *Women's* 83), Lumley puts the language of economy into her mouth:

> Alas thou sone, whiche arte comforte to mans life, O thou light whiche doeste make ioyfull all creatures, I shalbe compelled by and by to forsake you all and to *chaunge* my life. (f95; my emphasis)

In this passage I think we must read "change" in the now archaic sense of "To give and receive reciprocally, exchange, interchange," for which "*exchange* is now the ordinary prose word" (*OED*). Because the "change" is one for which the giver cannot possibly be reciprocated, Iphigenia's sacrifice is created as the ultimate and only gift capable of truly bearing the name. Incidentally, it is important that Lumley chooses to substitute "light" for "sone [sun]" in this passage. George Bataille, in his consideration of the possibility of a gift economy, likewise sees the gift as that which cannot be reciprocated, as an unproductive expenditure, and he posits the sun as the paradigm of non-productive expenditure, since it gives infinitely without the necessity of return: "The origin and essence of our wealth are given in the radiation of the sun, which dispenses energy – wealth – without any return. The sun gives without ever receiving" (189). In the Christian worldview, this "sun" becomes conflated with "son" as the model of the pure gift. In Lumley's Christianized version of the play, perhaps we can read Iphigenia's final speech not so much as a farewell to the "sun" as an invocation of the "Son" and a willing acceptance of her death as gift.

iv. The Gift of Performance?

While the other translations in this study are clearly marked as gifts through their texts and paratexts, Lumley's play presents something of an exception since it bears no dedicatory letter and is not bound so as to suggest presentation. That said, given the pattern of scholarly activity in the Fitzalan/Lumley household, as I have argued, presentation of the manuscript to Lumley's father Arundel seems highly likely. There is, of course, another possibility. Perhaps the play required no letter of dedication because it was to be given, not in written form, but as a performance. As much recent work in the area has made evident, women were involved in dramatic production of various kinds in the context of household drama. "Performance" in this context could mean not only a staged production of a script, but also performative reading or reading aloud.[55] Given the revisions Lumley made to her source text, it seems highly likely that she had performance in mind when writing it. There is no evidence that the play was ever performed, in a household setting or otherwise, but even if such a performance never happened, Lumley seems to have been attentive to the possibilities of staging or reading aloud her work.

J. Michael Walton notes the unique challenges of translating drama: "For someone looking for a definition of stage translation ... 'transfer to a new context' [transferre] and 'to give off the smell or flavour of'[reddere] splendidly pin down that realm of latitude within any stage work which demands that the translator address issues of dramatic rhythm, mood and tension as well as the words" (11-12). I would argue that the "latitude" of Lumley's translation may have something to do with her envisioning the

[55] On women's dramatic production and performance see Alison Findlay's *Playing Spaces* (2006) and Marta Straznicky's *Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama* (2004); on household performance more generally, see Suzanne Westfall *Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels*; on performative reading, see Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender and Literacy* (2005) and Hero Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers 1650-1689* (2004).

play's performance possibilities. The *Argumentum* that Lumley translates out of Erasmus's Latin version is a case in point. It is unlikely that Lumley could have relied on her audience's sure knowledge of the events surrounding the play, and her translation of the Argument provides a concise synopsis of the play and its background (made all the more necessary given some of the cuts that Lumley makes later in the text). Such a strategy, which may at first seem designed with reading in mind, actually works quite effectively in performance. In a performance of Lumley's work recently staged at Reading University by The Rose Company, director Emma Rucastle chose to have the argument read out loud at the beginning of the play by members of the cast, speaking in turn.[56] Though somewhat surprising to hear in performance, I would argue that the argument provided an effective and necessary touchstone for the audience, and the time it took to speak it (approximately 4.5 minutes) was time well spent since Lumley's translation cuts other explanatory speeches. In this performance, the audience knew from the outset the reason for the gathering at Aulis, the problem with the still-winds, and Calchas's prophecy that the fleet could only sail if Iphigenia were sacrificed. I wonder too whether the Argument might be something Lumley would have perceived as appropriate for reading aloud on its own. James Fitzmaurice notes the existence in the early modern period of printed compilations of excerpted scenes specifically chosen because suitable to be read aloud, likely in the halls of aristocratic families (32). Lumley's concisely translated summary of her play seems a suitable stand-alone excerpt for oral recitation.

[56] Emma Rucastle directed the Rose Company in a performance at Reading University's Minghella Theatre, July 9, 2013. A video recording of the performance is available at: http://www.reading.ac.uk/emrc/resourcesand-links/emrc-resources-and-links.aspx

In an oral or performative setting, Lumley would have no need of a written dedicatory letter, since, in the context of the household, she could address her audience directly. This would also make it possible to gloss some of the more startling political implications in the play's subject matter. There are competing schools of thought on the likelihood of performance, from scholars who see *Iphigenia* as a writing exercise only, to those who argue for specific performance conditions. Marion Wynne-Davies is of the latter group, and she suggests that the play was conceived by Lumley with the banqueting house at Nonsuch in mind as a performance venue.[57] Both Stephanie Hodgson-Wright's performance in the late 1990s and the more recent work-in-progress of the Rose Company show the play to be eminently performable.[58] Hodgson-Wright has reflected on the energy and playability of the speeches in the play. She argues that the "rather bare prose, with its lack of literary adornment, serves to focus the audience upon the moral debate inherent in the play" ("Lumley's" 131). Lumley's work throughout the play – to streamline it and to focus attention on Agamemnon's dilemma and Iphigenia's strong-minded decision to give herself as sacrifice rather than to be taken as victim – renders the play more suited to performance or reading as an evening's entertainment than a more literal translation would have.

While other translations in this study more clearly express their author's desire to circulate the work among groups of like-minded or potentially useful allies, the

[57] Wynne-Davies notes that the revisions to the first scene, which include contemporizing the lamp as a candle and the scroll as letter as well as cutting lengthy speeches in favour of more concise ones, suggest a staging at an outdoor venue like the banqueting house, which would have rendered a "candle-lit scene…a necessity" ("Good Lady" 124). She also notes the introduction of pastoral elements that would have resonated with the Nonsuch garden setting and the mention of the "white hart" appearing by Diana's command, which would have been symbolic since Nonsuch's grove of Diana lay close to the banqueting house and would have been an obvious location to lead Iphigenia to be sacrificed ("Good Lady" 124-5).

[58] Hodgson-Wright directed the performance by the Brass Farthing Theatre Company and she reflects upon her experience in "Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia at Aulis*" (1998).

possibility of circulation of Lumley's work must remain speculative. Hodgson-Wright makes the revealing observation, however, that the Earl of Arundel expressed a public and well-known preference for communicating verbally in English (whether at home or abroad). She concludes that "Lumley might have dedicated *written* texts in the Classical languages to her father, but given the Earl's preference for spoken English, *Iphigenia at Aulis* may well have been prepared for the Earl to hear rather than read" ("Lumley's" 138). Given the redemption of the Arundel-figure in this play, coupled with the specific interest in women's rhetorical and oratorical skills, along with the revisions for concision and the specific spatial markers that Lumley adds to this play, the evidence suggesting a performance of the play for Lumley's father seems quite convincing. Lumley thus would have made a gift of her translation not through the more established channel of the gift-book, but through the slightly more unusual channel of household performance. She could thus explore the themes of female empowerment and education at the heart of her own upbringing and offer a consideration of the political dilemma of her own family through a thoroughly contemporized translation of *Iphigenia at Aulis*.

Chapter 4: "Graced both with my pen and pencell": Prophecy and Politics in Jane Seager's Sibylline Gift

In 1589 Jane Seager dedicated an elaborately wrought manuscript to Queen Elizabeth I. *The Divine Prophecies of the Ten Sibills* is a presentation manuscript bound in red velvet with painted glass panels on both the front and back covers.[59] The manuscript, written in calligraphy and bordered with delicate gold rule, contains ten verse translations of sibylline prophecies, a dedicatory epistle to the Queen, and a concluding poem composed by Seager. Seager translated the sibylline prophecies into English verse, each poem consisting of ten iambic pentameter lines, and into Timothy Bright's newly invented system of "characterie," each poem consisting of five lines of characterie (Fig. 4.1). This manuscript, which was possibly given to the Queen as a New Year's gift in 1589/90, not only reflects Seager's facility in a variety of artistic media, it indicates her desire to participate in what Jessica Malay calls a "tradition of politicized gift-giving" ("Maidenly" 176), in which the manuscript is at once a beautifully crafted bid for favour or courtly patronage, and representative of Seager's (and her family's) religious and political positions.

I concentrate in this chapter on the material presence of the manuscript and the political suggestiveness of the translations contained within it. Seager's book was clearly conceptualized as a gift offering, an exquisite object that could highlight its producer's

[59] BL MS Add. 10037. All citations in this chapter are from the manuscript, unless otherwise noted. I have cited according to poem number and line number, except in the case of references to the dedicatory poem, which is given as f1. The poems have been published as an appendix to Jessica Malay's article, "Jane Seager's Sibylline Poems: Maidenly Negotiations Through Elizabethan Gift Exchange," *English Literary Renaissance*, 36.2 (2006): 189-93, and selected poems are reproduced in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry*, Ed. Jill Seal Millman & Gillian Wright, Manchester: Manchester UP, 2005.

varied talents. Elizabeth Mazzola, for example, suggests that Seager's display of her facility with Bright's shorthand "code system" was designed to draw the queen's attention to Seager's potential as a cryptographer and thus as a possible employee of the court (10). Susan Frye posits that Seager may have intended to showcase the talents of her family's workshop to the eyes of the queen, seeking not only favour, but tangible employment as well (*Pens* 89).[60] All of these motivations and more may have been behind Seager's production of the book; clearly she was seeking patronage, though I argue that she envisioned her gift as a more political offering as well. I argue in this chapter that Seager constructs a careful alliance between herself, the sibyls, and Queen Elizabeth by emphasizing throughout her book the shared virginity that links these women. The virginal identity of both giver and recipient of the book allows Seager to voice her political agenda of exhorting – through flattery – the queen to remember and act upon her perceived role as the saviour of the reformed faith in England. The unique representational strategies Seager uses in the book let her construct herself as both humble supplicant and powerful prophetic counsellor to the monarch.

It is difficult to gauge what Elizabeth's reaction would have been to this gift, especially since its physical presence and the unusual use of Bright's characterie would have placed certain demands on the recipient of the work. Seager could not have been sure of her work's reception or of its perceived value; Ilana Ben-Amos reminds us that "unlike market transactions in which goods are priced, the value of gifts is uncertain, and the time lag that passes between giving and repaying is left to the discretion of the participants" (299). This would be especially the case since Seager's was a gift designed

[60] Frye's careful research forms the basis for much of what is known about Seager and *The Divine Prophecies*, and my discussion in this chapter is much indebted to her insightful work in *Pens and Needles*.

to elicit patronage and lacked the "existence of personal interactions and reciprocity" upon which gift giving is traditionally predicated (299). Seager's work seems to be an attempt to establish a personal interaction with the monarch – to the degree that it would have been reasonable to hope for some sign of reciprocity from the queen.[61]

While Seager's gift may never have reached the queen – and certainly seems not to have garnered her the hoped-for favour evident in the dedication and material presence of this book[62] – it does offer an unprecedented example of the ways in which translation and women's gift-giving could be highly politicized. While she participates in a similar tradition of politicized gift-giving as Mary Bassett and Jane Lumley, Seager is unlike these two translators, who acknowledge their source texts and rely to some extent on the authority conferred by the author of the works and the prestige associated with their ability to translate from their Greek sources. Seager constructs an extraordinary framework to authorize her translation – one that relies, not on the male author of the original text, but on the virginity shared by the original speakers of the prophecies (the sibyls), the translator of their words (Seager), the subject of the prophecies (the Virgin Mary), and their dedicatee and allegorical subject (Queen Elizabeth). The prophecies are remarkable in their gynocentricity, and Seager elides the prophecies' recent source in Filippo Barbieri's *Sibyllarum de Christo Vaticinia* to the extent that she does not even

[61] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of Esther Inglis's professional gifting. She received monetary compensation from the queen for books clearly representing themselves as "gifts." While there is no evidence to prove that Seager's manuscript ever actually reached Elizabeth, Frye suggests a possible scenario for its presentation: "During the entertainments in 1592 for the queen at Sudeley Castle, the figure of Daphne ran for help to Elizabeth, 'the Queene of Chastity,' and then presented her with 'Sibylla's prophesies' in terms that suggest that Jane Seager's volume could have been the gift" (*Pens* 101)

[62] There is no evidence of Seager benefiting from royal patronage after the manuscript's production. As Frye finds, Seager married at some point after 1589 a Lionel Plumtree, who had possible trade connections to the Muscovy Company; he is recorded in William Segar's genealogy as "Now in Russia 1603" (qtd. in Frye *Pens* 102).

mention that the prophecies are translations; she simply asks Elizabeth to grace with her favour "this Treatis, *wrytten* by a Mayden, your Subiect" (fol.1, emphasis added).

There exists frustratingly little biographical information on Jane Seager, though it is clear that she was raised in an atmosphere that supported active political and religious reform. Jane Seager's parents were Francis Segar and Anne Sherrard (Gibson 17) and both of her brothers, William and Francis, were foreign diplomats whose political connections included many of the important reformists associated with Elizabeth's court.[63] William Segar – the author of a satirical anti-Catholic pamphlet entitled *The Blazon of Papistes*,[64] which he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth – was a mourner at the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney and numbered Thomas Heneage, Robert Dudley, and Robert Devereaux among his patrons (Malay *Prophecy* 124).[65] William Seager is recorded as the painter of a portrait of Elizabeth purchased by Thomas Egerton in 1597 and Roy Strong advocates for attributing the "Ermine Portrait" to Segar as well (18, 113). Francis Segar was a diplomat in the service of Maurice, Langrave of Hesse, and he and William had friends and contacts among the writers and artists of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, including Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones, Thomas Heywood, and John Beaumont; Malay suggests that Shakespeare may even have been among William Segar's acquaintances (*Prophecy* 125). Seager's familial network, then, included both important Protestant reformers and visual and literary artists seeking patronage, and this network may have

[63] Jane spells her family name 'Seager' in the manuscript, and this spelling has (rightly, I think) been retained by the critics who discuss her work. Susan Frye notes the existence of a draft genealogy by William Segar that "confirms that Jane Segar was his sister and Francis Segar his brother" (*Pens* 89).
[64] Bodleian Library STC 1584: 23
[65] Hicks describes the will of Thomas Heneage, William Segar's primary patron, as "strikingly protestant" and notes his affiliation with such important reformists as Philip Sidney, Robert Devereaux, and John Foxe, along with the politically powerful Cecil family (para. 2).

both inspired her production of the gift book and allowed her the channels through which to give it.

i. Making Meaning: The Materiality of the Manuscript

While the gift book she dedicates to Queen Elizabeth is a remarkable object and a unique example of intersemiotic translation and multi-media artistry, Seager's work seems entirely consistent with her social position as, as Susan Frye puts it, an "upwardly mobile member[] of the artisan class" (*Pens* 75). Seager would presumably have seen examples of artists favoured by influential political allies and must have realized the powerful potential that access to court circles afforded her to present her handiwork and a representation of her political affiliations to the queen. Both of Seager's brothers were well-known as painters and Frye posits the likely existence of a family workshop that would have trained Seager and allowed her access to the expensive materials (velvet, gold thread, gold ink, gold and coloured paints) exhibited in her book (*Pens* 89-90).[66] While Seager may have benefited from her familial circle of acquaintances, Frye notes the fact that Elizabeth I, unlike her father, seemed reluctant to favour female artists at her court and Seager's gift may have been intended to draw the queen's attention to her artistic facility as a member of her family workshop (*Pens* 89).[67] Certainly the sumptuous appearance of the volume seems designed to showcase the specific talents of its producer while carefully appealing to its particular dedicatee.

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[66] Although William and Francis Segar have garnered relatively little attention as painters, Borukhov points out that William was "one of the most important and highly rated portraitists of the time" and that both brothers were "numbered by Francis Meres among the top English painters" (330).

[67] Frye discusses Henry VIII's patronage of entire artisan families, including female artists. The two best-known of these were Susanna Horenbout and Levina Teerlinc, both illuminators and miniaturists of the Tudor court (*Pens* 75-86).

The volume is bound in red velvet, which was, as Frye notes, a colour and textile in keeping with other treasured books on Elizabeth's shelves (*Pens* 90). The book seems designed to at once fit in with and stand out from other gift books that the queen may have received. Seager was evidently careful to choose a binding that she knew would appeal to the queen in its colour and its rich appearance while at the same time electing to decorate the binding in a relatively unusual way. Rather than embroidering a design on the front cover – a technique that would have showcased her talents in one overtly sanctioned arena of women's creative production – Seager uses a technique called *verre églomisé* on the front and back covers of her book, which involved painting a design on the reverse side of a piece of glass that was then secured into the binding (Fig. 4.2). Susan Frye notes the uniqueness of this technique in England; although it was common on the continent, Frye finds only one other example of Elizabeth having owned a piece of *verre églomisé* and she cites personal correspondence with R. Stockdale of the British Museum, who writes, "I have not found any other manuscript binding described in our catalogues in the same way, and I am not aware of any other examples in our collections" (242 n. 45). Seager's creation would stand out from other books given to the queen simply by virtue of its "jewel-like" covers. According to Frye, "miniatures and enameled, jeweled, or *verre églomisé* pieces were classified as similar objects because gold paint and colored pigments required the use of precious metals and gems" (90). Conceptually then, the book's covers complicate its material presence as both book and jewel.[68]

Consequently, Seager's design demands a great deal from its recipient in terms of curation, since its owner would have to store it carefully to avoid cracking the glass

[68] Esther Inglis's exquisite needlework covers and miniature books, although they do not use the *verre églomisé* technique, participate in a similar kind of commodification of the material book (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of Inglis's books).

panels (as has now happened to both covers, very badly on the back cover; see Fig. 4.3). In a sense, the physical presence of this manuscript determines its specific conditions of reading and storage. As Guglielmo Cavallo argues about the early codex, the physical dimensions of manuscript books "changed the way the book was correlated to the physiology of reading. The physical structure of certain books dictated, hindered or at least suggested certain postures, gestures and ways of reading." (87). Cavallo notes that the codex was an innovation that allowed a relative degree of physical freedom, as the reader needed only one hand to steady the book during reading (importantly, freeing up the other hand to annotate); conversely, the immense size of some codices necessitated a fixed site for reading or consultation. Seager's gift book, I argue, places two specific demands on its reader. Firstly, the reader must have a designated place in which to read the work. Despite its quarto size, this is not a book that would travel easily with the reader, unless great care was taken to safeguard it in-transit. Instead, this seems to be a book that one would access in a designated space – a library or closet – where the book could also be displayed with its cover(s) visible. Given its jewel-like status and its delicacy, Seager must have imagined the book reposing in a display case or cabinet;[69] further, this exquisite object practically demands a private audience with its reader. Seager could have envisioned her work circulating, not by being passed from hand to hand by a community of readers (as Basset's work seems to have done), but rather by being seen and read by readers passing through a particular space of display. The materiality of Seager's book would seem to limit and control its circulation to only those who would also have had access to its owner's physical presence. If that owner was

[69] Esther Inglis makes explicit reference to the display and curation of her 1624 book dedicated to Prince Charles, when she describes it having "sum retired place in your Highnesse Cabinet" (5r). See discussion, Chapter 5.

Elizabeth I, as Seager certainly hoped, then Seager might reasonably expect that her book would become an object of display and discussion, offering like-minded intimates of the queen the opportunity to discuss the significance and symbolism of the prophecies, characterie, and artistry of the book. Thus, the manuscript would have required a reading environment in which it could be carefully handled and, secondly, where Timothy Bright's book – *Characterie: An Arte of Shorte, Swifte, and Secrete Writing by Character* – would have been available for consultation in deciphering (or at least admiring) the facing-page translations in characterie.[70] Bright's book came out in 1588, the year before Jane Seager inscribed the dedication in her completed work.

Characterie is a shorthand system that involves substituting symbols for words; Bright's book provides a list of 537 symbols that correspond to the "characticall" words. Each symbol could be modified with alphabetic substitutions to cover a wide-ranging vocabulary. Even a year after *Characterie's* initial publication, it is hard to imagine that more than a handful of people would have memorized its symbols sufficiently to allow them to read the characterie without recourse to either the book itself or a key to the symbols used in the system.[71] Seager's work quite clearly promotes Bright's work to prominent view and, further, demands that his book be used in engaging

[70] Assuming, that is, that the characterie was ever meant to be read at all. Quite apart from its linguistic meaning, characterie has significant political associations that are important to Seager's project in the manuscript (discussed later in this chapter).

[71] Bright himself imagines that a diligent student could become familiar with his system in as little as two months: "by thy own industry, thou maiest attain unto it, if thou wilt but one month take paines therein, and by continuance of another month, maiest thou attain to great readiness" (Bright, "Instruction to the Reader"). It is Bright's intention that practitioners of the system "learn the characterie words by heart, and therewith the making of the figure to the character, to doo it readily, and cleane, then, to be able to joyne every character to the word pronounced, without book or sight of any pattern before thee." While there is at least some evidence that readers were able to internalize Bright's system – Matthews mentions the fact that some extant sermons claim in their titles to have been recorded using characterie – it seems to have remained largely obscure in his own time (492). In 1618, for example, Edmond Willis complains that Bright's system "did necessarily require such vnderstanding and memory, as that few of the ordinary sort of men could attaine to the knowledge thereof" (cited in Matthews 490).

with hers. Seager's book at once flatters its recipient through its sumptuousness and at the same time its physical fragility and its textual complexity demand that she care for it as an object of value and interact with it in particular ways.

The covers of Seager's gift book are significant not only for what they suggest about the imagined space of reading, but also because their design contributes to the symbolic program evident throughout Seager's manuscript and speaks to the political motivations behind this gift. The central design on the cover is an oval structure rendered in perspective, with five lines of characterie enclosed with it. The oval design clearly resembles an elaborately carved wooden picture frame or, more appropriately in this context, the jewelled frame of an Elizabethan miniature (Fig. 4.4).[72] This would be consistent with Frye's speculation on the nature of this central design, which she argues is "a portrait [of Elizabeth] in symbols" (90). Frye notes that the design is the same on both front and back covers and argues that for this reason it is possible to read the front cover fairly accurately (*Pens* 90). It is the back cover that has the more significant damage and while the illustrated design looks the same, what remains of the characterie in the centre of the oval frame appears to me to have been different. The characterie is all but obliterated on the back cover and it is impossible to ascertain what the symbols may have been. I would speculate that, if the central cartouche is a "portrait in characters" resembling a miniature in setting, then the portrait on the back cover would likely have been different. The obverse of the Drake Jewel, for example, depicts its owner, with the Queen's portrait inside. I would suggest the possibility that the characterie on the back cover may have portrayed Seager herself, offering her book to the queen (an image not

[72] The "Drake Jewel" provides an example of an elaborate oval frame enclosing a portrait miniature of Elizabeth I (see Strong 120, plate 122).

uncommon in book frontispieces, for example [S. Doran 174]). Rather than paint a visual image of the queen, Seager translates two sections of the royal arms motto into characterie and places these in the central frame that would normally have been expected to contain a portrait. As Roy Strong has pointed out, loyalty to the monarch, at one time indicated through the display of the royal arms, was in Elizabeth's time indicated through display of the royal portrait, suggesting a certain degree of "interchangeability of royal arms and portraits" (22) consistent with Seager's use of the royal arms' motto to portray the queen.

There have been two readings of the characterie symbols in the oval. John Westby-Gibson (seconded by Jessica Malay) translates Seager's cover as: "'God and my right. Evil be to him that evil thinketh.'…and the initials 'E.R.' for 'Elizabetha Regina'" (81). Frye, on the other hand, translates the symbols to read: "E.R.: God and Mine Right: Glory to Her that Glory Is" (*Pens* 91). Literally, Westby-Gibson's is the correct translation,[73] though neither translation accounts for the layers of meaning inherent in the motto as rendered in characters. Characterie, as I will discuss further in the next section, is to be read vertically, from top to bottom, with lines or sentences separated with a dot (what Bright calls a "pricke") after (below) the final character. The orientation of reading complicates the translation of the characterie, since the initials "E" and "R" – which both Westby-Gibson and Frye identify as such – actually frame the motto (Fig. 4.4),[74] with "R" centre-left and "E" centre-right, with the rest of the motto rendered in between the initials. In traditional portraiture, it would not have been unusual for the subject's initials

[73] Seager clearly uses the characterie for "evil" not "glory," as Frye suggests (see discussion below of the formation of the character for "evil"). "Glory" is a "characterical" word in Bright's system, which means it has its own unique character, and I can see no reason to suppose that Seager would not have used this character had she intended the word "glory."

[74] See Figure 4. The character for 'E' is and the character for 'R' is .

to appear on either side of her image, and Seager's placement of them here suggests that Frye is correct in conceptualizing this motto as a portrait of the queen. Seager's use of characterie makes the placement of the initials even more significant, since it suggests the degree to which Elizabeth embodies the qualities expressed in her motto; in this portrait her visage is literally composed of the characters of her royal prerogative.

"God and mine right" is the correct translation of the first line of the motto contained within the cartouche. As Malay notes, "'God and my right' or as it appeared on Elizabeth I's royal arms, 'Dieu et mon droit,' was attributed to King Richard I and connected to the battle where he defeated Phillip II at Courcellesles-Gisorson September 27, 1198" ("Maidenly" 184). By using this motto, Seager, even before Elizabeth reads the text of her book, reminds the Queen of the tradition of great kings in whose footsteps Seager desires she follow; however, Seager also insists that the Queen engage with Bright's own work in order to render the motto legible. Additionally, Seager's textual portrait, like painted portraits of the queen, locates the divine right of rule literally in the body of the ruler as her portrait is composed of the motto ("God and mine right") that expresses the divine legitimacy of her power. Seager's portrait is thus consistent with the portraiture of Elizabeth's later reign, which stresses this connection between divine right, empire, and the body of the monarch; the "Sieve" portraits in particular posit Elizabeth's chastity as an integral part of her imperial iconography, emphasizing her role as both vestal virgin and imperial power (Strong 97-99). Later paintings also continue the imperial theme, claiming, Susan Doran suggests, "the queen as an instrument of divine will, the scourge of Catholic Spain, a monarch who with God's help and English sea-power would build up an empire of her own and oversee the triumph of European

Protestantism" (179). Such images of course were particularly potent in the wake of the Armada victory of 1588, and Seager's use of such ideals in her 1589 characterie-portrait (and throughout the book) celebrates and encourages the queen in her role as defender of the reformed faith.

The second part of the motto that composes Elizabeth's characterie-portrait within the oval frame – "evil be to him that evil thinks" – was, in French, the motto of the Order of the Garter and constituted part of the royal coat of arms (Malay "Maidenly" 185). Seager's choice to render the Queen's portrait through this very motto emphasizes the particular connection that Waddington argues the queen had with this motto. Elizabeth used the Order of the Garter and its highly performative and symbolic ceremonies to her own political advantage by intermingling the rituals of the Garter and her own public pageantry; her "Petrarchan" manipulation of appointments to the Order was consistent with her appropriation of chivalric strategies in handling her relationships with her male courtiers.[75] The introduction of the motto into the coat of arms appears to have begun with Henry VIII, who

> 'introduced into his Great Seal, the Scutcheon of his Arms, incircled within a Garter; as may be seen placed on either side of his Portraicture, sitting in his Royal Throne.' The formula promptly was adopted by Henry's knights; the individual's coat of arms, encircled by the Garter, placed in the upper left or right background became one of the

[75] Waddington further suggests that "[g]iven the persistence with which undeserved shame (e. g., her mother's execution for high treason, parliament's determination of her illegitimacy), charges of disloyalty (complicity in the Wyatt conspiracy), or simply slanderous rumors of personal misconduct (with Thomas Seymour and with Leicester) had haunted her earlier life, it is not difficult to understand her personal identification with a motto refuting the innuendo of sexual misconduct against an innocent lady by making the slur redound against her accusers" (112)

> conventions of Tudor portraiture. After Henry's reign, 'all succeeding Soveraigns have born their Arms within the Garter, not only in their Great and Privy Seals, but . . . generally in all things (except Coyns) whereon the Scutcheon of their Arms have been since cut, carved, graved, painted, or wrought' (Elias Ashmole [London, 1672] cited in Waddington 110-111)

Seager's use of this motto, in addition to recalling Elizabeth's particular relationship with its symbolism, also suggests Seager's own privileged position in bestowing the motto on Elizabeth in this way. The Order of the Garter was, in Elizabeth's reign, a masculine privilege, and one that provided an "institutional elite within the court, an inner circle of nobility that could be graced by intimacy with the sovereign, yet not intimacy of a kind that might violate the decorum of fealty to a noble lady, bringing discredit to a female monarch" (Waddington 101). Waddington goes on to point out that the advisors with whom Elizabeth crafted public policy were almost always invested with the Order of the Garter (103); perhaps Seager's choice to "figure" Elizabeth by means of the characterie Garter motto is another way in which she aligns herself with the prophetic sibyls of her text as advisor to the queen. Throughout the manuscript Seager claims for herself a private and powerful relationship with the queen that mimics the power and access implied by the Order whose motto she chooses to character on its cover.

The peculiarities of Bright's system also allow the characterie motto to be read as even more direct praise of the queen. Bright's system relies on a chart of "characticall" words, or words that can be represented with a single character; the manual lists the 537 characterical words in a table with their corresponding characters written in by hand beside each word (Fig. 4.5). In order to signify a word not included in the chart, a writer

has to consult Bright's dictionary of English words (at the end of the manual) in order to find the closest characterical word. The writer then has to modify the character for that word by inscribing an additional symbol beside it (on the left side for synonyms of the word and on the right side for antonyms). For example, the word "night" in Bright's dictionary corresponds to "day." A writer wanting to indicate "night" would have to inscribe the character for "day" and then on its right side inscribe the character corresponding to the letter "n" to indicate night. Bright calls this the "accompanied signification" and he explains the modification procedure:

> The accompanied signification is that which the character expressed by an addition to it. This addition, is the heads of streight characters, each answering a letter in the alphabet. These additions carry the first letter of the accompanied signification, to declare what it is. (np)

Bright's system requires, therefore, that the character for "evil" be formed by using the character for "good" followed by the first letter of the accompanied signification (the letter "e"). The composite character ends up looking like:  . While this character translates literally as "evil," it is undeniable that to someone versed in Bright's system (or even to someone unfamiliar with the system but who had access to his book to decipher the characters), what appears pictorially is the symbol for "good" followed by the same initial, "E," that begins the portrait in characters. I think it is impossible to ignore the suggestion of Elizabeth's name next to the character for "good" – significantly, the character for "good" is nearly identical to the character for "god," perhaps reminding the reader of Elizabeth's role as the head of the church and the divine source of her monarchical authority. The motto, read as a literal translation ("evil be to him that evil

thinks"), carries the cultural symbolism of the Queen's reign and the power of the Order of the Garter it invokes; the characters in the motto that literally stand for "evil" can also be read, because of the particular nature of characterie, as a pictorial representation of "good" "e," suggesting Elizabeth's role as the font of beneficence for her subjects, particularly the virgin author of the gift book.

In addition to the central motto, Seager paints a nearly symmetrical design including human and animal figures on the glass of her covers. The glass panels are painted in rich colours, most predominantly in gold and red, with accents of green, grey, and flesh tones.[76] Susan Frye and Stephen Orgel have discussed the symbolism of the covers and I cite in full Frye's explanation of their iconography:

> [I]n reading the covers' images from bottom to top, we pass through the natural world of leopards, tigers, or panthers, through the classical mediational figures of a nude woman on the left and satyr on the right, upward to the civilized, imperial world of Roman soldiers decked by green pavilions, to the heavens where two putti frame matching dogs of fidelity. The natural world is surmounted by a tiny crescent moon at the top center of each cover, the symbol associating Elizabeth with the virginal huntress Diana. The soldiers present an imperial theme: the flame and smoke issuing from the urns set between them suggest temples, oracles, and the prophecies within, tapping into Elizabeth's imperial iconography. (91)

The martial elements of the design are interesting, because they suggest that the bounty represented by the fruit and the images of the natural world is dependent on the ability to

[76] For a colour photograph of the manuscript's front cover, see the cover of Millman and Wright's *Early Modern Manuscript Poetry*.

get and keep it through military action. While Elizabeth's self-promotion in her earlier reign depended in great part on ideals of peace and conciliation,[77] Seager's covers suggest that in the post-Armada political climate of the late 1580s, peace and plenty could only be achieved through strong martial action and I would certainly agree with Frye that the cover "taps into" Elizabeth's imperial iconography in various ways.

In addition to the crescent moon that Frye identifies at the top centre of the cover, I see two more built into the architectural frame on either side of the oval portrait (visible in Fig. 4.2). As Frye notes above, the crescent moon identifies Elizabeth with the chaste goddess Diana, and was a symbol increasingly in use at this point in Elizabeth's reign. Susan Doran considers the symbolism of Elizabeth's association with Diana:

> The goddess was a perfect image for a queen who had remained unmarried, ruled a country at war and was nearing death. Though repugnant to us today, Diana's punishment of Actaeon appeared to many Elizabethans as exemplary royal conduct in curbing uncontrolled passions and revenging a wrong. Armed with a bow and arrow to hunt her prey, she was also a suitably independent and assertive figure for a female ruler at war…Diana had command over the tides and thus symbolised England's maritime power over the seas and oceans. (189-90)

Seager's use of the crescent moon is important because in addition to praising the queen as chaste and martial, the virginity implied by the symbol becomes an essential way for Seager to link her own identity with that of the queen and the sibyls through whom

[77] See, for example, Strong (1987) and S. Doran (2003) on the iconography of *The Family of Henry VIII: An Allegory of the Tudor Succession* (c. 1572), in which "Elizabeth …leads in Peace with plenty treading close behind," and image that "accords with her other efforts to distance herself from the military failure and Catholic religion of her predecessor" (Doran 185).

Seager speaks. Seager's gift – like all gifts – comes with unspoken but clear obligations of reciprocity and the hope for favour. Establishing a connection with the queen beyond simply that of a supplicant is an important strategy for Seager in the design of this book as she establishes a connection with the queen and attempts to offer her advice through prophecy.

ii. Masking Meaning: Timothy Bright's Characterie

One of the immediately striking elements of Seager's text is her translation of the ten sibylline poems into characterie on the facing pages of her manuscript. This apparently obscure linguistic system in fact powerfully demonstrates the political agenda of Seager's text. Timothy Bright, the inventor of characterie, was a Cambridge trained physician who was studying in Paris at the time of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. He, along with "the young Philip Sidney, took refuge in the English Embassy with Sir Francis Walsingham" during the massacre (Keynes 3). Bright was later to remind Sidney of their shared history in order to "promot[e] himself as a member of a particular group whose adherence to 'true religion' could not be doubted" (Brewerton 949). Bright's early relationships included a number of other influential Protestants; his tutor, Vincent Skinner, married into the Cecil family and in 1586 introduced his pupil to Robert Cecil, the son of Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's trusted advisor. Bright's influential contacts provided him with the letters of reference which secured his appointment as a physician at St. Bartholomew's hospital in London, and, in 1588, his connection to Robert Cecil helped Bright to secure from Queen Elizabeth a fifteen-year patent on characterie, his newly invented system of writing (Keynes 13). Characterie, as Patricia Brewerton notes,

is generally considered to be an early form of shorthand, and in fact Bright is often referred to as the "father of modern shorthand" (945). Brewerton convincingly argues, however, that to dismiss characterie as merely a system of shorthand is to elide the political implications inherent in its title – "Characterie: an arte of shorte, swifte, and *secrete* writing by character" (my emphasis).

Bright's title makes explicit the potential that his system has to operate as a secret language, one which signifies as a kind of cipher or code, discernible only to those who can recognize the system and who have Bright's book, which is the "key" to the code. There is, of course, an inherent contradiction in publishing a book on a writing system which claims to be "secrete"; however, Patricia Brewerton argues that by handwriting the characterie symbols into the book after it was printed, Bright managed to both retain control over the process of production, and to "protect the notion of secrecy" advertised in the book's title (952).[78] In addition to this somewhat pragmatic control over the secrecy and production of his text, the necessity of handwriting the symbols into Bright's book complicates its conceptual framework since, as Harold Love has amply demonstrated, the mode of transmission of a work – oral, chirographical, or typographical – changes the way in which its receiver interprets it.[79] Love points out that despite the

[78] The book seems to have been printed in only one edition and it is in no way clear whether all of the books were completed with the manuscript symbols. There are currently few original copies in existence, with copies recorded at the Bodleian Library, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich), the New York Public Library, and the University of London Library. Both the Bodleian and NYPL manuscripts have MS characters. I was unable to determine the state of the other manuscripts.

[79] Manuscript annotations in the Bodleian Library copy of *Characterie* also include extensive additions to the word list provided by Bright as well as some symbols on the last page of the table of characticall words. As Madeleine Doran has discovered, the expanded vocabulary in fact derives from Peter Bales's 1590 *Writing Schoolmaster* (424); she speculates that the annotator may have been Bright himself, expanding his system's vocabulary by using Bales's work, itself originally based on Bright's own system. No matter who the annotator was, it is obvious that the book continued to occupy a unique space between print and manuscript, since the annotations are not a reader's notes analyzing or paraphrasing the text, as marginal notes often were; rather, these are substantial additions to the actual content of the book, rendered

problems identified by Jacques Derrida with necessarily associating the spoken word with "presence," "[c]hirographical transmission represents an intermediate stage between oral and typographical transmission in which the values of orality – and the fact of presence – are still strongly felt. The written word is therefore more likely than the printed word to promote a vocal or sub-vocal experience of the text, and a sense of validation through voice" (142). Bright's work thus inhabits a conceptual space in between the spoken and the printed word through its textual layout, a space consistent with the book's claimed project of recording the spoken word swiftly and directly. The control that Bright exerted over the printing and dissemination of his book resembles the conditions of manuscript printing and circulation, and the book was published and distributed under a printer's mark specifically "forbidding all others to print the same" (np). Bright's royal patent was worded so as to give him "exclusive rights in his invention and in anything printed 'in or by Character not before this tyme comonly knowen & vsed by any other our subiects'" (Carlton 463). Bright's book thus ironically both reflects manuscript conditions in its production and intended circulation, and looks forward to the control of copyright, since it specifically forbids others to print the book, and was protected by Bright's patent from the Queen. Bright seems to claim for his system a privileged position in between orality and print that Jane Seager capitalizes on when constructing her own voice through that of the sibyls and through Bright's characterie.

Bright's book, published in 1588, came out at a time when there was increasing interest in secret writing systems in many countries in Europe. The ability to send

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through handwritten marginalia that, for later readers, becomes no less authoritative than the original list of manuscript symbols. It is the Bodleian copy that has been scanned and made available through EEBO and while the early alphabetical symbols are extremely degraded and in some case illegible, the manuscript additions to the end of the chart and to the vocabulary are clearly discernible.

messages which could not be deciphered and read by enemy governments or political rivals was of utmost interest to many states, and Simon Singh notes that by the mid-sixteenth century the governments of Venice, Florence, France, Spain, England, and even the Vatican City, all employed cryptographers and cryptanalysts in an attempt to maintain the secrecy of their state communications and to decipher those of rival states (28-29). Not only was cryptography of interest internationally, it was potentially dangerous within the context of domestic politics, as became particularly evident in the Babington plot. In 1586, Anthony Babington and other young Catholic supporters of Mary, Queen of Scots, conceived of a plan to kill Queen Elizabeth and to put Mary on the throne in her stead. Babington communicated with the imprisoned Mary by way of letters written in cipher. Under the illusion of secrecy, Babington "wrote unto hir touching euerie particular of this plot aboue mentioned, and how farre he had proceeded therein; signifieng amongst manie other things how desirous he was to do her some seruice,…and how necessarie it were that rewards were promised unto the cheefe actors for their better incouragement" (Holinshead 1463). The "new cipher" in which Babington and Mary wrote their letters gave them the illusion of security and enticed them into speaking freely in their letters about the intended plot (Holinshead 1464). This plot made evident the potential value of cryptography, but Francis Walsingham's cryptanalyst, Thomas Phelippes, who deciphered the letters between Mary and Babington, revealed the fallibility of such systems, which gave communicants a possibly false confidence in the security of their communications. The most damning letter, which clearly implicated Mary in the plot to kill Elizabeth, had in fact been intercepted, supplemented, and re-ciphered by Phelippes in order to make Mary's complicity inarguable (Mazzola 9). The first mention of Bright's

characterie is in a 1586 letter from Vincent Skinner to Robert Cecil's secretary, informing him that Bright "hath enterprised a matter of rare noveltie" which he wished to bring to the Queen's attention (qtd in Keynes 13). Bright's interest in secret writing thus coincides with the timing of the Babington plot, and his 1588 publication of "Characterie" must surely have recalled the sensational details of that plot and reminded Elizabeth of the potential value of employing such forms of secret writing.

Bright positions his book on characterie as both secret and as a national achievement, an invention which is "English, without precept or imitation of any" (np). With this nationalistic claim, and his pointed note that "Cicero did account it worthie his labor, and no les profitable to the Roman common weale (Most Gratious Soueraigne,) to inuent a speedie kinde of writing by character," Bright manages at once to position characterie within a tradition of classical scholarship and to laud it as a uniquely English accomplishment. Both positions, I would argue, reveal the inherently political nature of Bright's project, and his invocation of Rome is perhaps meant to recall to Elizabeth her own image as "an imperial virgin" whose rule is invested in the symbolism of the coming of a new Golden Age (Yates "Elizabeth" 31). Characterie, Bright implies, is good for the "common weale," and it is Bright himself who can impart this valuable knowledge to the queen. In his dedication, Bright places himself as advisor to Elizabeth, and he implies that they inhabit a relationship of shared parentage of characterie, telling the queen that characterie, like the state, can only flourish if she bestows her favor "to this new sprong ympe, & to me the parent therof" (np). Bright, like Seager, creates an intimate relationship with the queen through his self-fashioning in the pages of his book.

Interestingly, Bright positions characterie not only as a secret system of writing, but also as one which transcends linguistic boundaries, since "nations of strange languages may here by communicate their meaning together in writing, though of sondrie tonges" (np). Bright's system involves memorizing a list of symbols which stand directly for words (given in English, but which could be as easily associated with words from another language) and a list of symbols which indicate alphabetic letters, as well understanding the ways in which the list-words could be modified by their relationship to the alphabetic substitutions. Patricia Brewerton argues that characterie has the potential to operate in other languages because characterie's "symbols have no phonetic value and need to be impressed upon the mind in such a way that they become immediately recognizable" (954).[80] She goes on to point out that this was part of characterie's political potential, since Latin was a universal written language, but it was one which "did not…confer secrecy," so that "messengers employed to carry letters between governments were usually also charged with messages to be spoken only into the ears for which they were intended" (954). Characterie, then, is advertised by its creator as not only short, swift, and secret, but immediate. It occupies a position somewhere between speech and writing, since it gives the impression both of capturing speech as it is delivered, and of delivering speech as it is intended. The material production of Bright's book, which, as noted earlier, involved inscribing the characters by hand after the book

[80] While Bright certainly positions characterie as having the potential to communicate meaning to those of "sondrie tonges," I find it difficult to credit the practical application of the system. Because the symbols are based on an alphabetic system that takes into account the first letter of the word represented and the substitutions for synonyms, antonyms, and derivatives are likewise based on knowing the first letter of the word to be substituted, it would have been extremely difficult for someone unfamiliar with English to become "fluent" in characterie.

was printed, reflects its position, as Brewerton argues, in a "space somewhere between manuscript and print" (952).

Given the inherently political and potentially subversive nature of characterie, Jane Seager's insistence that the queen see and read characterie in her presentation manuscript is remarkable. Seager, one year after Bright dedicates his book to Elizabeth, repackages and re-gifts characterie for the Queen. As I have noted, the reader is confronted with Bright's characterie even before she opens Seager's book, with the highly symbolic motto rendered on the front cover. Seager again urges the Queen to read Bright's characterie in her dedicatory epistle to *The Divine Prophecies*. She tells Elizabeth that the manuscript is "graced both with my pen and pencell, and late practize in that rare Arte of Charactery, invented by D. Bright," not only naming Bright specifically, but recalling the title of his book, *Characterie. An Arte of shorte, swifte, and secrete writing by Character*. Seager thus provides Elizabeth with the "key" to unlock the secret language of her text and urges the Queen to revisit Bright's book in order to decipher the work. Seager references characterie again in her concluding poem when she tells Elizabeth, "Lo thus in *briefe* (most sacred Majestye) I have sett downe whence all theis Sibells weare," and again when she wishes "I should be Characteres of that, which worlds with wounder might define" (1-2 my emphasis, 7-8). Seager's text is thus framed by references to Bright, and her claim to have written down "in briefe" the prophecies of the sibyls suggests she is successful in her use of characterie, a writing system which is itself, by definition, brief. Despite Seager's careful invocation of and attribution to Bright, Elizabeth Mazzola sees Seager as excluding Bright from the privileged and private space that I argue she creates for herself and Elizabeth (a space of feminine

mystery and virginity embodied in the writer, the queen, and the sibyls) and she suggests that Seager ultimately "bypasses the writings of male physicians like Bright, men who in one way or another aimed to control female bodies by supervising how women could read or be read" (13). I am slightly troubled by this reading of Seager's use of characterie, since it implies that *including* Bright in her gift to the queen would somehow denigrate Seager's work, or the gynocentric status of it, by associating it with a male writer of power and position. I do not read Seager as slavishly promoting Bright's work or as letting his authority precede her own in this textual offering, but I do think that the finished product, framed (literally, bound) by Bright's characterie and framed with references to Bright himself, becomes a collaborative project and one that seeks to advance Jane Seager and her co-religionist Timothy Bright. Given the network of connections already traced between Seager's family and important reformers of the court and Bright's shared network of connections, it seems reasonable to suppose a connection between Seager and Bright that existed outside the pages of her book. Additionally, reading the work as, to some extent, a collaboration between Bright and Seager seems to me perfectly consistent with the kind of collaborative production implied by the workshop setting that Frye imagines for Seager's creation of this work. If her family workshop can give Seager access to the materials of her text as well as instruction in using them without degrading our perception of her authorial claim to the text, I see no reason why Bright's providing her with the system of characterie in which to deliver the sibyls' messages should either. Certainly Seager appropriates Bright's shorthand from a traditionally masculine realm (as Frye points out, until relatively recently, "shorthand remained a technology so valuable that men attempted to control it" [*Pens* 93]), but she

does so in a way that asserts her control of the system even as she declares her indebtedness to the system's creator by conspicuously naming him in her dedication and through the prominent position of his work on the covers and pages of her own book.

Seager's insistence that the Queen read Bright's characterie initially appears to be an obscure literary strategy. Jessica Malay argues that Seager's use of characterie is a way of demonstrating her learning to Elizabeth, and that this strategy "is consistent with the other strategies she uses to demonstrate her talents" ("Maidenly" 186). However, when read in the context of Seager and Bright's shared religious and political affiliations with reformist Protestants associated with Elizabeth's court, Seager's decision to use characterie in the manuscript becomes more obviously a strategy designed to draw Elizabeth's attention to Seager's political desires, and is not merely a "display of her erudition" ("Maidenly" 186). Additionally, if, as Patricia Brewerton suggests, characterie seeks to occupy the space of the spoken message, then Seager's choice to use it for the voice of the sibyls is more obviously appropriate than it initially appears. Characterie seems to guarantee that the words which it records are the words as they were spoken, so that this system guarantees the veracity of Seager's prophecies and gives them the intimacy of the spoken word. Since Bright championed characterie as a "universal written language," it provides a way for Seager to conceptually link the Greek sibyls with the Latin of her source text with her own English translations. In this way, Bright's "universal" characterie can suggest both the authenticity of the sibyls' prophecy and the intimacy of speech between the sibyls, Bright, Seager, and Queen Elizabeth herself. In *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, Arthur Marotti dismisses Seager's manuscript in a single sentence as typical of "manuscripts associated with women,"

which tend to contain "devotional pieces" (52). While it may be a valid observation that women's writing often tended toward the devotional, I would argue that to dismiss Seager's text as *merely* devotional indicates an unwillingness to read the potential politics of this particular text and of devotional writing in general and denigrates devotional writing in its own right entirely. As Jessica Malay notes, Mary Sidney's translation of the Psalms, which was "also given to Elizabeth, was an overt attempt to influence the Queen's religious policies" ("Maidenly" 176). At a time when religion and politics are inextricably linked, an attempt to influence religious policy must certainly also be read as an attempt to influence political policy. Seager's poems do engage with a tradition of religious writing, and the material presence of her manuscript as well as the poems themselves evince an overwhelming concern with voicing a specific political agenda.

iii. Mediating Meaning: Seager's Sibylline Translation

Seager's choice of source text and her dedication and concluding poem clearly express her particular political position and her desires for Elizabeth's foreign policy. The Sibylline prophecies which Seager chooses as her source texts are intrinsically suggestive of much of the symbolization surrounding Elizabeth and her perceived image as the saviour of a vigorously Protestant nation, and Seager's re-presentation of the prophecies in her text enhances and emphasizes these connections. The sibyls, pre-Christian prophetesses who became re-appropriated by Christian mythology, usually foretold "events of general significance involving, not private individuals, but cities and kingdoms" (Parke 10), and thus were often associated with political upheaval and the changing of dynasties. According to Malay, the interest in the rise and fall of nations was

"the most salient feature of Sibylline prophecies of two millennia" (*Prophecy* 4). The sibyls entered Greek religion, perhaps from the near east, and spread throughout the Mediterranean world.[81] The earliest references to the sibyl seem to imply a single figure, but by the fourth century AD, Lactantius lists ten sibyls, each associated with a particular geographical locale.[82] The sibyls, "inspired by divine knowledge" (Malay *Prophecy* 4), prophecy particularly about the fate of peoples and nations, rather than individuals, and as such their prophecies are inherently political. Early Christians interpreted the prophecies as foretelling the birth of Christ as well as the end of days, and while the prophecies' influence waned after the seventeenth century, when the sibylline books supposed to have descended from antiquity were shown to be forgeries, they were "widely translated and disseminated in the sixteenth century…[and] capture[d] the imaginations of philosophers, politicians, and writers" (Malay *Prophecy* 19, 20). The Sibyls' association with prophecies of the coming of "a Golden Age for the people of God" (Parke 13) would have been particularly resonant following England's defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, when the "Cult of Elizabeth" with its Golden Age imagery was at its height.[83] Jane Seager capitalizes on the inherent politicality of the Sibyls as well as

[81] The first chapter in Jessica Malay's *Prophecy and Sibylline Imagery in the Renaissance* provides a good overview of the historical significance of these figures and the associated scholarship.

[82] The ten sibyls he mentions are: Persica (Persia); Libyca (Libya); Delphica (Delphos); Cimmeria (Italy); Erythraea (Erythraea); Samia (Samos); Cumana (Cumae); Hellespontica (Marpessus); Phrygia (Ancyra); Tiburtina (Tibur). See Parke (1988), and Malay, *Prophecy*, 5-7. The sibyls in Seager's prophecies include: Agrippa, Samia, Libyca, Cimmeria, Europaea, Persica, Erythraea, Delphica, Tyburtina, and Cumana. Seager's source is an edition of Filippo Barbieri's twelve sibylline prophecies (1481), in which he includes twelve sibyls, adding Europaea and Agrippa to Lactantius' list.

[83] The idea of the "cult of the virgin queen" has been propagated particularly by Roy Strong and Frances Yates. Susan Doran (2003) offers a contradictory interpretation of the portraiture of Elizabeth's reign and questions the term "cult" on a number of grounds. Doran does, however, agree that representations of the Queen's virginity become increasingly prominent during the 1580s. I have used the term (with an awareness of its contentiousness) because Seager's work does emphasize the shared virginity of author/queen/sibyls to a degree that seems to support Strong's ideas about the interconnectedness of representations of virginity and empire in late Elizabethan iconography.

the particular associations of Elizabeth with the idea of a golden age in order to express her own desires and political affiliations.

Seager's choice to present sibylline prophecy to the queen is in fact consistent with the reformist community of her family and circle. As Malay argues, religious reformers were quick to appropriate sibylline imagery and prophecy to their own cause:

> [I]t may at first appear surprising that even the images of the Sibyls managed to survive reformist iconoclasm in many places and were to appear in many more. The key to this survival lay in part in the extensive use patristic writers, hostile to Roman government, made of Sibylline prophecy. This worked exceedingly well with sixteenth-century reformers' strategy of positioning their religious beliefs and activities, not as innovation, but as a return to a more authentic form of Christian worship practiced by the early church. (*Prophecy* 48)

Writers including John Bale, John Foxe, and John Jewell used sibylline prophecy in promoting and defending their belief in religious reform and the dynastic and nationalistic connotations of the genre fit the increasing desire in the late years of Elizabeth's reign for England to take on an active promotion of the reformed faith in Europe.

Certainly the Sibylline prophecies would have been a pointedly apt source text given the political climate of 1588-89, when England's defeat of the Spanish Armada seemed to be fuelling hopes of imperialism and the martial defence of the reformed faith. David Cressy traces the slow upsurge in nationalistic celebration in the months following the Spanish defeat, as England realized the scale of its victory. While there was no

immediate expression of triumph in the summer of 1588 – since England still lingered under threat of war and "military observers of the time could be certain neither that the Armada was destroyed nor that England was saved" (114) – by the fall of that year public thanksgivings were proclaimed to coincide with Elizabeth's November accession day. In the months following the victory and in the succeeding hundred years in England, public festivities and printed works triumphantly asserted the providence of the English victory; as Cressy puts it, the victory was "a covenant, a sign that England and English Protestantism would prevail" (122).

James McDermott has argued that domestic propaganda coupled with xenophobic tendencies of the English nation gradually resulted by the 1580s in "the identification of Anglo-Protestantism as a blurred yet intrinsic element of…Englishness" (113). Englishness thus came to be predicated upon an understanding of the racial and religious Catholic "other," an identification encouraged by Elizabethan reformists. This nationalism, McDermott believes, coalesced at a time coincident with English imperialist stirrings:

> The appropriation, or nationalization, of spiritual identity was not a particularly English phenomenon, but for Englishmen the process, coinciding with the period of Spain's seemingly remorseless advance towards European hegemony, provided ample moral justifications for expansionist impulses that were already pronounced…They defined their role as a righteous one: a struggle to preserve the integrity of the state, their legitimate interests, their own, true religion. (323-4)

Jane Seager's book of prophecies seems both to react to the recent threat of the Spanish Armada by alluding to Elizabeth's role as the saviour of her people and the true church, and to participate in just the kind of urging that Elizabeth's more ardently reformist counsellors engaged in, trying to convince Elizabeth to take a more militant stance in opposition to the Catholic threat from Spain and France.[84] Oliver Pigge expresses just such a concern in his *Meditations concerning praiers to almighty God, for the safety of England*.[85] Pigge's treatise was published in 1589 and collects his prayers from the months leading up to the Armada and his prayers of thanksgiving after the Spanish defeat. In his preface, Pigge worries that

> …the hatred and mallice of the Spaniard and his partakers, is not yet quenched, but rather we may be assured, much more increased, so as they will but wait opportunitie to set vpon vs againe. Besides, other Churches, as those of *France* and of the lowe Countries, whose case wee ought to tender, haue many deadly enemies, which thirste after bloude. So as still necessarily there is required an imploying of our and their forces, against such common aduersaries. (31v-32)

Pigge's work makes clear his belief that England has a continuing role to play in the martial defence of the reformed faith both within its own borders and internationally. England's responsibility to the faith stems in part from the divine favour invested in Elizabeth and made manifest in her apparent invulnerability to Catholic plots and rebellions; as Alexandra Walsham argues, the protection conferred on its ruler seemed to

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[84] McDermott cites Charles Howard, Lord Admiral during the Armada year, as exhorting Elizabeth to "awake thorowghly and see the velynous tresons round about you agaynste your majeste and your Relme" (114).

[85] Alexandra Walsham's mention of Pigge's work drew my attention to this treatise.

be a direct intervention from God and "was widely read as evidence of the nation's own elect status" (152). The very promise of Seager's book that "the cheerfull daye shall shortly come, / Which shall remove the worldes obscurity: / Unfoulding all the Prophets prophecies" (2.1-3) acts as a reminder to Elizabeth of her destiny and her responsibility as defender of the faith. On one level, these prophecies foretell the birth of Christ, and as noted, the Sibyls are traditionally associated with prophecies of Christ's birth. However, in Seager's text these prophecies should also be read in the context of 1588/9's political upheaval, and they can be seen to reflect Seager's desire that Elizabeth fulfil her role as the "sacred virgine myld" who will usher in a new, militantly Protestant, dynasty (4.1).

Importantly, Seager's gift is delicately balanced between flattery and exhortation, as its author extols the queen's perfections while urging that she live up to her position and potential. Seager's dedicatory letter praises Elizabeth's "most gracious eÿen (acquaynted with all perfections, and above others most Excellent)" at the same time as it reminds her of her position as "cheife Defendress" of England's "most holy faith" (f1). As Walsham reminds us, "there are…grounds for reading much panegyric as a covert form of exhortation" (147), and Seager's gift must be read as both an expression of her desire for notice and preferment and as an exhortation consistent with her faith and familial connections. Rachel Kapelle points out that prophecy can be used both prospectively and retrospectively, and that "'prediction,' the anticipation of a prophecy's fulfilment, serves the disaffected best – groups of people who lack power and want major changes to occur. The declarations of reputable prophets can provide authorization for altered policies or leadership" (87). The reputation of the sibylline prophets helps to authorize Seager's gift and to strengthen the suggestive rhetoric within it.

While clergymen – who were frequent exhorters of Elizabeth through high example – derived their didactic authority from a belief that, "following in the footsteps of the Hebrew prophets,…it was incumbent upon them to advise Elizabeth how to conduct herself in accordance with divine will" (Walsham 148), Seager derives her authority from her gender and virginity, shared with the queen and with the sibyls through whom Seager addresses Elizabeth.[86] In her dedication to the queen, Seager links the women through their virginity, styling the work "the divine prophecies of the ten sibills (virgyns) vpon the birthe of our Sauiour Christ, by a most blessed virgyn" (f1). Seager, like Elizabeth, the Virgin Mary, and the Sibyls, is "a Mayden," and she twice repeats this epithet for herself, concluding that "yt is a thinge (as it weare) preordeyned of god, that this Treatis, wyrtten by a Mayden your Subject, should be only devoted unto your most sacred selfe" (f1). Seager positions herself as Elizabeth's advisor in much the same way that Bright, in his dedication, assumes (presumes) the right to instruct the Queen. Seager's strategy of self-authorization through virginal affinity works to overcome one of the major drawbacks of the use of prophecy in Elizabethan pageants, namely, that "to place Elizabeth at the center meant placing oneself out of it" (Kapelle 96). Seager, although she makes the expected claims of modesty in her dedication, endowing Elizabeth with the power of authorizing and valorising her work, nevertheless claims a remarkable authority for herself in her assertion that her work is "preordeyned of

[86] For a consideration of the authorization strategies of early modern women who wrote in Latin, see Jane Stevenson, "Female Authority and Authorization Strategies in Early Modern Europe." Stevenson notes that "[i]n order to demonstrate the orthodoxy of their own arguments, Christian writers from the fourth century onwards buttress their work with catenae of citations from earlier writers whose orthodoxy is not in doubt" (16). This leads her to pose the question: "if author/authorities are by definition male, how can the female subject become an author – is authorship, or is it not, like becoming a father? Could the experience of maternity offer an appropriate paradigm for creation?" (17). In Seager's work, the unique situation offered by virginal prophets/writer/recipient coupled with the unassailable authority of the virgin mother lets (ironically enough) virginity "offer an appropriate paradigm for creation."

god." This statement reflects the source of Elizabeth's own authority, and despite her overt protestations of modesty, suggests that Seager has the authority, through her virgin state and her affinity with the sibyls, to address and counsel the Queen.

Seager's linguistic choices in translating the prophecies also help to underscore her commitment to the reformed faith and her subtle encouragement to Elizabeth to continue vigilant against the dangers of the spread of Catholicism in Europe and England. The first prophecy Seager translates is that of Agrippa.[87] This prophecy describes how "A Virgin trew without all spot or blame / The sacred worde shall fill with heauenly grace" (1.2-3). On one level, this prophecy describes the immaculate conception, but Seager's choice to make this the first of the prophecies in her book underscores Elizabeth's own connection to these prophetic words. She too might at this time be seen by her people as a "virgin trew" graced by the power of the "worde." The important connection between Protestant belief and the sacred word forms one important context for this prophecy and its application to Elizabeth I as defender of the "true faith" as expressed through God's sacred word.

Additionally, when Seager translates this prophecy a second time into Bright's characterie, she is forced to choose a substitute word for "spot," since it is not a characterical word in Bright's system. She has the choice, according to Bright's Table of Words, of "drop, filth, or marke" as characterical synonyms for "spot." Even though "mark" might seem a more apt choice to replace "spot," Seager deliberately chooses to

[87] Seager changes the order in which the prophecies appear. In Barbieri they appear in following order: Persica, Libyca, Delphica, Cimmeria, Samia, Cumana, Hellespontica, Phrygia, Europaea, Tyburtina, Agrippa, and Erythraea, Seager's order is: Agrippa, Samia, Libyca, Cimmeria, Europaea, Persica, Erythrea, Delphica, Tyburtina, Cumama. Like the choice of source text, the choice to restructure the prophecies also constitutes an act of translation, as Seager fits the order of her sibylline prophecies to the context of their application to Elizabeth I.

use the character for "filth" (modified with an "s" symbol to its left hand side, indicating a synonym starting with the letter "s"). Seager's choice is important, because the word "filth" has such vivid and religiously charged connotations in the early modern period. Filth is associated specifically with bodily effluvium and impurity, as a look at contemporary lexicons makes clear.[88] The word is also, in contemporary sermons like those of Protestant preacher Théodore de Bèza, associated with sin and with the excesses and corruptions of Rome.[89] Seager's choice to use this highly charged word as her characterical synonym reflects her desire to associate the pure body of Elizabeth with the resistance to the filth of papal corruption and the danger posed by Catholic incursions into England.

Agrippa's prophecy is, I think, even more politicized than Frye or Malay credit it to be. When Agrippa announces that the "virgyn trew" "shall bring forth / The only surety of our saving health" (1.5-6), she refers literally to Christ as the saviour of the world. This prophecy may also, I argue, be read in reference to Elizabeth and her perceived role ushering in peace and prosperity to the English nation. Additionally, given the post-Armada rhetoric of Elizabeth as the surety of God's grace upon her realm (see discussion above), this prophecy must surely be read in relation to the queen. It is hard to disentangle Elizabeth from the figures of Mary and Christ in these prophecies, particularly when they refer to a prince "[w]hose constant honor, loue, and glorye sure, / Shall from all ages to all age indure" (1.7-8). Again, these lines literally refer to Christ, but the image of a ruler who gives "constant honor, loue, and glorye sure" to her people

[88] Lexicons of Early Modern English (LEME), for example, has copious records of the definitions of 'filth' in works up to 1590.
[89] See, for example, a 1578 translation of de Bèza's *An Euident Display of Popish Practises*, in which the words "filth" or "filthiness" are continually used to describe the people and practices of de Bèza's title.

is absolutely consistent with the cult of Elizabeth and her self-promotion as the loving defender of her people.

Such themes reoccur throughout Seager's translations, and the poems clearly resonate with the context of the late-Elizabethan political system. Frye suggests that had Seager's poems not been dedicated to Elizabeth, their rhetoric may have been read "simply as religious poetry" on the birth of Christ (*Pens* 98). I take Frye's point, though I wonder if the poems may have suggested Elizabethan iconography even without Seager's pointed dedication to the queen. Frye sees the third of Seager's translations – Libyca – as the most politically suggestive of the poems and I would agree with her assessment of the political dimension of the prophetic language of this poem:

> Behold, Behold, the day shall come when as
> A Joyfull Prince shyning vpon his seed
> His Churche with graces shall illuminat:
> And cleare the darcknes w*hi*ch through synne was bred.
> He shall vnlock the vncleane Lipps of them
> That guilty are, and being true and iust,
> He shall his people loue, but for his foes
> They shall not come, nor stand before his sight:
> He shall indue with blessings from aboue,
> The Queene his Churche, the more for o*ur* behoue. (f3v)

In addition to Frye's assessment of line 8 as reminiscent of the Armada victory (with which I agree: she reads this line as referring to Jesus' loving but forceful opposition to his foes, as he "wip[es] them from existence as had recently happened during the

Armada" [*Pens* 97)]), I would suggest a further reference to Elizabeth's role in perpetuating the true church in the lines "His Churche with graces shall illuminat: / And cleare the darcknes w^{ch} through synne was bred" (3.3-4). These lines, while on the one hand referring to Christ as saviour, also seem to invoke Elizabeth's role in maintaining England in the reformed faith. They suggest at once praise for the rule of this enlightened monarch and a subtle exhortation to continue standing strong in the face of opposition from continental enemies. Seager draws once again on the association of "filth" with the anti-Catholic rhetoric of the time when she translates: "He shall unlock the unclean lips of them / That guilty are" (3.5-6). Again, Seager chooses to use the characterie symbol for "filth" (modified with a "v" to indicate the synonym "vnclean") in order to emphasize the role of Christ and his earthly prince, Elizabeth, in protecting the true faith in England. Elizabeth and her counsellors are and must remain unwavering in their commitment to protect the realm from the threat of Catholic plots.[90] When Seager's sibyl speaks of "The Queene his church" she refers (as Susan Frye has argued) to the Church as the bride of Christ.[91] She also emphasizes Elizabeth as the symbol of the Christ's "true church" and responsible for being its vigilant protector.

While it may seem farfetched to associate Elizabeth and her reign with prophecies so literally concerned with the birth of Christ, there is contemporary rhetoric that supports just such a reading. While the following sermon is one preached in the days immediately following Elizabeth's death (and therefore at a more appropriate time to be constructing her apotheosis), the imagery of Elizabeth's divine virginity is made absolutely clear.

[90] Given the timing of the Babington plot and the interest in ciphers and codes it occasioned, perhaps it is not going too far to suggest a reference in this poem to the illumination of guilty words through the use of ciphers such as the one reproduced on the poem's facing page.

[91] See Frye for a perceptive reading of these lines based on the contemporary understanding of "indure" and "behove" (*Pens* 97).

While this kind of imagery proliferates after the queen's death, I think Seager's poems are an early example of the way in which Elizabeth's virginal body becomes the site of a second virgin birth – of the true church in England. Roy Strong cites Dr. King's sermon delivered three days after Elizabeth's death, in which he adds Elizabeth to the company of the women who bore and blessed Christ:

> Soe there are two excellent women, one that bare Christ and an other that blessed Christ; to those may wee joyne a third that bare and blessed him both. She [i.e. Elizabeth] bare him in hir heart as a wombe, she conceived him in faith, shee brought him forth in aboundance of good works. (as cited in Strong 43)

Elizabeth is represented here, as in Seager's poems, I argue, as "a second Virgin giving birth to the Gospel of Christ" (Strong 43). Seager's work is remarkable for the way in which it manages to link the queen with the prophetic figures of the sibyls and the humble gift-giver while simultaneously suggesting the queen's essential role in bringing (giving birth to) the reformed faith to her people as a Marian figure reclaimed from Catholic symbolism.

The symbolic association of Elizabeth with the figures of Mary, the sibyls, and Christ occurs throughout the manuscript. In Persica's prophecy, for example, the reference to those "that shall suffer great affliction" is certainly a reference to the suffering and sacrifice of Christ for his people, as well as a reminder of the more recent examples of reformist martyrs like those chronicled in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (6.5). Perhaps the reference to sufferings should also recall to Elizabeth her own early years of persecution during the reign of Mary I. The prophecy claims that the sufferings were

"allotted them by dyuers destynies," perhaps emphasizing to Elizabeth her own destiny as queen and the powerful agent of religious change (6.6). Elizabeth's travails are recorded in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and he, like other contemporary writers, thanks God for His "blessed preseruation and happy aduauncement of thys our Quene and gouernour" (f1710r).[92] Elizabeth is at once the symbol of God's favour to the reformed English nation and she is His instrument, who "commeth in like a mother" to nourish her people and their faith (f1710r). Foxe's description of Elizabeth as "mother" to her people and their faith reminds the reader once again of the unusual conflation of queen/virgin mother/sibyls/author at work in this text. Combined with pronouncement that in "tender yeares a sacred virgine myld, / Of beauty rare and perfect excellence: / Shall nourishe with the milke of her chast brest, / The Lord of hosts, and euerlasting king" (4.1-4) in Cimmeria's prophecy, these references emphasize the degree to which Elizabeth is presented as and encouraged to continue being the saviour of a protestant nation whose commitment to the faith will be "nourished" by the "chast brest" of its monarch.

iv. Conclusion

Throughout her manuscript, Seager presents an image to Elizabeth that is delicately balanced between flattery and exhortation. The queen as Seager constructs her in these prophecies has a great deal to live up to, and it is clear that while Seager cherishes the

[92] I have cited from the 1563 version of the 'Book of Martyrs.' The story of Elizabeth's persecution and imprisonment is changed and enlarged in later editions. For a re-evaluation of Foxe's account of Elizabeth and his changing rhetoric in the various editions of *Acts and Monuments*, see Thomas S. Freeman, "Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'" (2003). Other works considering the relationship of Foxe's work to the Elizabethan reformation include D.M. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997) and Freeman and Elizabeth Evenden, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011).

connection between herself, the sibyls, and the queen, she is far from presenting unequivocal praise of the sovereign. Seager's use of the sibyls in her text provides her an unprecedented opportunity to speak to the queen through the voice of the sibyls, represented as an immediate and oral transmission through the use of Bright's characterie. While Jessica Malay reads Seager's concluding poem as a "collapse of identity" in which Seager loses all confidence in her authority, I would read the concluding poem as a reiteration of Seager's authority and her attempt to claim a measure of success in her enterprise ("Maidenly" 187).[93] The poem is worth quoting in full:

> Lo thus in briefe (most sacred Majestye)
> I have sett downe whence all theis Sibells weare:
> What they foretold, or saw, wee see, and heare,
> And profett reape by all their prophesy.
> Would God I weare a Sibell to divine
> In worthy vearse your lasting happynes:
> Then only I should be Characteres
> Of that, which worlds with wounder might define
> But what need I to wish, when you are such
> Of whose perfections none can write too much.

Seager's concluding poem maintains the ten line, iambic pentameter form of the preceding sibylline poems (except that of Cumana, which is only eight lines long), so that in this final poem, the voice which is identifiably Seager's maintains a textual resonance with the preceding voices of the sibyls. Seager subtly demonstrates the success of her text

[93] On the "paradoxical tension" of gift-giving and identity (to overcome the threat of loss…[women] give away abundantly. And as a consequence of giving abundantly, they are faced with the threat of undermining their own autonomy" (131), see Aafke Komter, "Women, Gifts and Power" (1996).

and of Bright's characterie, since now, what the sibyls "foretold, or saw, wee see and heare." This line not only demonstrates the accuracy of the sibyls' prophecy, it shows that Seager has succeeded, through Bright's characterie and its symbolic relationship to the spoken word, in making the prophecies which the sibyls *saw*, into a prophecy which Seager and Elizabeth both now *hear*.

Seager's identity does not collapse into characterie, into text; rather, her voice finally becomes audible through her re-presentation of Bright's characterie. Malay reads Seager conceding defeat in the poem's final line, constructing herself as "none" and nothing, "lost in the superfluity of utterances surrounding Elizabeth" ("Maidenly" 188). I would argue, however, that these final lines express Seager's confidence in the efficacy of her voice. She, as H.W. Parke argues of the Sibyls, "does not lose her personality" in the act of prophesying, and the final lines are both a summation and a prophecy of the success of Seager's project (9). Seager does not need to wish to remain a sibyl, since she is optimistic that the writers extolling Elizabeth's virtues after her will be writing history, not prophecy. These concluding lines are a final call for Elizabeth to embrace the messianic destiny which Seager and the sibyls have foretold for her, as Seager fashions her desire for the Queen in the prophetic mirror of her text.

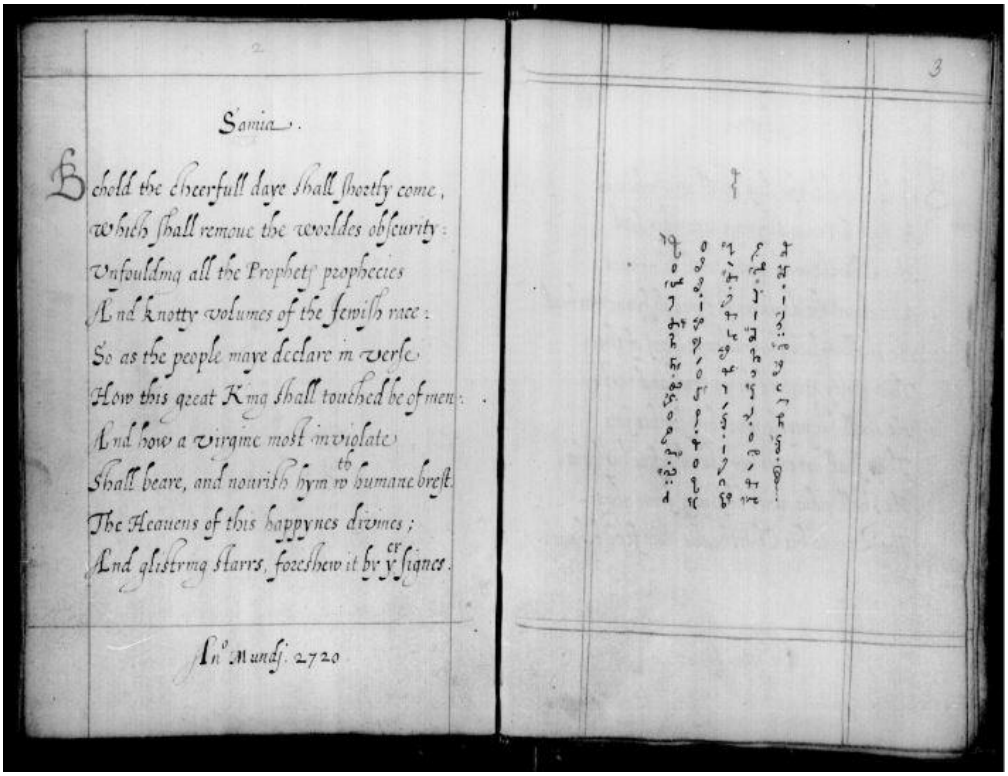

Figure 4.1. Jane Seager's *Divine Prophecies of the Ten Sibils* (1589). English translations appear on the verso side of each folio, with facing page translations into Timothy Bright's shorthand characterie. © The British Library Board. BL MS Add 10037.

Figure 4.2. *Verre églomisé* front cover of MS Add 10037. © The British Library Board.

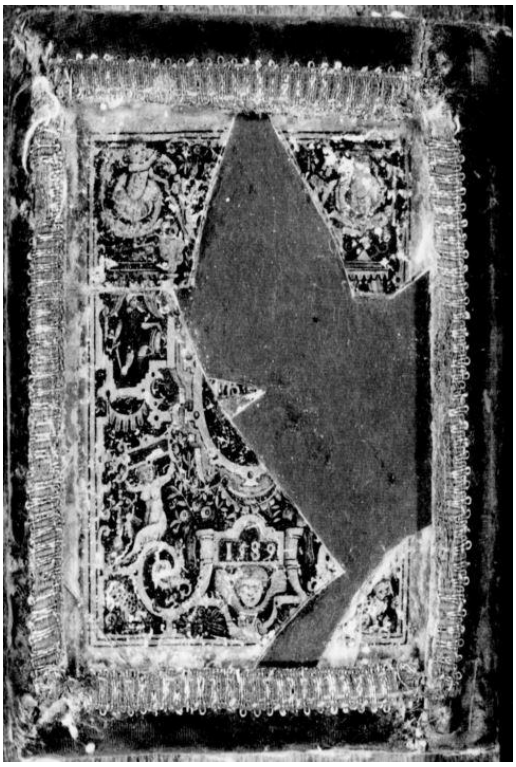

Figure 4.3. Badly damaged back cover of MS Add 10037. © The British Library Board.

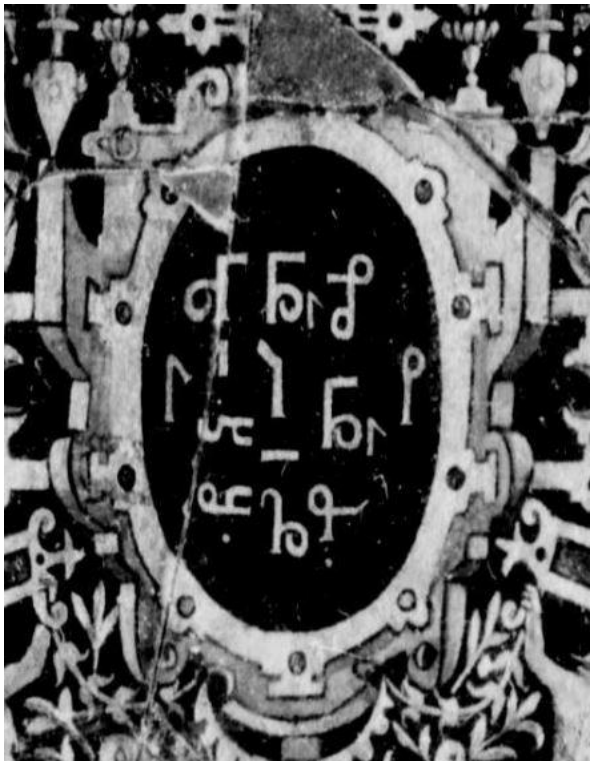

Figure 4.4. Architectural frame and detail of characterie inscription on the front cover of MS Add 10037. © The British Library Board.

Image removed for reasons of copyright.

Figure 4.5. Bright's "Table of Characterie." The list of characterical words is printed and the characters drawn in by hand afterward. EEBO.

Chapter 5: "The fruits of my pen": Esther Inglis's Translation of Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes*

[R]epetition, in those who write, is very badly received...The painter has the right to repeat until water lilies become divine sparrows.

– Hélène Cixous

Esther Inglis's 1624 version of Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes* is, on its surface, a work of repetition.[94] Inglis's writing life was spent creating manuscript copies of existing print books – books like the *Psalms*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Proverbs* – and dedicating them to prominent figures in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. These copies were unsolicited repetitions of familiar books that were readily available in print; they were a luxury and an excess, unnecessary and unbidden. Hélène Cixous's meditation in "The Last Painting or the Portrait of God" on the grief and lack experienced by the writer "who must paint with brushes all sticky with words" (114) seems particularly apposite in thinking about Inglis's lifelong work of repetition. Somehow, in folio after folio of calligraphic repetition of "phrases already heard a thousand times," Inglis approaches in writing what Cixous ascribes to the painter who "dares to stalk the secrets of light with the help of a single object, armed only with a few water lilies" (114, 124). Inglis worked in pen and pencil, in needle and thread; her drawings, like her words, were repetitions and yet, looking at line after line of minuscule text, at patterns repeated from other texts, from emblems, from needlework patterns, one is struck with the kind of wonder evident in Cixous's reflection on the painter's work of repetition:

[94] Esther Inglis, *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestiens*, BL Royal 17.D.XVI.

> What a struggle to no longer 'paint water lilies' while *painting* water lilies. I mean: in order not to do the portrait of the water lilies what a number of water lilies he will have had to paint before the representation of the water lilies wears itself out, before the water lilies are no longer the cause, before they are no longer the object, the aim, but the occasion, the everyday water lily, the day itself, the day's atom on the canvas. (124)

Perhaps it is fanciful to associate the industry of an enterprising early modern woman with reflections on some of the most celebrated painters in history. Or perhaps it is not fanciful; as Georgianna Zeigler argues, Inglis's practice of making multiple copies of the same text effectively turns each book into "a work of art" (75). Inglis's repetitions, like Monet's water lilies as read by Cixous, transcend their subject and their object-ness and become for their viewer meditations distinct from individual words, pen strokes, shades of colour, or stitches. This chapter will treat the "last painting" of Esther Inglis; the *Emblemes Chrestiens* was possibly her last and in many ways her master work. It is a repetition, but of a kind distinct from her earlier works. It is, I argue, a translation. And it is a translation that intervenes in the political controversies of its day by assigning the emblems of Georgette de Montenay to particular figures associated with the English court.

If we consider translation in its narrowest definition as "[t]he action or process of turning from one language into another" (OED) then Inglis's text is not, strictly speaking, a translation. This dissertation has challenged such a narrow definition of translation, however, and this chapter explores the manifold ways in which Esther Inglis's *Emblemes* constitutes an act of translation. The manuscript is a handwritten and hand-drawn copy of

Montenay's 1567 printed emblem book.[95] Inglis does not translate the language of Montenay's book – she copies it and re-presents it to Prince Charles in 1624 as *Cinquant Emblemes Chrestiens*. While Inglis's remarkable manuscript appears to be simply a copy of Montenay's extremely popular *Emblemes*, I argue that this text constitutes an act of translation by Esther Inglis and that she represents it as such herself throughout the manuscript. In her book's paratexts, Inglis characterizes herself as significantly reworking Montenay's text. Inglis selects fifty-one of the one hundred emblems from Montenay's book, alters the order of Montenay's emblems, adds her own French motto culled from the epigram to each emblem, and makes slight adjustments to the emblem at the level of word and picture. There are fifty-three emblems in the book, each of them dedicated to a figure associated with the Protestant cause in England or Scotland in some specific way.[96] Fifty-one of these emblems have Montenay's text as their source, while the emblems for Prince Charles and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, which Susan Frye calls "original" (*Pens* 106), actually come from Jean Jacques Boissard's 1588 *Emblemes Latins*. The emblems dedicated to the royal family in particular, along with the emblems for George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury and George Villiers, Duke of

[95] On the dating on the first edition of Montenay's *Emblemes*, see Alison Adams (2001). The work was printed in 1584 with Latin verses and again in 1619 as a polyglot edition including French, Latin, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, and English verses. Inglis includes the French verses as well as the Latin quatrains provided in the 1584 printing. She must have been working from an edition of 1584 or later, and Georgianna Zeigler's finding that Inglis included a verse from the 1584 edition in her 1599 manuscript dedicated to Prince Maurice of Nassau establishes her access to that text ("Hand-ma[i]de" 79). Marie-Claude Tucker assumes, without comment, that Inglis was using the 1619 polyglot edition (169); if she had access to that edition, it is slightly surprising that she would not have included the English text. However, given its significant departures from the French and Inglis's own preference for French texts in her other works, perhaps she simply chose to exclude the English. By privileging the French text, Inglis requires her reader to approach the emblems through her own first language and that of Montenay. I think it is fairly certain that Inglis was working from the 1584 version (or its 1602 reissue), since the organization of Inglis's pages, with the Latin quatrain directly following the *pictura*, exactly mimics the 1584 printing. In 1619 the Latin, as Adams notes, is relegated to the facing page, "in no way distinguished" from the other translations added in 1619 (*Webs* 75).

[96] See Appendix 3: "Table of Emblems and Dedicatees in Esther Inglis's *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestiens*"

Buckingham, represent Inglis's most political interventions in the text. I argue in this chapter that Inglis carefully selects and re-presents these emblems in a way that not only constitutes an act of translation, but which shows her confident assertion of authorial identity and a clear political agenda.

Approaching Inglis's texts as translations also allows us to consider the texts as linguistic and not just material objects. Because what Inglis does is usually considered "copying," commentators on her work tend to focus on the elements of the manuscripts to which they can most comfortably ascribe some kind of authorship – the dedicatory letters, the illustrations (when those are not directly copied from other sources), and the needlework that often adorns the covers of her presentation manuscripts.[97] While the materiality of her books is absolutely essential to Inglis's project and deserving of the critical attention given to it, I want to suggest that approaching Inglis as a translator lets us more clearly understand the ways in which she negotiates complex linguistic and cultural borders in her work and forces us to pay attention to preconceived ideas of originality and authority that translation theorists are often engaged in interrogating.

Esther Inglis recognizes and exploits the liminality of the translator's position as author. This liminal position is something that other Renaissance translators recognize – that a translator both is and is not an author – and I argue that Inglis crafts her own authorial persona in precisely this space. As I have discussed in my introductory chapter and throughout this dissertation, the Renaissance translator's relationship to her source text is a vexed one, since that text at once undermines and allows for an authorial identity. As Leonardo Bruni writes in the mid-fifteenth century: "The best translator will

[97] Recent work on Inglis's books includes: Scott-Elliot and Yeo (1990), Zeigler (2000; 2000), Tjan-Baker (2000), Bracher (2004), Demers (2005, 139-48), Tucker (2005), Ross (2009), van Elk (2009), and Frye (2002; 2010, 102-115).

turn his whole mind, heart, and will to his original author, and in a sense transform him, considering how he may express the shape, attitude and stance of his speech, and all his lines and colours" (220). So the translator is both subsumed to the will of the original author and endowed with the power to "transform" that author. While the idea that translation was, for Renaissance women, a permitted and safe-because-degraded activity attained for a time the status of a critical commonplace (as Jonathan Goldberg's introduction to his section on "Translating Women" makes abundantly clear [75-6]), recent critical work has done much to recognize the transgressive and subversive potential of the act of translation.[98] Translation's powerful political and cultural potential, I argue, resides in the manipulation by women and men of the Renaissance of the paradox of translation as an opportunity to both claim and repudiate a writing voice. Inglis's choice to work in the emblem genre in translation is an interesting and important one because the emblem genre itself reflects many of the anxieties and complexities surrounding authority and authorship that translation faces.

i. Emblem Books and the Paradox of Authority

Georgette de Montenay's and Esther Inglis's *Emblemes* belong to a genre that was initiated in 1531 with Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* and which had all but disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century. Their virtual extinction after the eighteenth century means that modern readers do not often appreciate how immensely popular emblem books were throughout Europe during the Renaissance.[99] Emblems

[98] Such as the work by Lori Chamberlain and Sherry Simon discussed in my introductory chapter.

[99] Michael Bath finds that in England, emblem books were even used in the classroom (*Speaking* 31). Daly's preface to *Companion to Emblem Studies* records "at least 6500 books with, or about emblems" published after the genre's inception in 1531 (x). While Daly admits that statistics can "be used to

combine visual and textual signifiers in a tripartite structure of motto, picture, and epigram (also referred to as "*inscriptio*, *pictura*, and *subscriptio*" [Daly "Introduction" 1]) and they usually convey some kind of moral sentiment to be meditated upon or implemented by their reader. Not only do emblems appear in printed books of the period, they are ubiquitous in the material culture of the Renaissance. Peter Daly records the importance of emblems to many different visual media in the period:

> Emblems adorned a multitude of objects such as medals and coins, flags, standards, weapons and armour, clothing and jewellery, glassware, plates, goblets, silver cups, and trenchers but also furniture, tapestries, cushion covers, and other decorative elements of architectural interiors. Emblems and imprese also played an important role in the decoration of buildings and in the arrangement of such three-dimensional, exterior forms as pillars, statues, whole facades, and window mouldings...Emblems and imprese were used in what may be called the ephemeral material culture of the early modern period: in pageants, processions, and entries into towns. ("Material" 411-12)

Most significant for this study is the way in which the emblem was an essential feature of women's needlework. The importance of embroidery as women's "work" (ie. the product of their labour and a valuable commodity for aesthetic, cultural, community, and political

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demonstrate anything," the numbers of published editions nevertheless help to suggest the genre's immense popularity in the period (x). Emblem books appeared in Latin as well as most European vernacular languages. The *Companion* includes a comprehensive bibliography, and bibliographic studies of the emblem comprise pages 531-34. A bibliographical standard on early modern emblems is Mario Praz, "Bibliography of Emblem Books," (1964.)

reasons) is starting to gain more widespread critical attention.[100] As Susan Frye finds, the connection between writing and needlework was one made by women of the Renaissance themselves and needlework, like writing, was a way in which women could express more than simply domestic obedience.

Peter Daly notes the overwhelming politicality of the needlework of Mary, Queen of Scots, whose "use of the emblem and impresa was frequently allusive, conveying a hidden meaning to the alert and sympathetic observer" ("Material" 447). Mary famously sent the Duke of Norfolk a cushion embroidered with a scene of a barren vine being pruned by a hand descending from the clouds. As we will see in the religious emblems of Montenay, the hand descending from the clouds represents the hand of God and this cushion could be read as a religious emblem encouraging militant and active Christianity. However, in this emblem, as Daly notes, Norfolk was meant to understand that Mary "encouraged him to cut down the unfruitful branch, Elizabeth, to make way for the flourishing of the fruitful branch, Mary" ("Material" 447), and she suggests the righteousness of this course of action through both the visual image of the *pictura* and the textual motto, "Virescit vvlnere virtvs" (Virtue flourished by wounding).[101] Paradoxically, it is the general and culturally shared understanding of the images on which emblems rely that allows for their subversive potential. Not unlike translation, authority can be manipulated in needlework and emblematics, since their producers at

[100] See, for example, Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch* (1984), Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (2000), particularly Ch. 6, and most recently Frye, *Pens and Needles* (2010).

[101] Trans. Daly (447). The cushion is reproduced as a beautiful colour plate in Frye (Plate 2) and she devotes her first chapter to a consideration of the political subtext of needlework by Elizabeth Tudor, Bess of Hardwick, and Mary, Queen of Scots. For more on the needlework of Mary, Queen of Scots see Michael Bath, *Emblems for a Queen: The Needlework of Mary, Queen of Scots* (2008).

once rely on recognized and legitimate patterns and manage to particularize those patterns to articulate specific personal and political desires and opinions.

The emblematic mode of thought permeated early modern textual and material culture and appears to have structured the very way in which men and women understood the world in which they lived. The mode of thought represented by the emblem relies on two ostensibly paradoxical conceptual frameworks. Critics of the emblem tend to privilege one or the other ideal, but I think Michael Bath's formulation effectively synthesizes the competing frameworks and the way in which they could and did operate simultaneously in the Renaissance. Bath suggests that "the emblem was conceived *both* as an art of rhetorical invention in which novel or witty connections were suggested between signifier and signified, and *at the same time* as an art which used inherent meanings already inscribed in the Book of Nature by the finger of God" (*Speaking* 3, my emphasis). So, either the motto and image create an enigma that can only be resolved through the epigram, and thus the emblematist is considered the author of that witty and unexpected connection; or, the image relies on a universal and natural system of signs which its reader can be expected to understand and whose meaning is developed and reflected upon in the epigram, in which case the emblematist is considered more of an exegete, or, I would suggest, translator, than an author.

One of the most difficult aspects of emblem production to adequately reconstruct is the order in which image and text were created in relation to one another. In many cases it is impossible to know if an emblematist wrote a text and then passed it on to an engraver who would come up with a design for the visual image unguided; whether the emblematist provided written instructions or sketches to the engraver; or whether the

textual elements post-dated the images and the emblematist thus suited his or her text to an already existing image. Certainly there is evidence that woodcuts or copperplates made their way from one press to another and were sometimes used in more than one different emblem book.[102] Nevertheless, what evidence there is suggests an increasing trend towards specificity in the link between text and emblem, so that images were usually produced specifically for a text and not the other way around (Russell "France" 157). I am reminded again of Cixous, who laments in "The Last Painting": "I write. But I need the painter to give a face to my words. First of all, I write; then you must paint what I've said to you" (108). Cixous exposes the impossibility of such a symbiosis, and yet I think for the early modern emblematist the bridging of the gap between text and image that seems unattainable to Cixous was at least possible, and even perhaps necessary. That the process of production was collaborative to an often unrecoverable extent makes the emblem, like translation, a site of contested and conflicted authority.

The question of authority in the production of emblems is an important one. Daniel Russell points out that theorists of the emblem have refused to call the emblematist an emblem-author, using either "emblematist" (a designation that tells the reader nothing about the process of composition of the emblem) or "emblem-writer" (a designation that privileges the textual elements of the emblem). Russell suggests the reason for this

> may be that the idea of the author is too intimately linked to the notion of an absolute origin…Origins are the source of authority. But the origins of

[102] Daniel Russell recounts Barthelemy Aneau's discovery of a set of abandoned woodblocks in a printer's shop. Aneau turned the woodcuts into emblems and the "result was his *Picta poesis* of 1552. In reality these blocks had been used for an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in 1550 and would be used for another in 1556" ("France" 157).

> the emblem are problematical in the extreme: they did not ordinarily come into existence in ways that fit very well with our exalted conceptions of the creative process in art and literature. ("Authority" 81)

Critics cannot find a safe way of describing the function of the emblematist, a difficulty also evident in attempts to theorize the role of the translator. Even Russell, a theorist who works in the fields of both Renaissance translation and emblems, cannot seem to help but gender his emblematist in a fashion strikingly similar to the gendering of the translator/translation which was increasingly evident in prefaces and critical works on translation after the seventeenth century.[103] Russell calls the emblematist "the often obscure midwife who delivers this small hybrid from [a] great and ambiguous body," suggesting that, like translators, emblematists are those who facilitate, rather than create, meaning ("Authority" 82).

Finally, Russell suggests in terms borrowed from Levi-Strauss that the emblematist is a "*bricoleur*" ("Authority" 85). The emblematist-as-*bricoleur* "drew from a large, but limited body of material that was not conceived for the project at hand" and as such "can never command the same ultimate authority as the artist, who is rather an *ingénieur* in Levi-Strauss's scheme" (85). Russell's formulation is attractive, as it seems to resolve the critical problem of describing the function of the emblematist. If the emblematist is a *bricoleur*, then we understand that s/he, like the translator, uses materials already in circulation, already present, already *created*. The *bricoleur* assembles and transmits; s/he does not author. This seems a sensible and acceptable way to understand the difference between the function of an emblematist (or a translator) and an author until

[103] See, for example, John Florio's well known claim that "all translations are reputed femalls, delivered at second hand" discussed in my concluding chapter (xv).

we revisit Derrida's consideration of Levi-Strauss's concept of *bricolage* in "Structure, Sign and Play." Derrida breaks down the tidy difference between *ingénieur* and *bricoleur*, arguing that "the engineer…should be the one to construct the totality of his language, syntax and lexicon. In this sense the engineer is a myth" (202). In Derrida's formulation, both *ingénieur* and *bricoleur* are revealed as mythical, as the engineer is himself a "species of *bricoleur*" and in the face of this fact "the very idea of *bricolage* is menaced and the difference in which it took on its meaning breaks down" (202). The conflation and destruction of *ingénieur* and *bricoleur* should serve to remind us that the discrete categories within which we attempt to fix discourse are always malleable, flexible and vulnerable. If the emblematist is *bricoleur*, she is also *ingénieur*, she is also translator, she is also and also is not author. I think it is essential to bear in mind the ways in which boundaries and categories collapse so easily under critical scrutiny, even as I argue for the ways in which we need to recognize in works like Inglis's an agency and a deliberate performance of authority with personal, political and financial motivations and implications.

ii. Georgette de Montenay and the Protestant Emblem in France

Georgette de Montenay's book of Christian emblems, dedicated to the Protestant Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, was the first explicitly religious emblem book on the continent and it inaugurated a genre that was to prove exceptionally popular in the coming decades. Emblem books, as critics have noted, "seemed to appeal in particular to

protestants and other unorthodox writers" (Russell "France" 158),[104] and Georgette de Montenay fits both of these categories: she was a Huguenot living in a country whose religious loyalties were severely divided and she was a woman publishing a politically charged and potentially subversive book. Montenay's prefatory materials address her (perceived) audacity for appearing in print at all and her transgression as a woman who adopts a genre that had previously been the province solely of male authors. Like many women writers of the period, Montenay presents a complicated justification that at once relies on prevalent misogynist stereotypes of women's essential nature and refutes these stereotypes through images of exemplary women and recourse to divine inspiration. In her letter to the reader, Montenay disparages her own awkward verse while also claiming a divine authorization for her presumption in writing. She states that while "she had initially intended to write only for her own home,…she had been urged (she does not say by whom) to make public her God-given talent, which would be most 'unreasonable' to hide" (Matthews Grieco 798). Montenay's strategy bears a striking resemblance to that of early English writers like Mary Bassett who excuses her presumption to write by displacing authority onto the friends and patrons who urged her to make her writing public and by claiming the divine source of her talent and the righteousness of her subject matter.

Not only does Montenay employ a careful rhetorical strategy of authorization in her paratexts, she also manages to diffuse and deflate the misogyny prevalent in earlier emblem books. Sarah Matthews Grieco makes the case for Montenay's reappropriation of the genre, noting that she "refuses the dominant distribution of gender values by

[104] While Protestant writers seemed to feel a particular affinity for the emblem genre, Jesuits also made extensive use of the genre; Peter Daly notes that over a quarter of known emblem books were produced by Jesuits ("Theory" 57).

according women more positive than negative representations" and finally "proposes a 'fraternal' and cooperative model in which women and men help each other to reach salvation" (801, 855). Matthews Grieco provides tables detailing the incidences of positive, negative, and neutral representations of male and female figures in the *Emblemes*. Interestingly, she also finds conspicuous absences that underscore Montenay's so-called feminist agenda; Eve is missing from the depiction of Original Sin in emblem 65, for example. As Matthews Grieco notes, "sixteenth-century religious iconography – both Protestant and Catholic – rarely missed the opportunity to underscore Eve's role in this event" and Eve's absence is thus a significant departure from traditional (masculine) rhetoric and iconography (803). Perhaps Inglis found in Montenay's generic revision as well as her self-presentation a compelling model of the way in which a woman could negotiate the competing and complex motivations for and prohibitions against writing. I would suggest that Inglis (and perhaps Anna Roemer Visscher, whose version of the *Emblemes* with Dutch mottos was scribally published c. 1615[105]) responded to the way in which Montenay "manage[d] to avoid the current emblematic prejudice with respect to women,…[and] proposed, as an alternative, a more equal and spiritually enlightened model of gender relations" (Matthews Grieco 802). Montenay's *Emblemes* offers a powerful alternative to the masculine tradition of emblematics and Inglis and Visscher respond to both the book's "feminism" and its overtly Protestant message.

Critics have consistently noted the Calvinist inclination of Montenay's book, although Els Stronks, who characterizes Montenay's emblems as "militantly Christian,"

[105] On Visscher's translation of Montenay's *Emblemes*, see van Elk (2009), p. 192-204.

reminds us that the attempt to combine text with image in a single coherent and religiously significant whole was bound to be contentious with reformist thinkers, so that even Montenay's ideal audience of educated reformist readers might have found her book to be controversial (219-20).[106] Nevertheless, Montenay's one-hundred emblems consistently privilege the word over the image and are organized into thematic groups that express the Protestant tenets of the primacy of the word, of the primacy of faith over works, and of the impossibility of salvation without divine grace through Christ. The Calvinist bent of Montenay's work is evident, and its publication history maps the rapidly changing religious climate in France in the late sixteenth-century.

The date of the first edition of Montenay's book has recently been revised from 1571 to 1567.[107] As Alison Adams's careful work on the book reveals, the revised date situates the *Emblemes* in a significantly different political context from that originally ascribed to it. A note in the 1567 edition suggests that Montenay had handed over her materials to her printer in 1561, a year during which concessions toward religious tolerance and more openly sympathetic supporters resulted in a "wave of optimism" for the Calvinist cause in France (Adams "New" 567). Jeanne d'Albret, the Huguenot Queen of Navarre to whom the book was dedicated, suffered serious personal and political setbacks after 1562 and it seems apparent that printing the book during the "troubles et guerres civiles" of the early 1560s became impossible (Preface to *Emblemes*, 1567 qtd in Adams "New" 569). Adams surmises from the existence of only one copy of the 1567

[106] Although Carla Zecher reconciles this apparent contradiction by paraphrasing Simone Perrier's argument that "pictorial images were considered acceptable in cultivated Huguenot circles because they were not religious in themselves and because they were not intended for use in explicitly devotional contexts" (157).

[107] See Alison Adams, "*Les Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* de Geogette de Montenay: édition de 1567," *BHR* 62 (2000) 637-9.

printing that the book was printed in 1567 but withdrawn almost immediately as the political situation worsened and the publication of so overtly Calvinist a book became acutely dangerous to its printer. With the end of the Third Civil War in France in 1570, Adams concludes that Montenay's *Emblemes* was once again safe to print and that a reissue of it appeared in 1571, "coincid[ing] with this at least relatively optimistic period, both generally and with regard to Jeanne's own position" ("New" 571).

Although 1571 may have marked a "relatively optimistic period" for French Protestants, it is striking that Montenay's book appears only the year before the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre that was to radically alter the political climate of early modern France. Although it is unclear exactly how the massacre began, what historians seem to agree on are the basic facts of the event. On August 22, 1572, the wedding of Marguerite of Valois (the king's sister) to Henry of Navarre (Jeanne d'Albret's son) was being celebrated in Paris. An assassination attempt was made on one of the Huguenot leaders present at the celebration, Gaspard de Coligny; while initially unsuccessful, the attempt on Coligny's life was successfully repeated on August 24th and was followed by the assassination of many of the Huguenot leaders present in Paris as well as thousands of citizens known or suspected of being Protestant or Huguenot supporters.[108] Given the importance to England of the French religious and political situation and the memorialization of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in the English theatre and print culture,[109] it seems likely that Esther Inglis, even fifty years later, would have understood the polemical and controversial nature of her source text in its original context. Quite

[108] See James R. Smither (1991), p. 29-30 for an account of the event. Arlette Jouanna's new book, *The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: The Mysteries of a Crime of State (24 August 1572)*, questions the basis for the massacre and suggests its genesis in "reasons of state."

[109]Frank Ardolino argues that "the association of Paris and massacre became almost proverbial" in England during this period (402), and he notes ongoing references to the events in English plays and pamphlets.

apart from the public memory of the event, Inglis may have been exposed to a familial recollection of the events surrounding the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre since her own parents fled France "as a result of the persecution of the Huguenots which culminated in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew" (Scott-Elliott and Yeo 12). Inglis and Montenay shared a devotion to the Protestant cause and Inglis would certainly have recognized the overtly Calvinist tone of Montenay's emblems. However, while Montenay's emblems include some that contain "outspoken attacks on the papacy" (Adams 9), Esther Inglis chose to omit virtually all of these in her manuscript. This suggests both that Inglis understood the original context of Montenay's work and that she manipulated her own version so as to adjust it to a different political and religious climate. It seems to me that both the Protestant subject matter of Montenay's book and its participation in the religious controversies of its day appealed to Inglis as powerfully evocative symbols that would translate to the English political situation in the 1620s.

iii. Translation and Authority in Esther Inglis's 1624 Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes

Esther Inglis herself is in many ways a figure inextricably bound up with processes of translation, both in her professional work and in her personal life. Inglis was born Esther Langlois, probably in 1571, probably in Dieppe. Her parents were Huguenot refugees, French Protestants who fled France in the 1570s, and came to settle in Edinburgh. Esther Inglis, likely taught by her mother, copied out mostly religious texts in her exquisite calligraphic hand and dedicated them to prominent figures associated with the court from

the 1590s until her death in 1624.[110] Inglis always crafts a careful presentation of her identity for the gaze of her dedicatees, a fact evidenced by the self-portraits she often includes with her manuscripts, the dedicatory letters to potential patrons, and even the process of translation she effects upon her name throughout her professional life. She signs her early manuscripts as either "Esther Langlois, Françoise," or "Esther Anglois, Françoise," emphasizing her dual identity as English and French, and suggesting her Huguenot roots as well. Manuscripts after about 1600 are signed Esther Inglis, Inglis being the Scottish spelling of the anglicized version of Langlois. Inglis evidently recognized the extent to which her identity was bound up with her name, since even after her marriage to Bartholomew Kello in about 1596, she used her own name in all of her manuscripts, extant correspondence, and even her will.[111] Sarah Ross notes that although married women often used their own names on legal documents, Inglis most likely retained hers as a "'nom de plume' that linked her to her learned father" ("Inglis" 167 n38). However, the link to Inglis's father in fact becomes diffuse as she effects the process of translation described above upon on her name. I would suggest that Inglis's translation of her name and her retention of it mark her growing confidence and her

[110] The most complete record of extant Inglis manuscripts is still Scott-Elliot and Yeo (1990). Inglis's source texts are mostly religious works, including the *Discours de la Foy*, the *Octonaires* of Antoine de la Roche Chandieu (a prominent Protestant theologian, who was appointed to the chair of Hebrew at Geneva university in 1584 [Scott-Elliott & Yeo 16]), *Ecclesiastes*, the *Psalms*, and the *Quatrains* of Guy da Faur. Many of Inglis's books are miniature, some measuring only a few centimeters in length. Scott-Elliot and Yeo describe the various binding styles used in Inglis's manuscripts and argue that both the embroidered bindings that she used mainly for gifts to "royal personages" and the leather tooled bindings used on other gifts may have all been Inglis's own work (21-22). Inglis accepted (and expected) payment for the exquisite gift books, though she did not work on commission, instead targeting potential patrons (who were rarely acquainted with Inglis) and presenting them with the unsolicited gifts. Tjan-Bakker records that the financial return for a gift book would usually vary from "a few shillings to a few pounds" (52), though in 1612 Inglis received the sum of £22 from Prince Henry's household for one of her books (Scott-Elliot and Yeo 14). Inglis may not have made a living from her gift books (and indeed died in debt) but she would have at times generously supplemented the income of her family.

[111] Recorded as "Esther Ingillis," National Archives of Scotland CC8/8/53.

decreasing reliance on either father or husband to authorize her texts as she makes a name for herself as a producer of exquisite and collectible books.

Both the political context of Georgette de Montenay's book and its material presence bear on Esther Inglis's 1624 translation and on the way in which she fashioned her own authorial identity in this and other texts. One of the most striking aspects of Inglis's gift-books is her inclusion with many of them of a self-portrait (Fig. 5.1). The inclusion of her portrait was an essential feature of Inglis's authorial self-fashioning and it is certainly possible that she was inspired to include a self-portrait from her experience with Montenay's text (Fig. 5.2).[112] Each of the editions of Montenay's *Emblemes* included a portrait of its author, drawn by Pierre Woeriot and dated 1567; however, not all surviving *copies* of each edition retain the portrait. Carla Zecher describes this "vanishing" portrait and suggests that its removal may have been politically motivated, fluctuating with the fortunes of the religious cause of its author.[113] Montenay's portrait functions emblematically, with textual and visual elements intertwined and which require the reader to move back and forth between them in order to comprehend their full meaning (Zecher 156); Inglis's later self-portraits will function in precisely the same emblematic fashion. Montenay's portrait depicts her in the act of writing the very verses that appear in the scrolled frame below her image:

D'affection, zeale, & intelligence,

[112] The similarities between the "type 4" portrait and the Montenay portrait are striking, as Scott-Elliott and Yeo note, and Inglis's is clearly modeled on Montenay's (18). The fact that Inglis may have been inspired by the Montenay portrait to draw her own portraits in the first place may be suggested by the fact that she had access to the 1584 edition of Montenay's *Emblemes* from at least 1599, the earliest year in which we have manuscripts with self-portraits (Zeigler 79, Scott-Elliott and Yeo 18).

[113] One reader of the *Emblemes* annotated the title page of his copy with the word "Huguenote" appearing under Montenay's name, suggesting that readers understood her religious affiliation and perceived it as an important context to the book. This copy is the one now displayed in digital images by the French Emblems at Glasgow project.

D'esprit, de coeur, de' parole, et de voix,

Tout d'un acord, instrumens, liures, doigtz,

Je chanterez de mon Dieu l'excelence

Ô plume en la main non vaine,

De celle qui par escrit

Met la louenge de Christ (b4r)[114]

Montenay's claim to authority is based here on her divine purpose in singing the praises of God. The instruments visible in the portrait – pen and paper, music and instrument – though they may suggest Montenay's connection with a culture of courtly refinement, are given the explicit task of praising God. The line that appears in the actual portrait, "Ô plume en la main non vaine," informs the reader that even though Montenay's writing could have been perceived as presumptuous or as an act of vanity, she is in fact justified in her writing by its subject matter and her own motivations in producing it – namely, to the praise and glory of God.

Inglis's portraits likewise betray her desire to fashion a particular identity for the eye of her dedicatees. Twenty-four of Inglis's over fifty surviving manuscripts feature self-portraits, most of which include a desk with writing implements – including pen, ink, paper, and in the *Emblemes* a compass – musical instruments, and sometimes sheet music. Susan Frye suggests that the musical accoutrements "place[] Inglis...in the tradition of those continental artists who used their self-portraits to emphasize their cultivated attainments in addition to painting and drawing" (*Pens* 108). The motto usually

[114] Citations from Montenay's *Emblemes Chrestiens* come from the 1584 French/Latin edition that I argue is Inglis's likely source. This text is available transcribed and as digital images at the French Emblems at Glasgow Project http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FMOb&o=. When necessary for points of comparison I have cited the 1619 polyglot edition and indicated this in notes.

inscribed on the book Inglis is in the process of writing in the portraits (and which is clearly legible in the *Emblemes* portrait) reads: "De l'Eternel le bie*n* / De moy le mal ou rie*n*" [from God comes all good, from me either bad or nothing] (7r). The motto, as Frye claims, "does not so much efface her [Inglis's] agency as claim her central relation to God" (*Pens* 108). Like Montenay, Inglis employs an emblematic portrait in which the reader must negotiate both text and image in order to properly decode the message contained within. This message, as Frye has demonstrated, is one that calls attention to Inglis's artistry and her cultural refinement; it also – as Montenay's portrait does – emphasizes the divinely inspired nature of the artefact Inglis produces and its authorization as a work which both praises and originates with God.

Inglis borrows another authorization-strategy from Montenay by including laudatory verses in the prefatory materials of her books.[115] In a number of manuscripts, including the *Emblemes*, Inglis reproduces the Latin poems written in praise of her abilities and virtue by Robert Rollock, Andrew Melville, and John Johnston.[116] These verses celebrate Inglis's accomplishments and (much like her self-portrait) her "central relation to God." Georgianna Zeigler finds that the poems gesture towards the "inspired

[115] Another aspect of the material presence of Montenay's book that may have appealed to Inglis was its printed appearance, with writing appearing on only the recto sides of the page; Inglis's books usually use only rectos, and while I would not suggest that this was a point of imitation on Inglis's part (likely it was another way of emphasizing the intrinsic value of her materials and manuscript), it is another point of similarity in the appearances of the books. Zecher argues that Montenay's blank versos may have encouraged "manuscript use by readers, who might have added favourite quotations or personal reflections on the material presented in the emblems" (156). For this reason she calls the *Emblemes* of 1571 "a unique mixture of print and personal manuscript culture", a description that so closely echoes critics' descriptions of Inglis's own work that it is easy to see why Montenay's book and her authorial strategies might have appealed so strongly to Inglis.

[116] Rollock (1555-1599) and Melville (1545-1622) were both well-known Reformist scholars in Scotland during Inglis's lifetime. Melville's defiantly Calvinist opinions brought him into conflict with James I over church doctrine and policy while Rollock appears to have been a somewhat less contentious figure (Kirk para. 20-29). John Johnston (c.1565–1611) was likewise a well-respected and continentally educated Scottish scholar. He was a close ally of Melville and he too found his official position in the church was affected by his outspoken reformist views (McClure para. 4).

nature of handwriting and its concomitant influence on those who read it" ("Hand-Ma[i]de" 75), with John Johnston's poem making this particularly evident: "Nature would grieve that she had been surpassed by mortal hand, were it not that she knew that these rare gifts came from great God" (qtd. in Zeigler 76).[117] Similarly, in the 1584 version of Montenay's *Emblemes*, laudatory poems by authors known only as L.C.S. and T.R.A. celebrate the divine inspiration for Montenay's work. T.R.A "even goes so far as to assert that 'Deus ipse / Quo canitur certus carminis autor adest' (God Himself is present as the sure author of the song by which He is sung)" (Adams *Webs* 75). In her version of the *Emblemes*, Inglis transposes the poems in praise of Montenay to a position just below Montenay's portrait; in Montenay's book, these verses were printed on a separate page from the portrait. In Inglis's version, the verses in praise of the author never circulate independently of the visual reminder of that author's physical body, the way they could (and sometimes did) in the Montenay original. Noteworthy is the fact that the poems in praise of Esther Inglis by Rollock, Johnston, and Melville appear in the same position as those for Montenay (directly underneath the portrait), but actually take up far more space on the page. The verses to Montenay mimic the typeface of a printed book and are neat and discrete. The verses to Inglis, on the other hand, are rendered in a variety of fonts far more decorative than those to Montenay and which showcase not only the authority ascribed to Inglis by her admirers, but also her well known facility in calligraphic arts. Inglis makes the parallel between herself and Montenay clear by modeling her portrait and the layout of the laudatory verses after Montenay's book, but

[117] The poem is also present in the *Emblemes* manuscript: "Mortali quod victa manu Natura doleret, / Ni sciat hæc magui munera rara DEI" (7r).

even as she aligns herself with Montenay's authority, she subtly usurps and overshadows that authority in her own portrait and verses.

In the *Emblemes*, as in many of her gift-books, Esther Inglis writes an elaborate dedicatory letter in praise of her potential patron and extolling her own virtues and abilities. In some ways the dedicatory letter to Prince Charles Stuart that accompanies the *Emblemes* relies on conventions that are familiar from many other dedicatory letters of this period. It also, however, provides a unique portrait of its author's relationship to Charles through the use of classical references, and it clearly expresses the extent to which Inglis sees herself as a translator of Montenay's work. Montenay's *Emblemes* are relatively free of classical references, instead relying on imagery easily associated with a religious and specifically Calvinist context. Esther Inglis, however, in her address to Prince Charles and in the emblems dedicated to both Charles and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, deliberately imports classical images and referents that are absent in Montenay. In the dedicatory letter, these references take the form of both visual and textual elements (Fig. 5.3).[118] Surmounting the dedicatory letter is an image of a phoenix rising from flames atop a hill; the image is enclosed in a circular frame around which runs a Latin motto that translates as: "A bird which, according to Pliny's Natural History Book 10, Chapter 2, lives for sixty-six hundred years" (my translation, 3r). I am not aware of a source for this image and it is possible that Inglis supplied it herself, possibly inspired by a woodcut of the rising phoenix included in a Latin edition of Pliny published in Frankfurt in 1602. She has correctly attributed the book and chapter of Pliny's *Natural History* within which one finds the entry for the phoenix; Pliny describes in great detail

[118] The full text of the dedicatory letter is given in Appendix 2.

the colours and magnificent appearance of the bird. He also dwells on the details of the phoenix's lifespan and resurrection:

> Hee liveth 660 yeares: and when he growth old, and begins to decay, he builds himselfe a nest …and when he has filled it with all sort of sweet Aromaticall spices, yeeldeth up his life thereupon. He saith moreover, that of his bones & marrow there breedeth at first as it were a little worme: which afterwards proveth to be a pretie bird. And the first thing that this yong new phoenix doth, is to perform the obsequies of the former Phoenix late deceased: to translate and carie away his whole nest into the citie of the Sunne near Panchaea, and to bestow it full devoutly there upon the altar. (271)[119]

While it may be unwise to read too much into Inglis's mention of Pliny's natural history in the emblematic image, it seems to me significant that this version of the phoenix story emphasizes both the singularity of the mythical bird and its corporality. That the new phoenix must perform the necessary rites upon the body of its predecessor and progenitor reminds the reader that the phoenix is not exactly resurrected as such, but is rather reborn through a combination of natural elements and culturally determined rites. Perhaps the phoenix as a metaphor for kingship is so powerful because it at once implies a kind of literal longevity alongside a metaphorical immortality as the "father" lives on in the "son."

Inglis doubtless intends to flatter Charles by associating him with the phoenix. The first lines of her letter call him the "onlie PHOENIX of this age, whose innumerable

[119] This translation is one made by Philemon Holland and published in 1601.

graces and matchlesse vertues, hath exceedinglie dazzled the eyes and amazed the minds of most men and weemen" and she goes on to describe his foremost virtue as that of charity, in a less than subtle appeal for financial compensation for her work (3r). Nevertheless, I would suggest that this image prefacing Inglis's letter does more than simply flatter Charles; perhaps it also acknowledges the coming and inevitable end of James's reign and reminds Charles of the duties he will owe to the former king and to his nation. The destruction of the phoenix brings with it the promise of rebirth and renewal, ideals easily associated with Charles at a time when his marriage was a topic of national and international concern. Perhaps the Protestant Inglis saw Charles's return to England after his failure to conclude marriage negotiations for the Spanish Infanta as itself a moment laden with potential for a new direction in England's foreign policy towards Reformist, rather than Catholic, alliances. In fact she mentions the failed mission explicitly, telling Charles in the letter that "it was my bounden deutie, to congratulat your Highnesse blessed, saif, and most happie returne" from Spain (4r). Inglis is adept at mixing the political and the personal and it seems to me that in addition to appealing for financial patronage in this letter, she also positions herself as an advisor to whom Charles would be wise to listen.

Strikingly, the authorities to whom Inglis appeals in this letter are for the most part, scholars of classical antiquity. While she maintains some of the expected poses of modesty such as comparing herself to the widow who cast her mite into the treasury, or noting that in dedicating her book to so great a personage, she was surprised with "a little shamefastnesse and feare (which commonlie accompaneis our sexe)" (4r), Inglis never

fully adopts a particularly submissive or humble pose. Instead, she compares her fear with

> the timorousnesse of DEMOSTHENES, being to speake before PHILIP king of Macedon: Or of THEOPHRASTVS, befor the AREOPAGITES at Athens. … SIR, PHILIP loued ARISTOTLE and maid him Tutor to his Sonne. ALEXANDER foloued PINDARVS, that at the destruction of THEBES hee gaue charge for preseruation of his familie and kinred. SCIPIO AFRICANVS vsed the poët ENNIVS as his companion in his greatest affaires, and to shew his grief for the losse of such a one, caused th'Image of ENNI*US* to be laid with him in his owne Tombe. (4r)

Inglis positions herself alongside some of the most famous classical examples of scholars and poets, men who were advisors to their kings and beloved of those kings they advised. Certainly Inglis's hope and one of her prime motivations in the letter is that she will be remembered by Charles in the form of financial reimbursement for the work she dedicates to him; however, more significantly, she hopes that he will listen to and remember the advice contained within the book. There can be no stronger indication of Inglis's vision of herself as an author and advisor as well as a craftsmen and artist than the catalogue of famous poets, philosophers, and scholars with whom she compares herself. While Inglis's comparison is carried to an almost absurdist extreme, she herself seems conscious of this when she retreats to a more humble stance, claiming, immediately after comparing herself to these men, "I presume not THRICE ILLUSTRIO*US* PRINCE to compare with such famous men" (4r). Inglis is, I think, a consummate rhetorician; she knows that the comparison she denies has already been made and is in

fact only heightened by her ensuing catalogue of biblical good women. In declaiming the comparison she actually suggests to Charles how it is that despite her sex such a comparison is fitting. After all, she reminds the prince, "what beauteous floure: what medicinable herbe, may not be found in the womans garden: wes not SARA and REBECCA meek; DEBORAH and IUDITH couragious: wes not NAOMI patient; HANNA humble; ABIGAIL wise: ELIZABETH zealous: SVSANNA chast" (4r). Inglis appropriates the best of both masculine and feminine traditions of greatness in the letter. She takes on the role of poet-advisor to kings from the classical scholarly tradition and, in order to be taken seriously in that role, employs traditional images of the good woman of biblical authority. Such an appropriation of authority is consistent with Inglis's strategies in her books more generally as well; as Susan Frye points out, by copying so exactly printed typeface, itself "conceptualized as inherently masculine," while at the same time employing more feminine modes of discourse like needlework and drawing, "Inglis took control of masculinized type and feminized page alike" (*Pens* 110, 111). In this letter she adeptly takes control of classical masculine authority and biblical feminine authority as well.

Not only does Inglis's dedicatory letter invoke classical authority to help legitimize her gift and to flatter its recipient, it also indicates the degree to which Inglis represents herself as the translator of Montenay's *Emblemes*. Inglis sees herself significantly reworking her source text and though she never uses the term explicitly, she represents herself as Montenay's translator. Near the end of Inglis's dedicatory letter she makes the following striking demand:

> Onlie as it is writte*n* of ADRIAN the Emperour that he perfectly (euer afterward) did knaw them that had but once spokin vnto him, I beseech *th*e ALMIGHTIE GOD

> of his mercie so to blesse your HIGHNESSE with such a happiy and good memorie, that amongs all those *th*at haue, or shall either speake or consecrat anye of their trauails to your Highnesse you may remember me your Graces humble hand-maid. And after that be your HIGHNESSE direction thir fiftie EMBLEMES, the fruits of my pen (but *th*e inuention of a noble Lady of France whose portraict is in the forfront heerof) haue bene presented to the sight and view of fiftie of the KINGS MAIESTIE and your HIGHNESSE wothys whose names ar inſert therein, may be brought bake. And as the curious works of AHOLIAB and BEZALEEL wer to besene long after ther dayes in the Temple. So this small pledge of my duetifull and verie humble obeissance may haue sum retired place in your Highnesse Cabinet. (5r)

Not only does Inglis ask God to grant that Charles will remember her work out of all those dedicated to him by his subjects; she goes on to request that by Charles's "direction" her manuscript be circulated among the men whose names are attached to the book's emblems. The fact that Inglis imagines Charles circulating the book "to the sight and view" of these fifty men is remarkable, as is her request that after its tour, the book be returned to "sum retired place in your Highnesse Cabinet." Inglis never presents herself with the same degree of self-deprecation and justification that we find in other women's prefaces, but this one does seem particularly audacious. If she was justified in her hope that Charles would circulate this manuscript, then her translation of the figures of the English court certainly had a much more public significance than the semi-private writer/patron relationship initially implied in the presentation of a gift-book.

In this passage Inglis specifically calls attention to the source of her text by reminding Charles that although these emblems are the "fruits of my pen" they are nevertheless the "*th*e inuention of a noble Lady of France whose portraict is in the forfront heerof." Inglis makes a clear distinction here between the text as she gives it to Charles and the "invention" of Montenay, echoing the phrasing of many contemporary translators in presenting their works.[120] Also, she claims to have "inſert [inserted]" the names of the worthy men that are now attached to the emblems (5r). The word "insert" is one which can mean "introducing an element into a written body of work," and one of the OED's examples of its use is by Thomas More (in 1533) in referring to the completeness of his exposition of a text.[121] Inglis's "insertion" I think clearly constitutes an act of translation, as she suits Montenay's allegory to the English court. Furthermore, the language of Inglis's attribution here is telling, as she uses metaphors of reproduction-as-creation when she calls the work the "fruit of my pen" and compares herself to the Old Testament architects Aholiab and Bezaleel. Inglis evidently sees herself as more than just the passive conduit for another's ideas and while she does credit Montenay's work, she actually succeeds in blurring the line between author and translator. This is underscored in the phrasing of the attribution. The lady of France whose portrait appears in the front of the book is clearly Montenay, and yet in fact *both* Inglis's and Montenay's portraits are in the front of the book and of course *both* Inglis and Montenay are ladies of France, as Inglis's signatures throughout her career have made apparent. This attribution serves to

[120] Inglis distinguishes her own voice from that of the original author as do most early modern translators. Mary Basset, like Inglis, emphasizes her "labour" in the translation. Margaret Tyler notes her hospitality to a foreign stranger; Thomas Hoby (trans. *The Courtier*) turns an Italian into an Englishman; John Florio (trans. Montaigne's *Essays*) teaches his foster child to speak the English tongue, etc.
[121] OED, verb, *b*

conflate the author and her translator as the dedicatee is asked to cast his eye over the portraits of *two* ladies of France who have produced emblem books.

King James's emblem is the first to appear in Inglis's text (Fig. 5.4). What we see in the *pictura* is the hand of God descending from the clouds, holding a crowned heart above a city-scape which is spread out below. The motto "DOMINUS CUSTODIAT INTROITUM TUUM" appears above the scene in a decorative banner (8r). The motto, which Adams translates as "the Lord shall preserve thy coming in" (*Webs* 45), is taken from Psalm 120/1, which constitutes a kind of promise to the faithful that it is God from whom all help and all preservation will come.[122] While the motto comes from a scriptural text applicable to all the godly, the picture and epigram offer a more specifically directed message. James I's rhetoric of divine right promoted metaphors of kingship that included the monarch as head of the body politic, the monarch as the father of his state/people, and the monarch as God's lieutenant on earth. Significantly, in this emblem, the king "is made into God's instrument" rather than being represented as his lieutenant (Tucker 178). The difference is subtle but important. To each of Inglis's versions of the *Emblemes,* she adds her own motto positioned in between the Latin and French verses. The "Inglis motto" usually recapitulates a particular aspect of the epigram – in James's emblem this is "LE COEUR DV ROY EST EN LA MAIN DE DIEV" [the heart of the king is in the hand of God] (f8, my translation). Though it does so in this emblem, the Inglis motto does not usually repeat verbatim a line from the epigram; more often than not it provides a paraphrase of the epigram rather than a citation from it. Her motto suggests to the reader the primary significance of the emblem and thus imposes Inglis's own interpretive

[122] In the Sidney Psalter, for example, this sentiment is encapsulated in final quatrain: "Nay, from every mishap, from every mischief / Safe thou shalt by Jehovah's hand be guarded: Safe in all thy goings, in all thy comings, / Now thou shalt by his hand, yea, still be guarded" (121.17-20).

strategy on her reader. In this case she reminds Charles and James that what power the king has is temporal and always subject to God's higher authority.

Inglis also adjusts Montenay's epigram slightly by substituting "Bretagne" for Montenay's "France." In Montenay this emblem refers to France's Charles IX, who was only ten years old when he came to the throne (Reynolds-Cornell 76). In this context, Montenay's claim that the king is "viele de sens, jeune d'aage" [old in wisdom, young in years] (*Emblemes* [1584] 29v) makes perfect sense, as does Montenay's wish that God will grant him a long reign during which he might prove himself a true Christian. Inglis nuances the epigram once again, since presumably even in the name of flattery it would be going too far to call the fifty-eight year-old James "old in wisdom, young in years." Instead, she calls him "viele desens aussi d'aage" [old in wisdom as in age] (f8), which initially seems slightly rude or presumptuous, but which I suggest serves once again to authorize Inglis's role as counsellor to the Prince – this time by virtue of her shared age with the king his father. Inglis has already drawn attention to her age in the dedicatory epistle when she tells Charles that her book is the product of "two yeeres labours of the small cunning, that my totering right  [pointing hand], now being in the age of fiftie three yeeres, might afoord" (4r). Again we can see Inglis's expert manipulation of the modesty topos (her "small cunning" and "tottering right hand") in order to stress her magnificent achievement and, in the context of the first epigram, to subtly align herself with the wisdom and age she attributes to Charles's principal counsellor, the king his father.

iv. Inglis's Emblemes *and the Politics of 1622-1624*

While some of Inglis's interventions into the text seem mostly suggestive of her own authority, in other instances Inglis's interventions more obviously serve to translate these emblems to the English political context, though without necessarily obscuring their original political significance in France. The emblem that Inglis applies to James I is the thirtieth in Montenay's sequence and in her book it initiates a series of emblems that Adams argues promotes "peace" in a general way, but which more specifically encourages "peaceful acceptance [of divine providence], first by the king himself" (45). Inglis's association of this emblem with James could suggest that she recognized the thematic organization of Montenay's text and that she intended to play to James's own favourite notion of himself as a religious peacemaker.[123] That said, the few commentators on Inglis's text have seen her to be promoting a select group of Protestant courtiers to Charles's view with an eye to encouraging a "militantly Protestant foreign policy" (Tucker 170).[124] While I certainly agree that Inglis promotes a select group of courtiers to Charles – her choice of courtiers is no accident, includes many previous dedicatees of her manuscripts, and is one of the aspects of this text that I argue constitutes active translation of the source text – I think that a careful examination of the Montenay book and the emblems that Inglis chose *not* to include suggest that even as she promoted the so-called "arch-protestant" party of English courtiers, she was extremely careful not to be too overt in her criticism of Catholics.

Several of Montenay's emblems contain overtly anti-Catholic sentiment (Fig. 5.5). These include Montenay's emblems number 7, 21, 25, 68, and 71 which depict

[123] On James's pacifist strategies early in his reign, see Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 13-15.
[124] See also, van Elk 209, Frye 107.

respectively: a group of humanized wolves in monks' cowls stoking a fire with bellows; an owl representing "the Antichrist, that is the Pope who uses kings (represented by a hand tied to the end of a stick) for his own ends, to extinguish the light of Christ (an oil lamp)" (Adams *Webs* 42); a figure in what is recognizably a nun's habit who drags her heart behind her and holds her tongue in her hand; the beast of the apocalypse ridden by the whore of Babylon who wears the three tiered papal crown and holds "a vase from which stream iniquities on to flames which must signify love" (*Webs* 61); and finally, another figure in nun's habit who kneels before an altar surmounted by the figure of a calf, the motto for which reads "Idolorum servitus" [serving idols].[125] All of these emblems include overt anti-Catholic symbolism that would have been readily apparent to a Renaissance reader. In addition to these visually overt images, there is an entire group of emblems – numbers 14-27 – that Alison Adams has identified as "warnings," most of which suggest the coming of the anti-Christ, synonymous in Early Modern Protestant rhetoric with the Church of Rome and figured specifically as such in Montenay's emblems (40). Significantly, Inglis chooses to include none of these aggressively anti-Catholic emblems. The emblems she chooses to include focus far more clearly on the promise of salvation through Christ and emerge as a celebration and a promise of the Protestant faith, rather than a warning of the Catholic danger. This omission is significant in the context of English foreign policy during the years that Inglis worked on her version of the emblems.

Inglis's emblems are all dated 1622-24, which coincides with the furor in England over the proposed Spanish match between Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria. When

[125] Trans. Adams (*Webs* 62)

Inglis selected the emblems to be copied, it may have been impolitic in the extreme to so overtly denounce the faith of the nation with whom James had been courting a dynastic alliance for years. Additionally, the emblems were composed over a period of years during which events both on the continent and domestically changed rapidly. The emblems undoubtedly signified something different during their composition in 1622 than they did in 1624 when they were finally "published." Significantly, Inglis did make changes to the manuscript based on her understanding of politics at court; for example, she removed Lionel Cranfield's emblem when he fell from office for openly opposing war with Spain in May of 1624,[126] so it is evident that she could and did respond to changing currents in the political sphere. I argue that it is reasonable to assume then that the emblems Inglis chose to retain are there because she was content to have Charles and James read and comprehend their significance in the political and social context of events of 1624. This was the year in which negotiations for a Spanish match finally collapsed and the year in which James agreed to take on a military role on the continent; he adopts a "bellicose policy of confrontation" that Thomas Cogswell calls "one of the more dramatic reversals in early Stuart history" (1). So, while James's emblem may have played to his role as a peacemaker in 1622, it may also have celebrated his acceptance of God's will in the matter of English foreign policy in 1624, a role that Inglis would presumably have favoured, along with her fellow Protestants celebrated in the book.

Inglis calls the reader's attention to English foreign policy in an even more compelling way in the emblem dedicated to the Princess Elizabeth Stuart, as the dedication notes, Queen of Bohemia (Fig. 5.6). Elizabeth, the daughter of James I, was

[126] The page that had originally contained Cranfield's emblem has been cut out of the manuscript and strip of paper has been pasted over his name in the table at the back of the book. Cranfield should have appeared as the third emblem, after the Bishop of Lincoln.

married to Frederick V, elector Palatinate, in 1613. Elizabeth's marriage was, naturally, a matter of national and international significance since political alliances could be forged or fractured through strategic marriages. Protestant factions at court vehemently opposed Elizabeth's marriage to a Catholic suitor, while the diplomatic King James initially refused to discount such a possibility.[127] Elizabeth's marriage to the Calvinist Fredrick V was welcomed by James's Protestant subjects and her marriage, which followed closely on the death of the central figurehead of English Protestantism, Prince Henry, meant that Elizabeth herself became a kind of symbolic figurehead for militant Reformists and for English support of continental Protestants. By the time Inglis penned this emblem, Elizabeth and Frederick were in exile in the Netherlands after having been elected to the crown of Bohemia only to be defeated and driven out a year later by Spanish forces. So, in 1622 when Inglis includes an emblem celebrating the Queen of Bohemia, she is making a statement that has serious political implications and represents a clear show of support for the exiled Queen. As Hans Werner argues, "partisanship for Elizabeth of Bohemia could…draw upon ideological, patriotic, or chivalric sentiment, or any of these in combination" (114), and Inglis seems motivated by a combination of all three in this emblem.

In this emblem's *pictura*, a woman is engaged in erecting a building. In Montenay's book, this woman is Jeanne d'Albret, the Queen of Navarre. Albret was the dedicatee of Montenay's book and was an important figure in the promotion of the Reformed faith in France. In Inglis's book, this figure is Elizabeth of Bohemia, likewise engaged in building up a temple that represents the building of the faith of the people of

[127] See Ronald G. Asch and Cogswell, 18-50.

God or those of the true faith. The picture itself has been altered from Montenay's so as to more clearly represent Elizabeth of Bohemia (Fig. 5.7).[128] The face has been pasted onto Inglis's drawing; it appears to me (from looking at the verso side of the page) that Inglis copied the original picture using Albret's countenance and then pasted on her drawing of Elizabeth Stuart's face. Elizabeth Stuart appears younger and is more delicately drawn than Albret; she faces the viewer directly, while Albret was drawn in profile; and Elizabeth has a more contemporary hairstyle. Though it seems unusual, the technique of pasting a face on to another drawing is a technique that Inglis uses occasionally in her own portraits.[129] In addition to the altered face, the woman's dress is completely different, with a contemporary ruff and an elaborate embroidered design that is lacking in Montenay's emblem. She is also, as one critic has noted, more graceful than Albret, all of which perhaps reminds us of the chivalric motive identified by Werner in Elizabethan partisanship. The motto "sapiens mulier aedificat domum" comes from Proverbs 14:1, rendered in the King James Version as "every wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands" (qtd. in Adams 26). Adams argues that in Montenay the motto requires that we read this figure as at once Jeanne

[128] Interestingly, Inglis used the same emblem as the basis for an "emblematical drawing of Mary, Queen of Scots" that she dedicated to John Erskine (c.1562–1634), the 18th (or 2nd) Earl of Mar (Scott-Elliot & Yeo 15). The drawing is reproduced in Demers, *Women's Writing* (145). While the main elements of the drawing remain the same, the face is altered, differing from both the Elizabeth Stuart and Jeanne d'Albret visages. The Earl of Mar was well-known for his Puritan leanings and was an important figure in the Scottish court. He even acted as a go-between for James VI and Robert Cecil in urging James's claim to the succession after Elizabeth's death (Goodare para. 18-19). As a highly placed Protestant in the Scottish court, the Earl of Mar is consistent with Inglis's usual dedicatees. It is less clear to me how the drawing of Mary Queen of Scots fits Inglis's pattern of politically (and protestant-ly) motivated gifts. I intend to research the question further, but would like to suggest that the drawing may be of Mary Stewart, the daughter of Esmé Stewart, first duke of Lennox, whom Mar married in 1592 (Goodare para. 10). This would fit more clearly with the changes Inglis made to the emblem, replacing the word "Reine" with "Dame" and, as Demers notices, de-emphasizing the crown the figure wears (*Women's* 144), and would be consistent with the fact that Esmé Stewart has an emblem dedicated to him in this book.

[129] Scott-Elliot and Yeo record instances of this in the catalogue of Inglis's works. See no. 13, page 43, for example.

d'Albret and every-woman (or at least every Reformist woman), engaged in building up the true faith and reminding the reader of various biblical passages that exemplify the ideal woman (26).

In Inglis's version, the reader is confronted with additional layers of meaning, since the figure is at once Princess Elizabeth, with all of the symbolic capital she represents, and Albret and the legacy of militant Protestantism with which she is associated, and Inglis herself, who through her books and the Protestant community of their dedicatees, is likewise engaged in doing God's work in building up the faith. Beside Elizabeth in the picture are the architects' tools necessary for her project. If we think back to the artists' tools (pen, ink, compass) that Inglis so often represents in her own portraits (and which appear in the portrait accompanying this book in particular) then I think the parallel becomes impossible to ignore. Also, if Adams is correct that we must read examples of biblical good women into this figure, then Inglis's desire that we read her figure here as well becomes even clearer, given the catalogue of biblical good women with whom she compares herself explicitly in the dedicatory letter. The pillar in the bottom right hand corner of the *pictura* represents faith, and here it grows at the same rate as the temple that Elizabeth is building. Significantly, the bricks that Elizabeth uses look like books,[130] a fact which, while perhaps unintentional, could certainly serve to underscore the Protestant belief in faith and salvation through the Word, a concept that reoccurs throughout Montenay's emblems and Inglis's; the books could also emphasize the way in which each of these women – Albret, Montenay, and Inglis – employ visual and print media in the form of books in order to spread their message of Protestant faith.

[130] Though the difference is subtle, Inglis's bricks do have a more book-like appearance than Montenay's, particularly the one Elizabeth holds in her hand.

If the Calvinist thrust of Montenay's book is evident to her reader, then Inglis's Protestantism is even more clearly announced to her reader through her choice of emblems and their dedicatees. The emblem associated with George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, for example, likewise emphasizes the primacy of Christ in man's salvation. Abbott was an ardent supporter of Elizabeth Stuart and her marriage to the Elector Palatine and Inglis dedicates to him an emblem that would have appealed to both his religious convictions and his political support of Elizabeth and Frederick. Abbott's emblem is the first of the emblems not dedicated to a member of the royal family; these are separated from the dedicatory emblems to the royal family and the numbering begins anew at "I" (Fig. 5.8). In this emblem, a supine man arches into a dagger that he has thrust into his chest. The man appears under a desiccated and branchless tree trunk and the Latin motto "surge" [arise] appears in a decorative frame above the scene. The ruined buildings in the middleground of the image as well as the dead tree remind the viewer of the desolation and hopelessness of man's sinful condition, images elaborated upon in the epigram. The epigram reminds the reader of Adam's original sin and by extension the sinful condition of all men.[131] The verses further stress that that man cannot bring himself back to life and that Christ is our only salvation, emphasized particularly by Inglis with her supplementary motto, "Hors de Jesus Christ / Nous sommes mortes" [except for/without Jesus Christ, we are dead] (12r, my translation). As with James's emblem, the image and verses promote an active acceptance of God's will, perhaps – given Abbott's religious and political alignment – with the intent of reminding Abbott that his exiled Elizabeth and the continental Protestant cause are likewise in the hands of God.

[131] Significantly, as Matthews Grieco noted of other emblems, it is Adam's sin that is explicitly mentioned, while Eve's role in the fall is silently elided.

Inglis dedicates the last emblem in her book to her long-time friend and Scottish countryman, Sir David Murray. Murray had at least twice before been a dedicatee of Inglis's work, and her dedications to him had a more personal tone than those in some of her other works. In 1608 Murray received a copy of Bartholomew Kello's translation of the *Treatise of Preparation to the Holy Supper* written in Inglis's "book script." The book's pages are double ruled to form an inner box for text and an outer margin within which are given the biblical sources for the treatise. Unlike Inglis's other manuscripts, this one is largely undecorated, with only a small floral embellishment on the dedication to David Murray.[132] In 1614, Inglis gave Murray a far more elaborate gift, this one a tiny manuscript of the *Quatrains de Guy de Faur* that measures only 4.5cm X 8.5cm.[133] The book is exquisite, with gilt-edged pages and a title page illustrated with a gold background with flowers, strawberries, vines, and butterflies drawn in vibrant colour. Inglis addressed the book to "tres vertvevx, et mon treshonoure mecoenas, messier David Mvrray" (f2), and both the terms of the dedication and the richness of the gift illustrate Inglis's respect for and connection to Murray. In the *Emblemes Chrestiens*, Murray's is the final emblem a reader encounters and represents Inglis's conspicuous promotion of her friend (Fig. 5.9). The emblem represents a kind of victory cry as the *pictura* shows a pillar (faith) with wings of hope on top of a rock (probably representing Christ, who is represented as the rock of faith in other emblems).[134] The globe in front of the pillar represents the world, and even before reading the motto and epigram, we should understand that this emblem celebrates the victory of faith over all things worldly. The

[132] Edinburgh University Library La III 75.
[133] British Library MS Harley 4324.
[134] Though Tucker reads this as a shroud that has covered the world and which the pillar of faith is lifting (73).

verses celebrate that faith will bring victory through Christ over the "monde ingrate, Satan, et nostre chair" [the World, Satan, and our flesh] (f61). This last emblem perhaps represents Inglis's hope for the coming reign and the struggle of the faithful and it offers an undeniable promotion of her ally Murray as the nobleman associated with this message of hope.

I wish to turn finally to two emblems that Inglis did not find in Montenay. The fact that Inglis includes emblems from a different source is yet another moment in which we can clearly see her act of translation. Inglis chooses to dedicate two emblems from Jean-Jacques Boissard's 1588 *Emblematum Liber* to Prince Charles and George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham. Given the fact that these emblems were dedicated to the heir to the throne and the royal favourite of both the king and his heir, I think it is safe to assume Inglis's decision to select their emblems from outside her primary source text was a considered and deliberate one. These are the only two emblems in the book that employ classical referents – Charles's emblem incorporating the image of the phoenix, familiar from the dedicatory letter, and Buckingham's referring to Scylla and Charybdis, the twin perils of seafarers most famously recounted in Homer's *Odyssey*. We have already seen how Inglis employed classical references in the dedicatory letter in order to help authorize her powerful and presumptuous voice in the emblems. Her choice to use emblems with classical antecedents for Charles and Buckingham may be a strategy designed (like the dedicatory letter) to at once flatter the emblems' dedicatees and express the author/translator's own desires and agenda.

Charles and Buckingham had recently been the "heroes" in an ill-considered and rash escapade during which they journeyed "incognito through France and Spain and

presented themselves unannounced at the horrified Spanish court" (Durston 3). Their intention was to secure the long-negotiated match between Charles and the Spanish Infanta. The mission was ultimately unsuccessful, and English Protestants were overjoyed at Charles's return without a Spanish, Catholic, bride. In revising his self-narrative of the Spanish journey, it seems Charles decided that "the Spanish had duped him and treated him dishonourably" and he joined his voice with that of other English Protestants urging James to take on a military role against the Spanish Hapsburgs (Durston 4). As I have noted above, Inglis mentions Charles's return specifically in the dedicatory letter and she could hardly have been ignorant of the political significance of his journey and return. Her political interest in Charles's journey seems to me to be underscored by her dedication to him of Boissard's emblem number 19, "Vivit post funera virtus" [Virtue lives on after death] (Fig. 5.10). Although the emblem *pictura* is dated 1622, indicating that Inglis had planned this dedication at least a year before Charles and Buckingham left for Spain, I argue that it, like James's emblem, becomes invested with new significance in the tumultuous political environment of 1624, when Inglis actually dedicates the book to Charles. Also, even though this emblem's composition pre-dates Charles's final journey to Spain to try and conclude marriage negotiations, the negotiations themselves had been ongoing for a number of years and were understood to be of immense political significance. Charles's marriage had the potential not only to affect religious tolerance towards Catholics in the coming reign, but was also perceived to have serious implications for the Protestant cause on the continent, since the negotiations were an essential component of James's international diplomacy and one route towards a hoped-for restoration of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart. One

of the key points at issue in the negotiations was Spain's willingness to intercede in the Palatine in order to restore Frederick V to his lands and titles. As Roger Lockyear notes, the two issues were inextricably linked, evidenced by the terms of diplomatic envoy John Digby's letter to Prince Charles in 1622 stating that "they would not make the match without resolving to restore the Palatinate, nor restore the Palatinate without resolving to make the match" (qtd in Lockyear, 125). While this was an apt emblem for Inglis to dedicate to Charles in 1622, when she limned the *pictura*, its political significance would have been even more topical in 1624 when the manuscript was first circulated.

The emblem's *pictura* shows a female figure of virtue, holding a laurel wreath, but also noticeably armed and wearing a military helm. She looks towards an altar inscribed with a Latin motto and from which rises a phoenix. The Boissard emblem is textually more complex than the Montenay emblems, which rarely include textual elements in the *pictura* other than the motto.[135] Adams finds that the textual and pictorial elements of this emblem combine to suggest that "virtue will be rewarded" (*Emblematum liber* *33). While she notes that this idea is somewhat at odds with the Calvinist doctrine of salvation through faith and grace and not through good works, I would suggest that Inglis may be seen as redeeming this emblem to a Protestant framework by applying it to the figure of Prince Charles. While the idea that virtue – and specifically military virtue – would be rewarded with salvation may be a concept incompatible with Protestant tenets in general, its application to the man who would one day be responsible for defending the faith and whose marriage negotiations had for some time been a contentious issue divisive along religious lines seems particularly appropriate. I do not think Inglis is

[135] The altar inscription translates as: "In virtue there is enough defence for living well and happily, being free of death it [virtue] is immortal." Virtue's shield bears the Greek inscription: "Virtue is the greatest shield for mortals" (*Emblematum liber*, trans. Adams *32-3).

promulgating salvation through good works with this emblem, but is, rather, reminding Charles (and the semi-public readership of the *Emblemes* implied in the dedicatory letter) of the virtue of militancy and of his own status as a symbol and promise of a new reign. The emblem's epigrams both make explicit comparison between Virtue and the phoenix; the Latin epigram says that just as a new phoenix rises from the ashes of the old, "so fairest Virtue restores eternal reputation from the ends of death for her follower" (*Emblematum,* trans. Adams *33). Inglis establishes her symbolic association of Charles with the phoenix in the dedicatory letter, and by associating him with this emblem that explicitly links the phoenix with militant Virtue, she implies both the promise of his forthcoming reign and the potential for military virtue he embodies. I think she also holds out to Charles the promise of "vn renom immortel" attainable through virtuous actions implicitly on the Protestant behalf (9r).

While Charles's emblem includes a classical figure of Virtue, Buckingham's (also translated from Boissard's *Emblematum Liber*) draws on the mythical sea-perils of Scylla and Charybdis (Fig. 5.11). Buckingham's emblem is interesting for a variety of reasons, not least because I believe there is evidence that Inglis altered another image originally assigned to Buckingham in order to add this one. With the exception of Buckingham's and Elizabeth Stuart's emblems, Inglis dates each of the emblems in the book by including a year somewhere in the *pictura*. The vast majority bear the date 1622, though emblems later in the book are dated 1623 and David Murray's (emblem 50) is dated 1624. Also, the emblems do not proceed in a strictly chronological order; emblems 44 and 49, for example, though dated 1622, fall in the midst of a series of emblems dated 1623. This implies that Inglis may not have simply composed the emblems in the book

one at a time from start to finish and instead carefully planned the order of her emblems and their dedicatees, adding emblems at the appropriate place in the book rather than proceeding one at a time. I suspect that the emblem originally applied to Buckingham was "Quem Timebo," now associated with James, Marquess of Hamilton. The dedication for this emblem has been altered (Fig. 5.12), with the name of its original dedicatee cut out and replaced with Hamilton's. The dedication reads "To the most flourishing puissant and noble peer" and then appears the replaced section of the dedication, reading "James, Marques of Hamilto*n*, earle of Cambridge, &c." (18r). On the emblem now assigned to Buckingham, the dedication reads "To the most flourishing puissant and noble worthie Peere George Duc of Buckingham" (17r). Inglis was not in the habit of repeating the terms of her dedications, and the fact that these two use near-identical phrasing before the name strongly suggests that Hamilton's was originally intended for Buckingham, as does the fact that both of their emblems are labelled as number VII – both on the emblem and in the table of contents. Most suggestively, a blank folio separates each emblem in the book except Buckingham's, which appears directly after the sixth emblem. Inglis likely used the blank folio after emblem VI for Buckingham's new emblem and revised the original seventh emblem to apply to Hamilton.

The emblem's dedication refers to Buckingham as the "Duc" of Buckingham, revealing that Inglis must have inserted it after May of 1623, when James granted Villiers the dukedom. Perhaps the revision was motivated by Buckingham's new title; this could also explain the revision to the emblem associated with the Duke of Lenox.[136] However,

[136] Emblem VI, directly preceding Buckingham's, belongs to Lenox and it is obvious that the top section of the page containing the dedication has been cut off and replaced with "To the right excellent and noble prince Lodowic Duc of Richmond and Lenox, &c." (16r). The *pictura* bears a date of 1622, but Lenox only

if that was the only reason for the revision then Inglis could have simply adjusted the dedication, as she did for Lenox. Instead, she chooses to dedicate a completely new emblem to Villiers, and one that links him conceptually with Prince Charles, since these two are the only emblems coming from a source outside of Montenay. Stylistically the emblems are distinct from Montenay's, and even if the reader does not recognize their source, it would be impossible to miss the fact that these emblems have classical references, more complex textual elements within the *pictura*, and much lighter and more delicate composition than the other emblems in the collection. I suspect that Inglis added this emblem sometime late in 1623 or early 1624, after Charles and Buckingham's return from Spain. There are distinct similarities between this emblem and the one originally dedicated to Buckingham, but the new emblem fits the post-1623 political context so well that it is difficult to understand the change otherwise. Both emblems employ images of seafaring as a metaphor for human life and the pursuit of salvation. In the Hamilton emblem a man navigates dark and stormy seas, alone in his craft and guided only by the light held by a divine hand emerging from the clouds. Adams notes that the image of a ship has been associated with the church since at least the second century (*Webs* 35) and the emblem's motto, "Quem Timebo" [Whom shall I fear] underscores the security that faith can bring to man. The epigram likewise emphasizes faith in God as the only light by which the sailor can hope to navigate through the stormy seas of life. The emblem offers up the hope of salvation and guidance through faith, but significantly, the figure remains at sea with no land visible, surrounded by the swelling sea and storm clouds. The tone of this emblem, though it emphasizes faith and salvation, is completely at odds with the tone

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became Duke of Richmond in 1623, at the same time as Buckingham was elevated to his dukedom (Lockyear 154-5).

of the emblem eventually dedicated to Buckingham. This emblem emphasizes quite clearly the ongoing nature of the struggle for salvation and does not suggest the existence of any port in the storm or any hope other than that of the divine light.

Buckingham's emblem also invokes the image of a seafarer but in this *pictura* the seafarer is standing on dry land, surrounded by calm seas with a city visible in the distance (Fig. 5.11). His hand is upraised in a gesture of triumph and he holds a "rudder topped with a cross" (Adams *Emblematum* *16). The motto "Nec Scyllam nec Charybdin" [neither Scylla nor Charybdis] (17r) suggests that the sailor has fallen prey to neither of these legendary dangers and the Greek inscriptions and the epigraphs make it clear that this triumph must be attributed to the traveller's reason and faith. Adams gives the Greek inscriptions as: "With good deeds done may he succeed with the god as his ally" and "No mortal succeeds without god; sailing with god, he may sail even if he goes to sea in a sieve" (*Emblematum* *16). Boissard's Latin quatrain reads:

> Whoever rules his life with precise reason, and choses [sic] to have God as leader of the journey, will sweep calmly out the heavenly shallows (vada) with a sure oar; perhaps the ship may be driven to the Sicilian channel. (Trans. Adams *Emblematum* *16)

While this emblem, like Hamilton's emblem "Quem Timebo," suggests that man must achieve salvation through faith, it provides a far more positive *pictura*, in which a triumph has undeniably been achieved. The quatrain refers to reason and faith both as integral to salvation. Reason, of course, has traditionally been seen as God's "viceroy" (to use Donne's phrasing) in man, but taken with other elements of the emblem, this line also seems to praise its dedicatee for his reason in a more worldly sense as well. The French

epigram concludes with the sentiment that it is the light of faith which strengthens our souls "contre les dangers" (17r) and while its Christian message is clear, there is arguably a secondary and more secular reading for this emblem as a whole. I suggest that this emblem celebrates more than Buckingham's faith; it celebrates his successful return to England from the dangers of the Spanish expedition with Prince Charles as well. As I have argued throughout this chapter, Inglis seems particularly attuned to the political events during the period of the *Emblemes*'s composition, and this is another clear instance of her adept translation of the religious emblem to a political context.

Buckingham, as is well documented, was a controversial and much reviled figure at the Jacobean court. Other courtiers resented his rapid rise and preferment and his unparalleled access to the king. In fact, late 1623 or early 1624 might have been the only time in his relatively brief political career that Inglis could have dedicated so positive an image to Villiers without ruffling at least some feathers among her other dedicatees. Buckingham's part in the negotiations for the Spanish match seems to have been very much in line with the desires of the "arch-Protestant" party to whom many of these emblems were dedicated. As Lockyear records, by the spring of 1623 Buckingham was proving a serious obstacle to the conclusion of the marriage negotiations by refusing terms like "the conceding of freedom of public worship for the catholics," terms which Reformist members of James's court certainly did not want to entertain (151). It is at this time, too, that Buckingham "now realised that the best way in which to win concessions from a powerful, unscrupulous and arrogant enemy was by the sword" (Lockyear 168). Buckingham's views were more in line at this period than ever before with those of the Protestant courtiers Inglis was used to addressing in her gift books. Perhaps her decision

to associate Buckingham with the emblem is both a signal of his success in returning from Spain with the still-unmarried Prince and a hope for his future military and religious successes on behalf of England. Certainly Buckingham was never an unambiguous figure in the Jacobean court, and the emblem still constitutes something of a warning; it is, however, tempered with a sense of light and triumph that had been lacking in the emblem originally dedicated to him.

v. Conclusion

In this chapter I have been able to touch on only some of the courtiers to whom Esther Inglis dedicated Montenay's emblems, though I think that a continuation of this research into a detailed and methodical study of the other emblems, their order, and their dedicatees would prove most rewarding. I am convinced that Inglis chose her dedicatees with great care and applied emblems to them in a clear act of translation. Her interventions in the text on a variety of levels (adjusting *picturae*, altering epigrams, changing dedications and dedicatees, even obliterating the emblem of one courtier fallen from favour) prove that Inglis does not dedicate emblems randomly to courtiers; she translates each emblem to an appropriate figure of the court based on her understanding of the political significance of these figures and her own political and religious affiliations. While other critics have seen Inglis's *Emblemes* to be promoting an aggressively militant Puritanism, I have argued that overall she offers a far more neutral and nuanced message to her readers. Certainly she offers significant support of these particular Protestant courtiers and chooses to focus on emblems that emphasize the Protestant tenets of the primacy of God's will and grace, but Inglis seems to applaud and

promulgate an optimism for the faith and for Charles's coming reign that would have been absent had she chosen simply to copy down all of Montenay's emblems without any kind of intervention whatsoever.

Inglis relies on various strategies to legitimize her voice and to ensure its audibility. Her first and most visible strategy is that of the emblem; as Daly notes, emblems presuppose a belief in the essential natures of things so that a reader can understand what a particular object from nature means in terms of its essential nature/qualities; these must be culturally shared concepts ("Theory" 54). Inglis takes emblems from one cultural context and translates them to a new cultural framework within which they signify on both a religious and political level. She employs tropes in her dedicatory letter to Charles including – paradoxically – modesty, flattery, and audacious self-promotion. She navigates complex and competing sets of authority inherent in the genres of translation and emblematics in order to exert her right to speak and author even as she retains the right to retreat behind the author whose portrait she at once pays homage to and appropriates. Inglis uses the convention of the gift in order to claim her privilege of speech and she calls attention to the exquisitely beautiful materiality of her book when she presumes to ask the Prince to keep it in his cabinet with other rare and beautiful objects. While this book may not constitute political participation in an overt or publicly sanctioned way, Inglis's careful deployment of the genres of translation and emblematics, the imperatives of the patronage system, and the economics of the gift ensured that her voice would be transmitted through more subtle and more enduring channels.

IN EMBLEMATA CHRISTIANA ESTHERÆ INGLIS (cujus effigiem hic vides [illegible])

Si mihi mens, tibi quæ manus est, ego pingere tentem
Mentem [illegible], manus hoc quod tua pinxit Opus.
Si mihi, quæ tibi mens, manus esset, pingere tentem
Ipse manu, mens hæc quod tua pinxit Opus
Sed mihi nec manus hæc, nec mens: Tua pingere sola
Et mentem manus, et mens queat tua manum.

& ALIVD.

Quod Natura, quod Ars, quod nec Natura, nec vlla Ars
Pinxerit hoc tua mens, pinxerit ista manus.

A. M.

IN EMBLEMATA CHRISTIANA, calamo exarata ab Esthera Inglis fœmina variis Dei donis adornato. R. R.

Quam similis Scriptura rei! Res aurea tota,
Res varia est: Scriptura aureaq, et varia est.

ALIVD.

Æmula Naturæ manus exprimit vna figuras
Mille, animans pictis signa pusilla notis
Signa creans animata, polum spirantia signa:
Quæ picturato margine limbus obit.
Mirum opus; at mage mira manus. Mira omnia vincit
Mens manum moderans Dum manus vrget opus.

IN ESTHERAM INGLIS RARISSIMAM FŒ. M. I. N. C. M.

Qua potuerat meliore manu depingier ista
Musa [illegible], [illegible] mente manu?
Omnia diuina hic: miramur et omnia. Certant
Sic mens atq manus, Materia Arsq simul.

ALIVD.

Nec labor in tenui, tenuis nec gloria, rara
Omnia: et in minimis gratia quanta subest?
Finge, face innumeros numeros, formasq notasq
Hæc dat vel superat omnia acu, arte, lyrâ,
Mortali quod victa manu Natura doleret,
Ni sciat hæc magni munera rara DEI.

I. I.

Fig. 5.1. Esther Inglis, self-portrait and laudatory verses (7r). *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes*. © The British Library Board MS Royal 17.DXVI

Fig. 5.2. Portrait of Georgette de Montenay, by Pierre Woeriot. *Emblemes Chrestinnes*, 1584 (b4r). By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

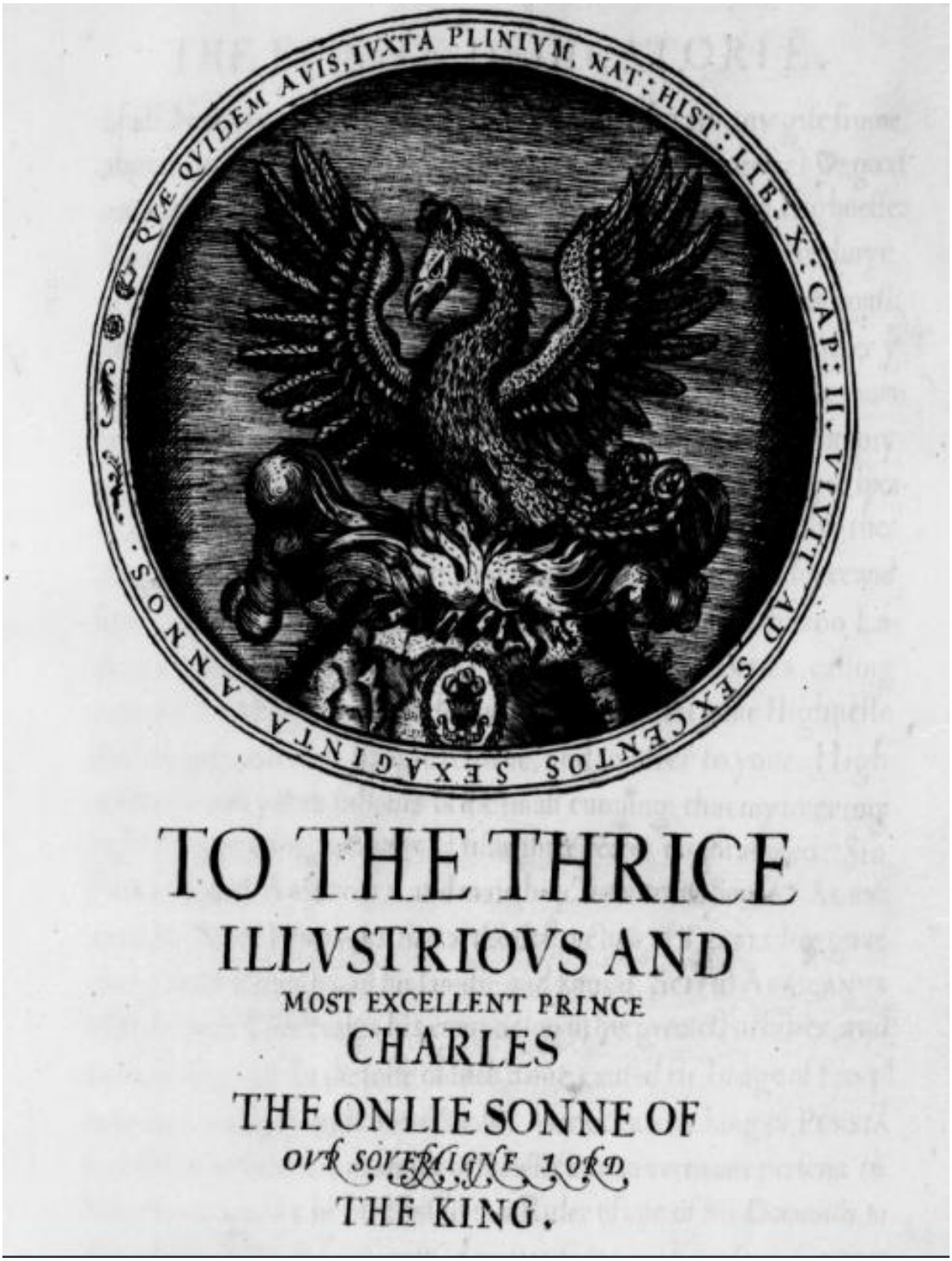


Fig 5.3. Esther Inglis, dedicatory letter (3r). *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes*. © The British Library Board MS Royal 17.DXVI

TO THE MOST HIGH
AND MIGHTIE PRINCE,
IAMES,
BY THE GRACE OF GOD,
KING OF GREAT BRITTAN,
France and Ireland, Defen-
der of the Faith; &c.

EMBLEMATA CHRISTIANA.

DOMINVS CVSTODIAT
INTROITVM TVVM.

Quàm vanum de Rege queri! Nam subdita regum
Versantur Domini corda potenta manu.
Difficiles nostro reddantur crimine: iustos
Conciliat regalis integra vita duces.

LE COEVR DV ROY EST
EN LA MAIN DE DIEV

Le cœur du Roy eſt en la main de Dieu,
Qui le conduit ſelon ſon bon plaiſir.
Se plaindre donc du Roy, n'a point de lieu,
La cauſe en nous pluſtoſt deuons choiſir,
Quand ne l'auons ſelon noſtre deſir.
Bretaign'ton Roy vieil deſens auſſi d'aage,
Vn regne heureux Chriſt donne, et le loiſir
De ſe monſtrer touſiours Chreſtien et ſage.

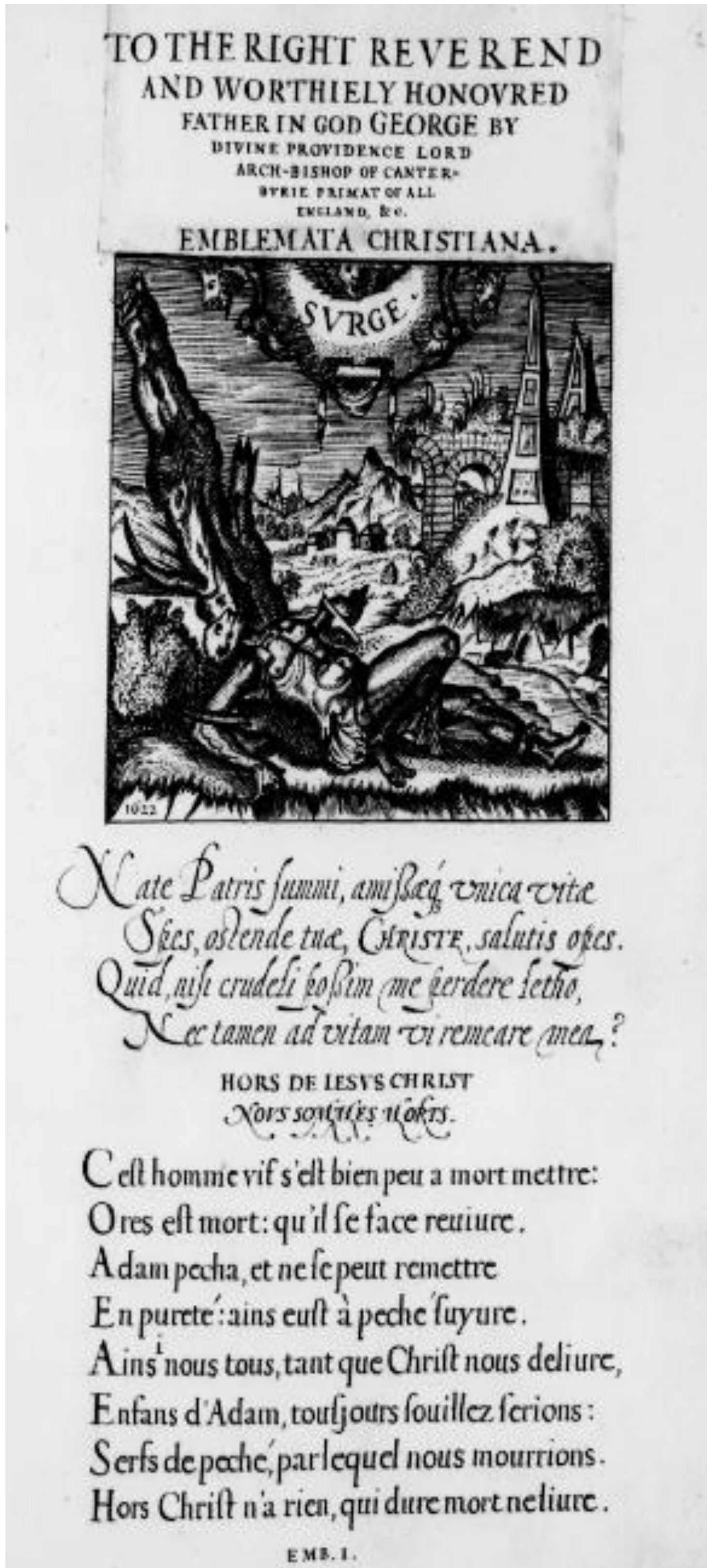
EMB. I.

Fig. 5.4. Esther Inglis, Emblem I (8r). *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes*. © The British Library Board MS Royal 17.DXVI

Fig. 5.5. Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes Chrestinnes*, 1584.Emblems 7 (d3r), 21 (h1r), 25 (i7r), 68 (t4r), 71 (v3r). Web. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

Fig. 5.6. Esther Inglis, Emblem III (10r). *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes*. © The British Library Board MS Royal 17.DXVI

Fig. 5.7. Detail, Georgette de Montenay, Emblem 1 (Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre) by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections; and Esther Inglis, Emblem III (Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia) © The British Library Board



TO THE RIGHT REVEREND
AND WORTHIELY HONOVRED
FATHER IN GOD GEORGE BY
DIVINE PROVIDENCE LORD
ARCH-BISHOP OF CANTER-
BVRIE PRIMAT OF ALL
ENGLAND, &c.

EMBLEMATA CHRISTIANA.

Nate Patris summi, amissæq; unica vitæ
Spes, ostende tuæ, CHRISTE, salutis opes.
Quid, nisi crudeli possim me perdere letho,
Nec tamen ad vitam vi remeare mea?

HORS DE IESVS CHRIST
Nous sommes morts.

Cest homme vif s'est bien peu a mort mettre:
Ores est mort: qu'il se face reuiure.
Adam pecha, et ne se peut remettre
En pureté: ains eust à peché suyure.
Ains nous tous, tant que Christ nous deliure,
Enfans d'Adam, tousjours souillez serions:
Serfs de peché, par lequel nous mourrions.
Hors Christ n'a rien, qui dure mort ne liure.

EMB. I.

Fig. 5.8. Esther Inglis, Emblem I (12r). *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes*. © The British Library Board MS Royal 17.DXVI

Fig. 5.9. Esther Inglis, Emblem L (61r). *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes*. © The British Library Board MS Royal 17.DXVI

TO THE THRICE ILLVSTRIOVS
AND MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,
CHARLES,
PRINCE OF GREAT
BRITTAINE, &c.

EMBLEMATA CHRISTIANA.

VIVIT POST FVNERA VIRTVS

Arsit odoratum Phœnix gestanda inter amomum,
Parvula ab extinctis ignibus exit avis.
Sic sectatori virtus fulgerrima famam,
Æternam extremo funere restituit.

LE VERTVEVX VIT
APRES LE TRES-
PAS.

VERTV, fille du Ciel, de ceste branche ronde
Forme à son nourrisson vn renom immortel,
Qui volant d'icy bas iusqu'au dium hostel,
Luy acquiert en sa mort vne vie seconde.
Semblable à ce Phœnix, de qui la mort feconde
Sus vn buscher d'Amome, vn Sabean autel
Perd au feu genital ce qu'il a de mortel,
Esgalant par sa mort ses ans aux ans du monde.
Seul Celuy de VERTV a succé le tetin,
Et entre les mortels peut forcer le destin.
Despiter de la Parque et l'effort, et l'envie.
Et bien qu'on l'ensepulchre, il reuiue plus beau.
Il quitte, non son los, mais ses ans au tombeau:
Et sa gloire en sa mort prend immortelle vie.

EMB. II.

Figure 5.10. Esther Inglis, Emblem II based on Jean Jacques Boissard, Emblem 19. (9r). *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes*. © The British Library Board MS Royal 17.DXVI.

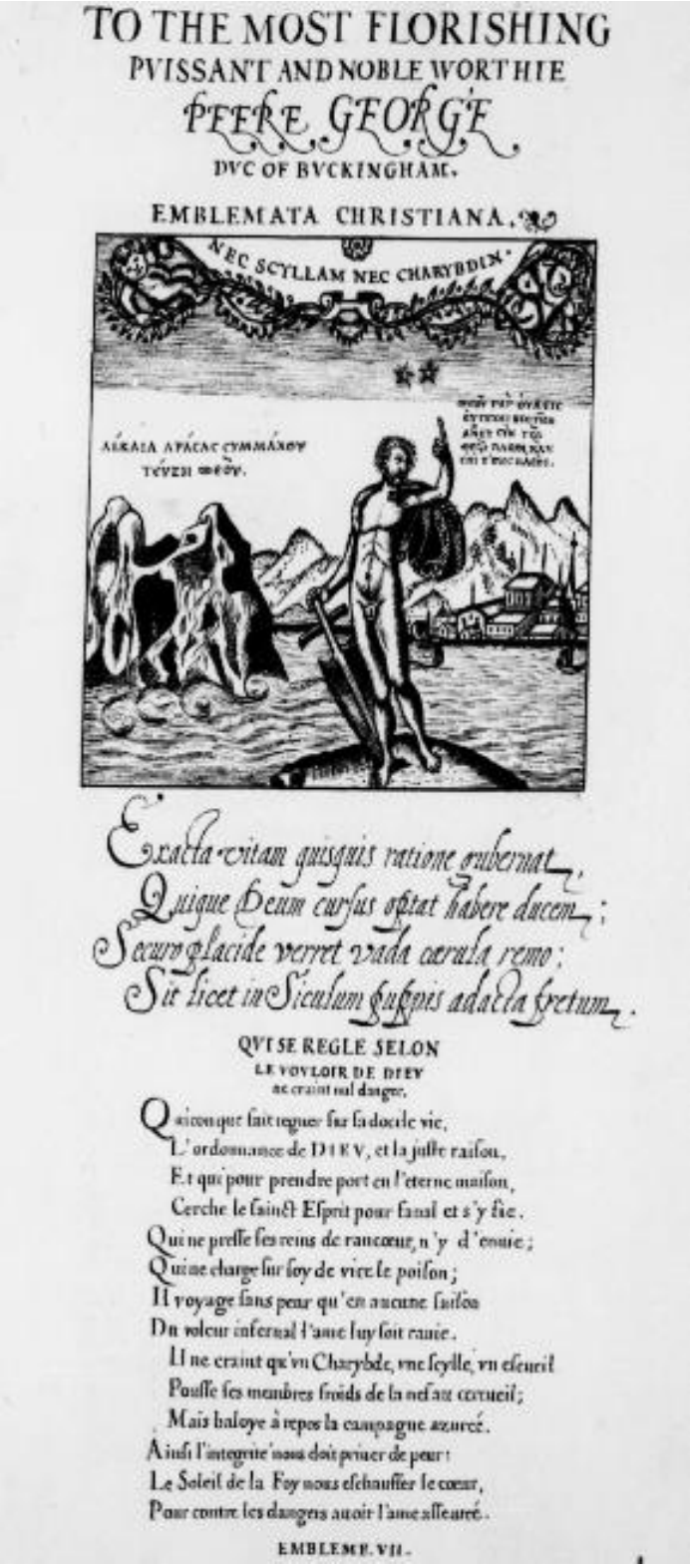


Fig. 5.11. Esther Inglis, Emblem VII based on Jean Jacques Boissard, Emblem 27. (17r). *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes*. © The British Library Board MS Royal 17.DXVI.

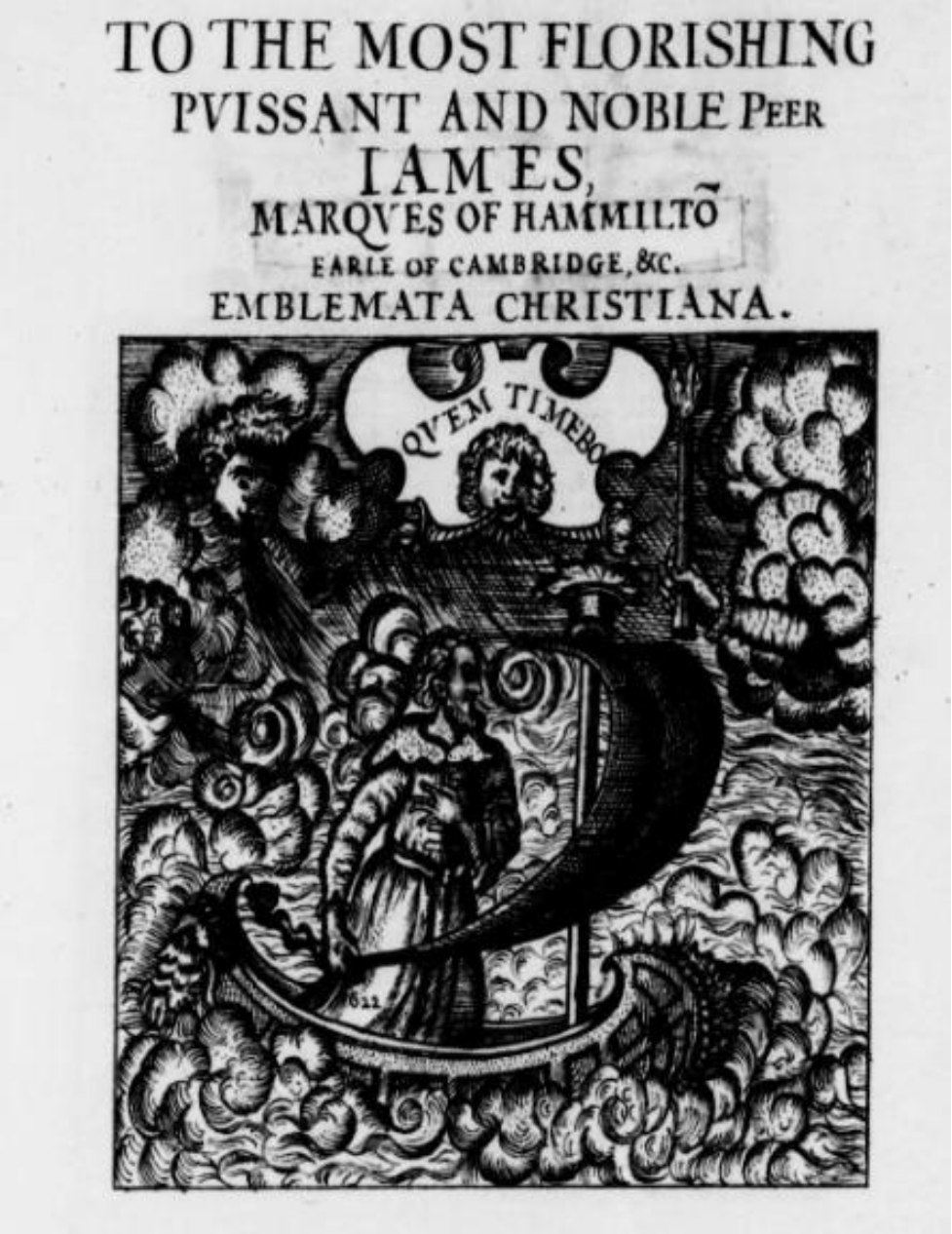


Fig. 5.12. Detail, Esther Inglis, Emblem VII. (18r). *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestienes*. © The British Library Board MS Royal 17.DXVI.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Shall I apologize translation?

– John Florio, "To the Curteous Reader"

As I have argued throughout this dissertation, women in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries translated and circulated – in manuscript and through the conventions of early modern gift culture – works that participated in the religious and political controversies of their day. These translations, some of which were designed and presented in elaborate bindings or with accompanying illustrations, should not be considered inferior works simply by virtue of their status as translations. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, I have argued, these translations would not have been regarded as derivative productions or attempts at writing crippled by a societal demand for women's silence. Instead, as each of the works studied here has demonstrated, these texts could and did circulate as scribal publications and performed the work of creating and furthering religio-political and economic alliances. The religious nature of many of these works should not convince us they are therefore without political import. In fact, the religious import of these works was often what made them such potent literary and political productions.

It was important to consider these translators and their works as a related group because their practices of dissemination share an awareness of and participation in early modern gift culture. Rather than achieving print in an anonymous or mediated way (as did many women's translations in this period), these women retained some degree of control over their textual productions as they circulated them to specifically targeted readers. While two of the translators I have considered, Bassett and Lumley, come from

the privileged social background we might expect of early modern women translators, Inglis and Seager do not. Although the image of a translator labouring in her craft so as to avoid idleness is one of the contemporary tropes available to both women and men when adopting a stance of humility in their dedicatory paratexts, for none of these women was translation simply an exercise designed to keep them from idleness. Bassett writes with a sense of urgency and community as she shares the words of Eusebius with like-minded Catholics under pressure from a reformist state and dedicates her work to their highly symbolic figurehead, Mary Tudor. Not only does Bassett's work remedy the lack of an English translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, it works to overcome the significant problem of a corrupt secondary translation into Latin. Bassett's work derives legitimacy from a variety of sources including her own familial legacy, Eusebius's historical authority, Mary Tudor's symbolic capital, and the anonymous but highly suggestive community of readers mentioned in her dedicatory letter, all of which collaborate with the translator to authorize this work. Co-religionists Bassett and Lumley share a concern in their works with images of the potential for worldly corruption in the state. Lumley's work, arising like Bassett's out of a tradition of familial, female, education, shows quite clearly how the labour of translation can be specifically directed toward the political events of the recent past. In Lumley's case, these events intimately concerned her own family, and she finds in translation a means to comment upon her family's role in the violence of mid-Tudor politics.

Both Jane Seager and Esther Inglis belonged to families supportive of the reformist cause in England and, in Inglis's case, Scotland. While they did not come from the privileged social background and tradition of women's humanist education that

Bassett and Lumley did, they were nevertheless supported in their work by familial workshops and powerful social connections. The translations circulated by these women reveal the extent to which a woman without the advantages of social rank could access channels of power through adept negotiation of early modern patronage and gifting networks. Seager's translation offers both praise and exhortation to Elizabeth I through the powerful and controversial medium of divine prophecy. Inglis's works may have been embroiled in late-Elizabethan politics in an even more direct way, as she used her exquisite and collectible works as keys to open access to the throne and those closest to it.[137] Although I have not considered Inglis's Elizabethan translations, there is yet much work to be done on the gift-books themselves and the political milieu in which they participated. In 1624's *Emblems*, Inglis achieved a remarkable work that politicizes the religious emblems of Georgette de Montenay by associating each one with a specific figure of the late-Jacobean court. Her work is a translation on multiple levels that circulated by means of its novelty and its unique materiality. Both Inglis and Seager appear to have gained unprecedented access to the English court through their work in translation and their participation in the culture of gifting.[138]

The works of Bassett, Lumley, Seager, and Inglis share similarities significant enough to warrant considering them as a related group – as a sub-genre within early modern literature. The gift-translations participate in particular religious, political and/or familial contexts, but they all rely on the imperatives of early modern gift culture and share an awareness of the flexibility of translation as a medium for the expression of

[137] In "Esther Inglis and the Succession Crisis of 1599," Tricia Bracher argues that Inglis's gift books provide a means for Inglis and her husband Kello to "promote a secret or not-so-secret alliance between James VI of Scotland and his Essexian allies in England" (135).

[138] For a discussion of gift giving practices during Elizabeth's reign, see Lisa M. Klein, "Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework," Renaissance Quarterly, 50.2(1997): 459-493.

personal and political desires and beliefs. Other writers like Mary Sidney Herbert and Mildred Cecil also created works re-presenting existing texts in new translations and circulated through gift channels so that this 'sub-genre' is by no means restricted solely to the writers studied here. Mary Sidney Herbert is perhaps the best-known example of a woman whose translations circulated among a select community of readers; her translations of the *Psalms* influenced a community of readers and writers in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. The Sidney *Psalms*, much like Esther Inglis's gift books, draw on explicitly Protestant sources like the French translations of Clement Marot and the commentaries of Theodore de Beza and represent a familial commitment to the reformist cause in the period.[139] Less well-known is Sidney Herbert's terza rima translation of Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte*, which also circulated in manuscript. The only remaining copy may have been intended as a gift from Sir John Harrington to his cousin Lucy, Countess of Bedford.[140] In the 1540s Mildred Cecil, Lady Burghley (née Cooke) dedicated a translation of Basil the Great's *Homily on Deuteronomy* to Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset. This translation, like Mary Bassett's translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, employed translational strategies and gift channels in order to consolidate a political and religious affiliation between the two women (Cecil and Seymour) and their families.[141] While other writers participated in the genre of gift-translation, I focused on these four writers in my dissertation research because they

[139] See Margaret Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix* (1990), for Mary Sidney Herbert as both patron and producer of literary works and *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke* (1998) for the circulation of the *Psalms* and related correspondence.
[140] On this work see Gavin Alexander, "The Triumph of Death: A Critical Edition in Modern Spelling of the Countess of Pembroke's Translation of Petrarch's Trionfo della Morte" and *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke* (1998).
[141] In Bassett's case this affiliation was to the 'Latin' church, while Mildred Cecil was committed to advancing the Reformist cause. On Mildred Cecil's translation and its political implications, see Pauline Croft, "Mildred, Lady Burghley: The Matriarch" and Jane Stevenson, "Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh: Poetry, Politics, and Protestantism."

display the clearest indications of the political potential of translation and at the same time create unique material objects through which to circulate their translations within the early modern gift economy. While each writer engages with a different genre in her writing – Bassett with patristic writings, Lumley with Greek tragedy, Seager with prophecy, and Inglis with emblematics – their consistent use of scribal publication in the works I studied here (and in other works by Inglis and Lumley) reveals the extent to which the medium offered a powerful alternative to print for writers who desired to share their works and ideals with carefully delineated and controlled communities of readers.

Scribal publication was not the only way in which women participated in translation, and while much scholarly attention has focused on more canonical women translators like Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke and Margaret Roper,[142] the perceived value of translation in our own culture means that original works by women writers still garner far more interest than the so-called derivative productions of even the best-known translators in the period. Renaissance translation lies in the uneasy space between John Florio's famous dismissal of translation as "this defective edition (since all translations are reputed femalls, delivered at second hand…)"[143] and his later assertion that "If nothing can now be sayd, but hath been saide before…What doe the best then, but

[142] See for example, Danielle Clarke, "'Lover's Songs Shall Turne to Holy Psalmes': Mary Sidney and the Transformation of Petrarch"; Margaret P. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke*"; Rita M. Verbrugge, "Margaret More Roper's Personal Expression in the Devout Treatise upon the Pater Noster"; Mary Ellen Lamb, "Margaret Roper, the Humanist Political Project, and the Problem of Agency"; and Jaime Goodrich, "Thomas More and Margaret More Roper: A Case for Rethinking Women's Participation in the Early Modern Public Sphere."

[143] While Sherry Simon sees Florio's statement as a "neat equation" that relegates "'woman' and 'translator' … to the same sphere of discursive inferiority" (1), I would stress that while Florio's conception of the *translation* here may be female, his positioning of himself as *translator* is definitely male (he is "Vulcan," a "fondling foster-father" and a pedagogue [xv]). What is often read as a necessary equation of 'translator' as a position of feminine (or inferior) authority is not one that Florio actually makes. He is at pains in this dedicatory letter to both flatter his dedicatees and patrons, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and her mother Lady Anne Harrington, and to expose the scope and importance of his own work of translation.

gleane after others harvest? borrow their colours, inherite their possessions? What do they but translate?" (xv, xxi). This dissertation has engaged with the paradoxes of translation (necessary/impossible; interpretive/derivative; original/copy; domesticating/foreignizing) in order to argue that it is the particular formulation of these paradoxes in the Renaissance that allows a unique moment from within which women can both claim and disclaim a politicized authorial voice. What appear to be paradoxes (or binary oppositions in the list above) are in fact manipulable positions of authority that can be negotiated for political and personal ends. Translation, I argued, must be read as a central, not a marginal genre in this period and we should beware of studies that lament translation as the poor cousin to original composition or that treat religious translation as something inherently inferior to secular literary productions (if these can be said to exist in a period so fervently defined by its faith). Translation is central to education, reading, writing, and political and religious discourse in the Renaissance and it is an important channel through which women could and did access structures of power and voice their poetic and/or political identities.

Ideas around translation begin to shift in the latter decades of the seventeenth century. As the Restoration begins, the focus for translators, particularly women, is on texts with a broader public appeal than those circulated by women like Bassett, Lumley, Seager, and Inglis. Instead of learned and politically charged source texts like Eusebius, Euripides or De Montenay, women of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century begin to translate romances and plays for public consumption. On the one hand this allowed women the opportunity to circulate their translations to a much broader audience than ever before; on the other hand, however, it lessened the political potential of the act

of translation as public taste rather than political potentialities dictated the choice of source material. Aphra Behn, for example, translated works like Tallemant's *Le Voyage de l'Isle d'Amour* and La Rochefoucauld's maxims, both contemporary texts with popular appeal, allowing her to derive an income from translation that the women of this study (with Esther Inglis somewhat of an exception) could never have expected.[144] The transitional nature of thinking about translation in the Renaissance was a powerful tool that the women considered in this study exploited in various ways.

While the "safety" of translation as a genre became something of a critical commonplace in work on Renaissance women, the evidence in this dissertation reveals that translation was a highly charged and potentially dangerous activity in which to engage. Not all translation was politically subversive (as were Mary Bassett's and, in some ways, Esther Inglis's); some, like Jane Lumley's and Jane Seager's works, defended familial legacy or urged change through praise. Works that conform to prevailing ideologies need not be seen as apolitical or dismissed as disappointingly conformist; as the writers studied here reveal, such translations can express important political agendas and affiliations. While the importance of the convergence of material text, gift imperatives, and translation led me to consider this particular group of translations together, there remains a great deal of work to be done on these writers individually and as part of a larger culture of translation that is still understudied. Certainly the gift books of Esther Inglis deserve sustained attention in a scholarly monograph and/or publication in a form that allows readers to engage with the materiality of her works. Additionally, future work might consider women's participation as

[144] On Behn's French translations, see Line Cottegnies, who argues that Behn and her publishers showed a savvy sense of market demand in selecting her various works for translation (221-2). See also Elizabeth Spearing, "Aphra Behn: The Politics of Translation."

dedicatees of translations, as commissioners of works in translation, or as collaborators in works of translation. There seems to be an increasing interest in reading translations in their own right as works that participate in the literary and political contexts of their time and it is my hope that this central genre of the English Renaissance will receive the critical attention it deserves.

The material presence, dedicatory paratexts, and political resonances of the works created and circulated by Bassett, Lumley, Seager, and Inglis collaborate with the textual translations to challenge available tropes of the secondary or derivative nature of translation. Again and again in these works, the translators "convert a form of subordination into an affirmation" (to echo Barbara Godard's claim for the attempt to iterate a feminist discourse by postmodern writers discussed earlier [90]) as their presentation translations become powerful vehicles for the articulation of personal and political identities.

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Appendix 1: Transcription of Mary Bassett, Trans. Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History*

f1

A pystle to the Ladye
Maryes grace

To the most noble vertuous and prudent prynces, Ladye Marye, doughter to o*ur* late Soveraigne lorde of moste famouse memorye, kyng Henry the eight, and syster to o*ur* moste dreade soveraigne Lorde king Edwarde the syxt. Mary Clarcke her grace moste humble oratryce wydowe, and doughter to wyllyam Rooper Esquyre, wysheth encreace of all honour, welth, and felycyte.

When I for myne owne onley exercyse, had of late moste noble prynces, translated some parte of thecclesyastycall storye of Eusebius owt of Greke into englyshe, not mynding to have bestowed my farder labor, or taken more payne therin, veryly accomptyng all my whole busynes brought to a fynall ende and conclusyon, and my selfe in my mynde well eased of all farder labor in that behalf, no thynge [f1v] lesse lookyng for, then that one busynes shoulde have bene the begynnyng of an other, my labor that I tooke for all readye fynyshed, I founde of trewth in effecte very farr from that poynte and in manor lytle more then begonne, for when I had once shewed my translac*i*on unto some of my deryst freendes, and that they had dylygently perused yt, then they not leaving the matter so, nor making an ende therwyth, but being after that very ernestly in hand w*i*th me, laboured to persuade me, in all that ever they might, to procede forth farder, w*i*th that I had begonne in translatyng more of the same storye out of Greeke, into our vulgare tongue, whereuppon all were yt so, that very heavy undoubtedly I was, to here suche as were my moste lefe and deryst freends, so ernestly desyre the thinge of me, the doying wherof, for many and dyverse respects went very sore against my [f2] mynde, neverthelesse howe lothe so ever I was, thynkyng yet that I coulde not well denye theym, theyr suche requeste, leste they myght happely deme my refusall therof to procede onely of stubornness, pryde and wyllfullnes lothe to take my travayle or payne therin, rather then uppon any reasonable consyderacion movying me therunto, whych to have bene

very sorye, and rather have endured to the uttermoste, ye whole labour and payne therof, ye were yf double as moche more, than they shoulde have had any suche suspycion of me, I therfore bothe for the contentacion of my freends, and also thynckynge myne owne tyme not unfruyctefully spent in the meane season, condescended unto theym, and forthw*i*th fell in hande w*i*th my formor busynes afreshe, never reas[t]lyng untyll I had [f2v] the fyrst .v. books accomplysshed, and theym thorowly brought unto an end, theruppon in manor making my self well assured that they no more lookyng for, from then forthe of me, leaving of all suche labour, would w*i*th so many books have helde them self content [no period, but a long space] All thys notw*ith*standyng they persevered and contyneued styll in theyr formor labour and ymportune sute, no thyng lesse entendyng, then to suffer me so to reste, Moreover where as I verely thought, they woulde have kepte my translation close and secreate to theym selvye, they not onely moste instantly requyred me (as well for the consyderacion of the profytt I shoulde my selfe take therby, as also for the greate commodyte that shoulde as they sayd at length not fayle to growe theron, and hereafter redonnde to manye a one besyde,) to fynyshe ye whole worcke of thecclesyastycall storye of [f3] Eusebius, but neyde also willed me forder, to dedycate unto some noble and mete parsonage the fyrst .v. books whych I had then translated all readye, whereby all good and well dysposed people, might to the redying of theym be the rather moved and encouraged. Then when I sawe they lyked my booke so well, and woulde in no wyse I shoulde kepe theym secreate to my selfe, bethynckyng me uppon whom I might beste bestowe theym, I coulde fynd none, for many consyderacions as I then sayd unto theym (yf that my labour were in dede worthye to be accepted) comparable to your noble grace, howebeyt, after that I had resolved and called to my mynde fyrst on the one partye, the nobylyte, the excellencye, and maiestye of your parsonage, dyscendyng of moste hyghe and royall blood, your so excellent and wondrefull verteues, your greate knowledge and [f3v] learnyng, the synguler and manyfolde gyftes bothe of god and nature, whych are in your highnes so plentuously planted, that any man were he as eloquent as Cicero or Demosthenes as profoundely learned as Plato and Aristotell w*ith* as greate prudence and wysedome endewed as Solon and Licurgus, might well be abashed to presume to present any worke of hys, unto so honorable, so verteuouse, so wyse and well learned a prynces, as your grace ys, then on

the other ~~syde~~ parte, what I my selfe was, one neyther for wytt, erudycion, learnyng, or anye other lyke qualytye mete to take uppon me, so greate and waighty an entrepryse as yt should be, moche lesse my symple rude translacion to dedycate unto your highnes, syth that besyde all other unabylytyes, I was also but a woman, where as the translatyng of suche a worke (in my opinion) requyred rather ye dylygent [f4] labour of a wyse eloquent, expert, and in all kynde of good lyterature, a very well exercysed man, for these respects was I surely not a lytle abashed and troubled in my mynde, neverthelesse the remebrance of your moste gentle nature, whych (as all men reaporte) taketh in good parte any present, be yt never so symple, that procedyth of good wyll and unfayned affectyon toward your grace, all suche abashment clerely excluded, specyally syth hereof was I well assured that yf of your highnes my doyngs were approved, they shoulde undoubtedly, be of all other a greate deale ye better accepted. But when I thys consydred agayne, that my moste dere freends might paradventure for the tendre love they bare unto me, by reason of affectyon, the rather be blynded and therfore of my translacion, not so syncerely iudge and dyscerne the treuth, my mynd could [f4v] in no wyse herewyth be satysfyed untyll I had farther shewed the same unto other also no then one as twayne very wyse and well learned men desyryng theyr advyse and iudgement therin, beyng suche of them selves, as I well wyste were neyther w*ith* favour borne toward me, lykely to be corrupted, nor againe for theyr wytt erudycion and knowledge unable to conferr my translacion w*ith* the Greke, and soone perceyve where I had swarved or varyed therfro, when they therfore whose advyse and councell for theyr wysdome and learnyng I asked in yt behalf, and whych have at my request vouchesafed to rede over my books had laysorly perused, examyned, lyked and allowed the same, then waxed I thereuppon some what ye bolder and was moche the rather encouraged to dedycate thys my symple worke unto your noble grace, Nowe as touchyng the causys that [f5] moved me to be so lothe fyrst to take thys translacion in hande, to tell your highnes the very treuth, dyverse there were, but most specyally these; Fyrst was thyr worcke never printed in Greke, save onely once, and that in suche sorte, that yt ys in sundrye placys wonderfully unperfecte and corrupte, ye blame wherof can I not wholy ympute to the prynter, but rather doo I coniecture that the copyes whych the prynter folowed were eyther untreulye wrytten, or ells perchaunce w*ith* longe lyeng in suche wyse worne and peryshed that in every place

thorowly the words and sentencys therof coulde not well be redd and dyscerned Secondly doth Eusebius alledge many aucthorytyes out of sundrye Greke aucthors, which were in hys tyme abrode in mennys hands, but syns have bene loste, and are nowe therfore to our knowledge, no where to come by, by reason [f5v] wherof who so studyeth or redyth that storye ys fayne many tymes to passe over some parte therof not fully and wholy satysfyed therin, for that suche allegacions, being here and there brought in by small patches and peycys doo for ye moste parte necessaryly requyre ye knowledge of the sentence in the wryter from whens they be alledged, bothe foregoyng and after folowyng, Thyrdly the names of measures, coynes, and suche other thinges lyke, whych though they were many a daye a go, comonly used and well knowen, are nowe for all that, at thys present tyme, growen quyte out of use and utterly unknowen, Howe be yt, thys one thyng was I evermore well ware of, that when so there chaunced any suche strange names to comme to my hands, neyther dyd I empayr the sence and meanyng of the aucthors, nor yet leave againe the place so obscure and darcke, but [f6] that yt might well and easely ynough be perceyved and understanden. Fourthly ye profound and grave style of Eusebius, whych as in so high a matter as he tooke in hand to treate of was moste decent and beste besemyng hym, so thought me yt on the tother syde a thyng undecent, and very farre unbesemyng, yf I should not also for my parte labour and endevor my selfe, w*ith* all possyble diligence to sett forth the same lykewyse in englyshe, somewhat accordyngly, as the gravyty and ymportance of so notable a storye requyred, for well maye I in dede, and w*ith* good right call thys storye notable, syth (onely scrypture excepted) no one worcke ys ther, that entreateth of more high, more pleasant, more profytable matters or thinges more mete and worthye to be redd studyed, and knowen of every good chrysten man and woman, then doth evin thys fore [f6v] remebered storye of Eusebius, for though there hath bene no tyme syns the Ascensyon of our Savyour Chryste, but that yt hath pleased the goodnes of allmighty god to worcke wonderfully by hys servants, to beutyfye and adorne hys holy churche w*ith* the gyfts of learnyng, treuth, fervent fayth, of vertuouse and godly lyvyng, yet no tyme as thes, that can be matched or compared w*ith* the prymytyve churche, in whych floryshed so many gloryouse martyrs, so many holy confessors, so excellent, so syncerely learned doctors, so notable worckers of myracles, so noble prelates, and bysshoppes, so dylygently tendring the weale of theyr flocke, and

fynally also, so manye w*ith* all godly gyfts and qualytyes replenyshed, that no tyme hath there bene from the very fyrst creacion of the worle tyll then, nor from therforthe agayne, even tyll our dayes, no nor yet as I verely suppose shall be [f7] neyther to ye very laste end of the world, that thereunto in any thyng maye be founde compareable, wherfor for as moche as thys so notable a storye requyred a notable style, no marvayle was yt though partly in consyderacion of myne owne rude style, namely syth w*ith* suche manor matters I had never bene inured partly for ye other causes heretofore rehersed. I was moche dyscouraged to take uppon me to translate so profound and excellent a worcke, But nowe syth the fyrst .v. books I have all ready endyd, and the same thought mete above all other to dedycate unto your highnes, in my moste humble manor desyre I your gracyes gooodnes of your excellent prudence and uncomparable benignyte to hold my rude boldnes excused gratyously acceptyng (as my trust ys) my good wyll and endevor in thys behalf, whych doyng your grace shall not onely cause me to be glad that I have done [f7v] the thyng whych to your noblenes shoulde be acceptable, but also greately encourage me therew*ith*all to procede forthe w*ith* the remanante of the storye, And where as further for certayne consyderacions, moste noble prynces, one for myne owne exercyse in the latyn tongue, an other for that I thought thys kynde of studye should be to me no small furtherance toward the attaynyng of the treue sence and understandyng of the aucthor, and specyally for as moche as <Rufyne> by whome thys worcke was (as far as ever I could here) fyrst translated in to latyn (I meane not here any thyng to speake to hys dysprayse, for yf he had not taken payne thereabout, the latyn churche of lykelyhod thys eleven hundreth yere and more (whych had bene w*ith*out doubt greate pyte) should have lacked the knowledge of so godly and profytable a storye) doth not in all poyntes [f8] thorowly perfourme the offyce of a treue interpretor, sometyme alteryng ye very sence sometyme omyttyng whole sentences to gyther, sometiyme addyng and puttyng to of hys owne, as manyfestly in hys translacion apperyth. Where as I for these consyderacions and dyvers others, enterprysed also to translate the same storye out of greke in to latyn, and had made an end of the fyrst booke, I was theruppon ymmedyately for a very treuth enformed yt a greate learned man had the whole translacion therof fully fynyshed all readye, whereuppon I (as me thought was mete) lefte of thys my foresayd enterpryse beynge nowe so bold yet ones agayne as thys my poore labor to present unto your

highnes, moste humbly desyryng your grace of your greate goodnes to accept and take in good parte thys lyttle pese also, and moreover to pardon me for ye cause here to fore rehersed that I procede no farther therein, Thus the holy Trynyte evermore preserve your moste noble grace in very prosperouse estate and worthye your byrth and vertue, and graunte unto your highnes good helth w*ith* long lyf, and what so ever thyng besyde your noble harte can well wyshe or desyre,

Appendix 2: Transcription of Esther Inglis, Dedicatory Letter to *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestiens* (1624)

TO THE THRICE
ILLVSTRIOVS AND
MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE
CHARLES
THE ONLIE SONNE OF
OVR SOVERAIGNE LORD
THE KING.

[M is embellished – in a woodcut showing a scene of fields and ponds with a city skyline in the distance]. My pen is now prepared to writte to your HIGHNESSE the onlie PHOENIX of this age, whose innumerable graces a*n*d matchlesse vertues, hath exceedinglie dazzled the eyes and amazed the minds of most men and weemen: But aboueall your Princelie and naturall inclination to goodnesse which is th'affecting of the well of men, and of all vertues is the greatest, being the character of the DEITIE ansuerable to the Theologicall vertue CHARITIE: This your naturall vertue to goodnes hath ane Adamanting force to drawe after it the ♥s of all, not onlie your owne faithfull subjects, but strangers[145] of all Nations also; So that euerie one indued with any gift frome aboue, rejoyce and willinglie, like th'Isrealites with perfect ♥s, good courage and alacritie, make offer thereof to your Sacred Highnesse: This kindled a desire in mee SIR, to cast my Myte into the Treasurye, as that poore widowe did, whom our Sauiour commended, not considering, how much, but of how much she offered, respecting rather y^{e} affection of the giuer, then the quantitie of the gift. Yet a little shamefastnesse and feare (which commonlie accompaneis our sexe) surprysed mee, not vnlyke the timorousnesse of DEMOSTHENES, being to speake before PHILIP king of Macedon: Or of THEOPHRASTVS, befor the AREOPAGITES at Athens. But remembering your Highnesse douce and sweet inclination I recouered againe the Spirit of ane Amazon Lady, and courageouslie I addresse myselfe to my ALEXANDER, calling to mynd it was

[145] end f3r, resumes on f4r

my bounden deutie, to congratulat your Highnesse blessed, saif, and most happie returne, and to offer to your Highnesse thir two yeeres labours of the small cunning, that my totering right [pointing hand], now being in the age of fiftie three yeeres, might afoord. SIR, PHILIP loued ARISTOTLE and maid him Tutor to his Sonne. ALEXANDER foloued PINDARVS, that at the destruction of THEBES hee gaue charge for preseruation of his familie and kinred. SCIPIO AFRICANVS vsed the poët ENNIVS as his companion in his greatest affaires, and to shew his grief for the losse of such a one, caused th'Image of ENNI[9] to be laid with him in his owne Tombe. ARTAXERXES king of PERSIA haue left a memorable example of his affection to vertuous persons in his tyme as appeirs be his Epistle to a Ruler of one of his Dominions, to this effect. *King of kings great ARTAXERXES to HIS CANVS Gouernor of HELLESPONTE greeting: The fame of HIPPOCRATES a Phisition is cu˜ vnto mee: Therefor see thou giue him assmuch goulde, as he desireth, and all other necessarie things hee wanteth, and send him to mee: hee shall be equall to any Persian in honour, and if there be any other famous man in EVROPE, spair no money to mak him a friend to my Court.* Though I presume not THRICE ILLUSTRIO[9] PRINCE to compare with such famous men: yet what beauteous floure: what medicinable herbe, may not be found in the womans garden: wes not SARA and REBECCA meek; DEBORAH and IUDITH couragious: wes not NAOMI patient; HANNA humble; ABIGAIL wise: ELIZABETH zealous: SVSANNA chast: But being in speach with[146] so great and mightie a Prince, I abridge this purpose the which might be more largelie amplified: Onlie as it is written of ADRIAN the Emperour that he perfectly (euer afterward) did knaw them that had but once spokin vnto him, I beseech y^{e} ALMIGHTIE GOD of his mercie so to blesse your HIGHNESSE with such a happiy and good memorie, that amongs all those y^{t} haue, or shall either speake or consecrat anye of their trauails to your Highnesse you may remember me your Graces humble hand-maid. And after that be your HIGHNESSE direction thir fiftie EMBLEMES, the fruits of my pen (but y^{e} inuention of a noble Lady of France whose portraict is in the forfront heerof) haue bene presented to the sight and view of fiftie of the KINGS MAIESTIE and your HIGHNESSE wothys whose names ar infert therein, may be brought bake. And as the curious works of AHOLIAB and BEZALEEL wer to besene long after ther dayes in the

[146] End f 4r, resumes on 5r

Temple. So this small pledge of my duetifull and verie humble obeissance may haue sum retired place in your Highnesse Cabinet. Thus hauing transcended the bounds of modestie, where with our SEXE is commonlie adorned, with all humilitie I beseech your Highnesse not to reject the good meaning of your most humble seruand and obedient subject, but to pardon hir errours, who prayeth God to multiplie all graces and blessings vpon your Highnesse,

YOUR HIGHNESSE
Most humble hand=
maid and faithful
subject
ESTHER INGLIS[147]

[147] end f5

Appendix 3: Table of Emblems and Dedicatees in Esther Inglis's *Cinquante Emblemes Chrestiens* (1624)

Name of Dedicatee in Inglis; Emblem Number, folio	**Source**
King James I Emblem I, f8	Montenay,[148] emblem 30
Prince Charles Emblem II, f9	Boissard,[149] emblem 40
Elizabeth Stuart (Queen of Bohemia) Emblem III, f10	Montenay, emblem 1
George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury Emblem I, f12	Montenay, emblem 2
John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln (and Lord Chancellor) Emblem II, f13	Montenay, emblem 3.
Missing page where the emblem dedicated to Cranfield was	
Henry Montagu, Viscount Mandeville (later first Earl of Manchester) Emblem IIII, f14	Montenay, emblem 84
Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester Emblem V, f15	Monetany, emblem 83
Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Duke of Richmond Emblem VI, f16	Montenay, emblem 45
George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham Emblem VII, f17	Boissard, emblem 20
James Hamilton, Marquess of Hamilton Emblem VII, f 18	Montenay, emblem 11
Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel (Surrey and Norfolk) Emblem VIII, f19	Montenay, emblem 82
Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain Emblem IX, f20	Montenay, emblem 33
William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke Emblem X, f21	Montenay, emblem 72
Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton Emblem XI, f22	Montenay, emblem 80

[148] "Montenay" refers to Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes*. Inglis may have been working from either the 1584 or 1619 edition. I take the emblem numbers from the 1584 edition. See note 2, Chapter 5.

[149] "Boissard" refers to Jean-Jacques Boissard's 1588 *Emblematum Liber*.

Robert Radclyffe [?] Earl of Sussex Emblem XII, f23	Montenay, emblem 57
Robert Deveareaux, 3rd Earl of Essex Emblem VIII, f24	Montenay, emblem 52
Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham Emblem XIV, f25	Montenay, emblem 5
William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury Emblem XV, f26	Montenay, emblem 10
"Earl of Excheter" [Earl of Exeter? Thomas Cecil d.1623?] Emblem XVI, f27	Montenay, emblem 73
Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery Emblem XVII, f28	Montenay, emblem 39
Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset Emblem XVIII, f29	Montenay, emblem 66
John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater Emblem XIX, f30	Montenay, emblem 76
Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester Emblem XX, f31	Montenay, emblem 67
Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick Emblem XXI, f32	Montenay, emblem 28
Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kellie Emblem XXII, f33	Montenay, emblem 45
William Cavendish, Second Earl of Devonshire Emblem XXIII, f34	Montenay, emblem 70
"Lord Emme Earl of Marche" [Esmé Stewart, Earl of March] Emblem XXIIII, f35	Montenay, emblem 48
James Hay, Earl of Carlisle Emblem XXV, f36	Montenay, emblem 12
Thomas Darcy, Viscount Colchester (later Earl Rivers) Emblem XXVI, f37	Montenay, emblem 60
Viscount of Rochefort Emblem XXVII, f38	Montenay, emblem 58
John, Viscount of Annan Emblem XXVIII, f 39	Montenay, emblem 64
Viscount of Grandeson Emblem XXIX, f 40	Montenay, emblem 95
Lord Zouche Emblem XXX, f 41	Montenay, emblem 96
Lord Willoughby, Baron of Eresbee Emblem XXXI, f 42	Montenay, emblem 89
Lord Gray Emblem XXXII, f 43	Montenay, emblem 74

Lord Russell, Baron of Thornhaugh Emblem XXXIII, f 44	Montenay, emblem 69
Lord Danvers Emblem XXXIIII, f 45	Montenay, emblem 97
Lord Spencer Emblem XXXV, f 46	Montenay, emblem 86
Edward, Lord Dennie, Baron of Waltham Emblem XXXVI, f 47	Montenay, emblem 31
Lord Carew Emblem XXXVII, f 48	Montenay, emblem 32
John, Lord Haughton Emblem XXXVIII, f49	Montenay, emblem 46
Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke Emblem XXXIX, f 50	Montenay, emblem 81
Robert, Lord of Lappington, "Chamberlain to the Prince" Emblem XL, f 51	Montenay, emblem 40
Lord of Kensington, "Captain of his majesties guarde" Emblem XLI, f 52	Montenay, emblem 35
Thomas, Lord Bruce Emblem XLII, f 53	Montenay, emblem 13
Lord Montjoy Emblem XLIII, f54	Montenay, emblem 9
Lord Belfast Emblem XLIIII, f 55	Montenay, emblem 63
Sir Thomas Edmonds, "Treasorer of the Kings Maiesteis house" Emblem XLV, f56	Montenay, emblem 100
Sir John Sutcliffe, "Comptroller of the Kings Maiesteis House" Emblem XLVI, f57	Montenay, emblem 51
Sir Edward Conway, "Secretarie of Estate" Emblem XLVII, f 58	Montenay, emblem 79
Sir Richard Weston, "Chancellor of the Excheq:" Emblem XLVIII, f 59	Montenay, emblem 65
Sir Julius Caesar, "Master of the Roll:" Emblem XLIX, f60	Montenay, emblem 59
Sir David Murray Emblem L, f 61	Montenay, emblem 6
Table of Names, f 62	

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Thank you so much for your assistance with this.

Best,
Kirsten

From: Permissions [mailto:Permissions@bl.uk]
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Subject: RE: permissions for dissertation

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From: Nicola Russell <Niki.Russell@glasgow.ac.uk> on behalf of Library Special Collections <special@lib.gla.ac.uk>
Sent: September-26-13 1:48 AM
To: Kirsten Inglis
Subject: RE: image permissions

Dear Kirsten,
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Please credit the images as "by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.
With best wishes
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From: Kirsten Inglis [mailto:kainglis@ucalgary.ca]
Sent: 25 September 2013 21:01
To: Library Special Collections
Subject: image permissions

Good morning,

I am writing to enquire about the possibility of obtaining permission to reproduce some images from the Emblems at Glasgow digitized collection in my PhD dissertation. I emailed the project directly and Alison Adams replied that you would be the correct department to contact. I would very much like to include 4 images from Georgette de Montenay: Emblematum Christianorum centuria / Emblemes Chrestiens (1584) in my dissertation.

Could you let me know if it might be possible to obtain permissions for these items? Any assistance you could give me would be greatly appreciated.

Kind Regards,
Kirsten

Kirsten Inglis
PhD Candidate
Department of English
University of Calgary
Alberta, Canada