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*A Reporte of the Kingdom of Congo: Framing and Translating African
Travel Writing for an Early Modern Readership*¹

Abstract

This article examines the translation into English of one of the most successful and important books about Africa of the early modern period. The source Italian text was entitled *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade* (Rome 1591) and within seven years this account of the Congo by Filippo Pigafetta had been translated into Dutch, English, German and Latin with further editions in the seventeenth century. The article argues that the paratextual framing of the English translation deserves analysis on three interrelated counts. First, for the manner in which the title-page brings to the fore probable unstated commercial interests behind the publication of the translation of this travel text; secondly, for what the English translator, Abraham Hartwell, writes in his address “to the Reader” regarding his own approach to translation and more generally his critique of contemporary translation practice; thirdly, for his use of marginalia in the body of the text.

1. Introduction

Filippo Pigafetta’s account of the Congo, based on his conversations with the Portuguese trader and diplomat Duarte Lopez, who had been the ambassador of Congo’s King Alvaro II to the pope and to Philip II of Spain, was not only the most well-known and authoritative work on that part of Africa in the early modern period but is considered relevant right up to the

¹ This study is based on analyses conducted on materials collected for the 2015-2018 project ‘Knowledge Dissemination across Media in English: Continuity and Change in Discourse Strategies, Ideologies, and Epistemologies’ (PRIN 2015TJ8ZAS_004).

present day.² Originally published in Italian in Rome in 1591, *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade* was translated into Dutch in 1596, into English and German in 1597, into Latin in 1598, with second editions in German, Latin, English and Dutch in 1609, 1624, 1625 and 1658 respectively.³ Moreover, even after European exploration of Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century had led to much greater knowledge of the continent's geography and culture it continued to be translated. Further translations were published in English and French in 1881 and 1883. In the preface to the former, the English geographer and Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, Thomas Fowell Buxton, wrote: "The accounts of the travels of Pigafetta, as narrated by Duarte Lopez, give a valuable insight into the knowledge then existing in Europe" (Pigafetta, 1881, preface). The book's continued significance is illustrated by other twentieth-century translations, including one into Portuguese in 1949 and another into French in 1963 — republished in another edition in 2002 — and the reprinting by Cambridge University Press in 2018 of the English translation of 1881. The work is recognised as having undoubted historical and cultural relevance not only in relation to what it tells us of seventeenth-century central Africa but how features of that society were viewed by the receptor's/translator's country at the time of translation and how the book's narrative and descriptions have shaped understanding of certain problematic social issues up until the present day. For example, the sixteenth-century English translation of Pigafetta's work has been included in *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (Loomba and Burton 2007). Like the other works in the publication, Pigafetta's book was selected so as to "help scholars inter-

² The 'Congo' in Pigafetta's book comprises parts of present-day Angola, the Angolan enclave of Cabinda, the Republic of the Congo, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. For the little information we know of Lopez's life and diplomatic role to the papacy, see Howgego 2013 and Filesi 1968. Howgego writes that "Lopez first left Portugal for the Congo in April 1578, sailing on his uncle's trading vessel. After a stay of several years, and having accumulated some wealth through his enterprises, he was appointed as ambassador of Alvaro II, king of the Congo, to the pope and Phillip II of Spain, at that time unified with Portugal" (L146).

³ Hartwell's translation in *Purchas his Pilgrimes, Pt. Ii* (1625) is described as an "abbreviated" (abridged) version.

pret a crucial period of history both on its own terms and in ways that shed light on racial difference and social inequalities today” (Loomba and Burton 2007, 7).

It is this historical and cultural significance that has attracted my own interest in Pigafetta’s work and the various translations that have been published of it. In this present study I shall examine features of the paratextual framing of the English translation of 1591.⁴ In my opinion, they deserve analysis on three interrelated counts. First, for the manner in which the title-page brings to the fore probable unstated commercial interests behind the publication of the translation of this travel text; secondly, for what the English translator, Abraham Hartwell, writes in his address “to the Reader” regarding his own approach to translation, as well as more generally his critique of contemporary sixteenth-century translation practice; thirdly, for his use in the body of the text of marginalia, an important liminal device that he exploits in his translation even if they are not found in Pigafetta’s text. The present study, therefore, aims to contribute to a greater understanding of paratextual materials as signposts to early modern translation theory and practice which according to Hosington is an area of research which “is yet to be fully exploited” (Hosington 2015b, 14).⁵

2. *Contents of* *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade*

The body of Pigafetta’s Italian text consists of two books, comprising thirteen chapters in the first book and ten chapters in the second. Each chapter has a heading or headings which broadly inform the reader of the chapter’s general topic, which, for example, as far as the first six chapters of the first book are concerned, comprise: the voyage from Lisbon to the Congo, the climate and colour of skin of the inhabitants (and whether the climate af-

⁴ For a study of paratextual features in the 1881 English translation of Pigafetta’s volume, see Brownlees 2018.

⁵ For an important study on the role and translation of paratexts in the early modern period, see Belle and Hosington 2018a. Pellatt 2013 also examines the translation of paratexts though in relation to a wider historical period and set of cultures.

fects the inhabitants' colour), the colour of skin of children of "white Portuguese men" and "women of the Congo",⁶ and descriptions of the regions to the north, east and south of the country. The narration is fast-paced, informative and fascinating. Lopez's account, as narrated by Pigafetta, speaks of the vast rivers and far-flung lands, the numerous peoples, their languages and rulers, the climate, local fauna and wildlife, including the never-before heard of animal, the zebra, the introduction of Christianity to the region, and the possibilities of trade that the lands offered. We are told of the stature, appearance and colour of the inhabitants, their marriage customs, as well as the shocking instances of cannibalism that the Anzichi and Jaggas peoples practised. It is not surprising that the book soon attracted attention outside Italy.⁷

3. Richard Hakluyt and English travel literature

According to Abraham Hartwell (1553/4-1606), the English translator of *Relatione del reame di Congo*, it was his contemporary Richard Hakluyt who persuaded him to undertake the translation of Pigafetta's work.⁸ Referring to the English geographer in his address "to the Reader" in *A Reporte of the kingdome of Congo* (1597) as "a diligent searcher and obseruer of Forreine aduentures and aduenturers" (Ibid.) Hartwell writes how Hakluyt entreated him "very earnestly, that I would take him [Pigafetta's book] with me, and make him English" for the work contained "many pleasant matters [...]"

⁶ My translations.

⁷ I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that Pigafetta's book is itself a translation since it relays in writing what was first communicated in speech by Lopez.

⁸ For the little information known about Abraham Hartwell (Member of Parliament, translator and one-time assistant to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury) see DeCoursey 2004. Previous to his translation of Pigafetta's work, he had translated in 1595 another work from Italian into English titled "The history of the warres betweene the tvrkes and the persians".

which are indeed vncouth and almost incredible to this part of Europe” (Ibid.).

This emphasis on the novelty of the contents was correct since although the second half of the sixteenth century had witnessed an ever increasing interest in England for travel literature very little had been published in English about Africa. The various ballads, guides, explorations, adventures and reports had for the most part regarded England and Ireland, western Europe and the Mediterranean, collections of voyages and the American New World, Russia, the Levant, and the Middle East, India and the East Indies (Brennan 2002).⁹ What little had been reported about Africa had mostly concerned the part of the continent known to contemporaries as Guinea and Benin, an area north of the Congo including the sub-Saharan, West African coastline and interior, running from Sierra Leone in the west to the Cameroon river in the east (Klein 2012, 244). Pigafetta’s work, therefore, described new lands but, apart from that, its tale fitted in with Hakluyt’s understanding of what such unexplored territories could represent for England’s standing and future in the world. The project of empire and Christian (especially Protestant) dissemination were ever present in Hakluyt’s interest in travel literature and its translation into English.¹⁰ It is thus not surprising that Hakluyt recognised the importance of Pigafetta’s text and together with other key texts of the time commissioned its translation and publication.¹¹ The fact that Hartwell was in agreement

⁹ The literature of travel had many print formats including “sensationalist single sheet ballads, hastily printed newsletters, crudely printed pamphlets, populist publications and handy pocket guides in slim octavo and duodecimo, to expensive and lavishly illustrated quartos and folios aimed at the wealthy individual purchaser or institutional libraries” (Brennan 2002, 246).

¹⁰ Hakluyt’s role in sixteenth-century English travel writing is comprehensively examined in Carey and Jowitt 2012. In this same volume, Sacks 2012 investigates religious aspirations behind Hakluyt’s proposed colonial settlement, while the question of national identity, and its expression through Hakluyt’s promotion of travel writing collections, is examined in Pirillo 2013.

¹¹ Other important texts to be translated at the end of the sixteenth century were the accounts of Canada by Jacques Cartier (1580), Juan González de Mendoza’s history of China (1588), Jan Huygen van Linschoten’s description of the East Indies (1598), and the description of Africa by Leo Africanus (1600). Hakluyt’s own work, *The Principall*

with Hakluyt's broad vision of travel literature, and its relevance to English society, is seen in his comments "to the Reader" where, returning to what had prompted him to translate the work, he writes: "diuers of my friends haue earnestly moued me [...] to help our English nation, that they might knowe and understand many things, which are common in other langauges, but vtterly concealed from this poore Island" (Pigafetta, trans. by Hartwell, 1597).

4. *Paratext and paratextual materials in Hartwell's A Reporte of the Kingdome of Congo*

Before examining some of the paratextual materials in Hartwell's *A Reporte of the Kingdome of Congo*, it is necessary to review the concept of paratext and how it can best be understood in relation to early modern texts. In Gérard Genette's well-known description of the term, the paratext occupies "a fringe of the printed text [...] a privileged place of pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that [...] is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it" (1997, 2). The French literary critic argues that a text "is rarely presented in an unadorned state" (Ibid.) but instead is accompanied by further information such as the title of the text, a preface, illustrations and marginalia. These liminal elements help to frame the text both typographically and rhetorically. Although Genette's work has been very influential and productive, recent studies of early modern paratexts have indicated the need to situate the forms and functions of paratexts within the specific historical and cultural contexts in which the text was produced. As Belle and Hosington write, "Genette's original definition of paratexts as places of authorial or editorial control has been problematised as scholars turned their attention to the historical and material variability of liminal printed spaces" (2018b, 4). According to Hosington, paratextual features possess semiotic value which are

Navigations, appeared in two editions, the first in 1589, the second, much expanded, in three volumes in 1598-1600.

culture-based requiring cultural and historical knowledge (2015b, 14). This embeddedness is particularly relevant when examining the translation of paratextual materials: “Given that source texts and their translations are embedded in different cultures and intended for different receptors, one should expect their physical features to differ. It also follows that the paratextual materials, also culture- and context-bound, will be different” (Ibid.). One can, therefore, regard paratexts, and their translation, as a “cultural agent rather than a passive medium” (Tribble 1993, 3).¹²

It is with these considerations in mind that I shall examine some of the paratextual contents in Hartwell’s translation of Pigafetta’s source text. Paratextual features in the 1591 Italian text include the title-page, Pigafetta’s dedication to the Italian Bishop of *San Marco*, the Table of Contents, separate chapter headings similarly worded to those in the Table of Contents, eight finely engraved illustrations of the inhabitants, landscapes and fauna of the region as well as two beautifully produced maps of Africa and the Congo.¹³ The 1597 English translation includes a title page, the dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the translator’s address to the reader, the table of contents, separate chapter headings similarly worded to those in the Table of Contents, marginalia, one map of Africa and another of the Congo, and eight woodcuts based on those in Pigafetta’s volume.¹⁴ (Pigafetta 1881, preface). In my following analysis I shall examine, in particular, the two title-pages, “The Translator’s Address to the Reader” in Hartwell’s translation, and the target text (TT) marginalia. In my opinion these par-

¹² Although Tribble writes these words in relation to the specific role of printing in the reception of a text, they are equally relevant to the more general function of the paratext in the production and reception of a text.

¹³ Theodor de Bry’s map of the Congo (“*Tabula Geogra Regni Congo*”) is described as “one of the most beautifully engraved maps of Africa ever produced, ornamented with numerous ships, sea monsters, and elaborate cartouches. One of few early maps to make a meaningful alteration in the geography of Africa, it changes the Ptolemaic conception of the sources of the Nile from two lakes side by side to two lakes one on the top of each other, and conforms more closely to the actual locations of Lake Victoria and Tanganyika” (Paulus Swaen Old Map Auction and Galleries: <http://www.swaen.com/antique-map-of.php?id=481>).

¹⁴ The woodcuts in Hartwell’s 1597 edition are disparagingly referred to as “rough reduced wood engravings from the originals” in the 1881 edition (Pigafetta 1881, preface).

atextual features provide particular insight into cultural, commercial and methodological issues relating to the translation of this important travel text of the late sixteenth century.¹⁵

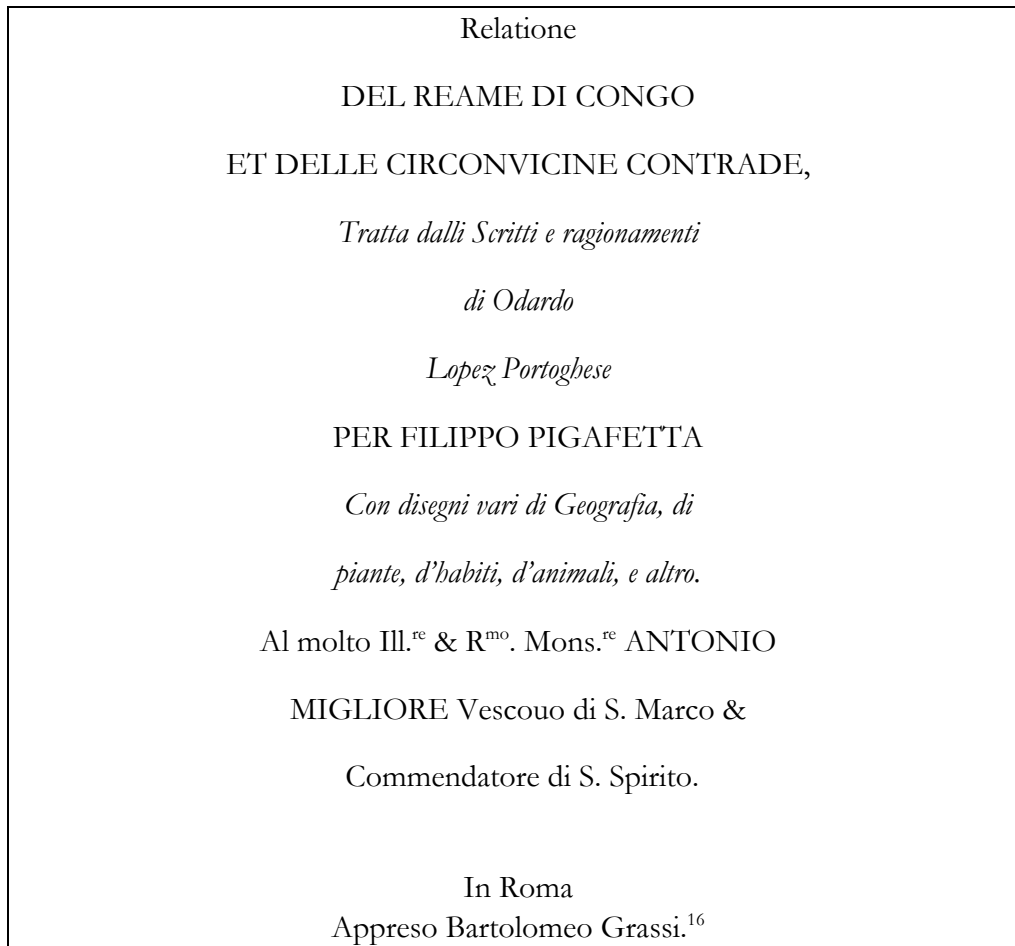
5. Title-page

With the exception of the Tables of Contents and individual chapter headings where the English version closely follows the source text (ST), there are some marked differences between the ST and TT paratexts. We see this immediately in the two title-pages. At a visual level, the English title-page does not reproduce the same ornate illustration found in the ST. In the TT there is a small emblem at the bottom of the page before the imprint but in its simplicity it cannot be compared to the much richer classical image framing the text in the Italian original.

Hartwell's title-page also differs in another important way from Pigafetta's. By eliminating the elaborate arch, and the two classical columns which enclose the written text, Hartwell's publisher, John Wolfe, can use the extra space to include more information about the book. This difference in content is seen in Figures 1 and 2.

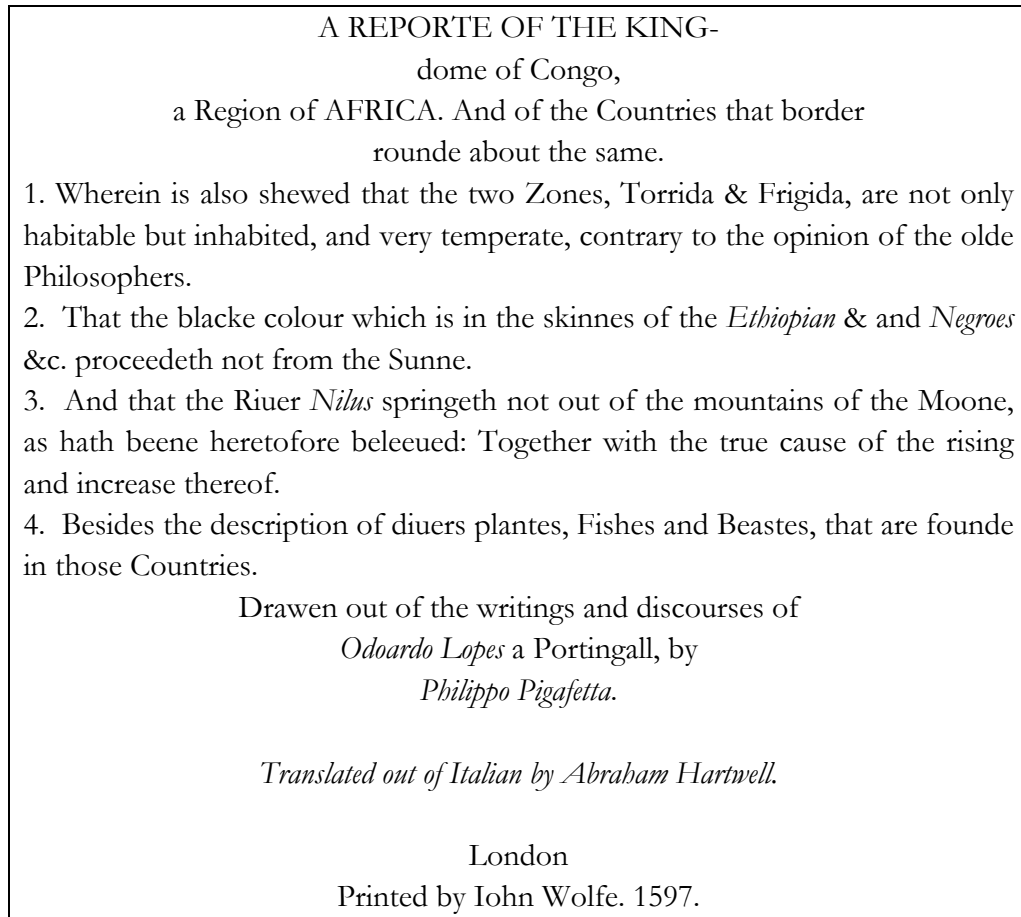
¹⁵ Although not devoid of interest (see Section "Title-page"), the dedications in the respective works broadly contain expressions of commendation and subservience common to much dedicatory rhetoric of the time.

Fig. 1. The title–page of *Relatione del Reame di Congo* (1591)



¹⁶ “Report of the kingdom of Congo and of the surrounding regions, taken from the writings and discourses of Odardo Lopez, Portuguese, for Filippo Pigafetta. With various drawings of geography, plants, clothes, animals, and other matters. To the most illustrious, and respected, Monsignor Antonio Migliore, Bishop of St. Mark’s and Commander of Santo Spirito. Rome, at Bartolomeo Grassi’s” (my translation).

Fig. 2. Title-page of *A Reporte of the Kingdome of Congo* (1597)



The English title-page includes a close but not literal translation of the book's title and information regarding the Italian author and Lopez, excludes the dedication to the Italian bishop, Antonio Migliore, and foregrounds specific information narrated in the book.¹⁷ Unlike the ST, which

¹⁷ As, in relation to the whereabouts of the Congo, the English title includes the geographical detail "A Region of Africa", we can presume that the English readers were considered less cognisant of the Congo's geographical location than their Italian counterparts.

generically refers to ‘geography, plants, clothes, animals’ as its contents,¹⁸ Hartwell’s title-page highlights a topic that does not fall into these general semantic categories. The topic in question regards the origin of “the blacke colour which is in the skinnes of the *Ethiopian* & and *Negroes* &c.”, and its presence on the title-page merits attention since, as Raymond writes (2011, 67), the title-pages of early modern publications provided an “advertisement” for the accompanying text.¹⁹ The fact that John Wolfe, a well-known London printer and publisher, printed a work emphasising on the title-page that the publication disproved theories regarding the sun’s role in the origin of black skin meant that the subject must have been considered topical and a good selling-point.²⁰ We do not know whether Wolfe’s commercial hopes were realized but there is no doubt that the topic was indeed of interest to late Elizabethan society. As Loomba and Burton explain, the colour of skin was frequently collated with religion and class in the sixteenth century with numerous theories on the significance and origin of a skin’s colour (2007, 13). For example, in many emblem books of the period “blackness is evoked to make a point about the impossibility of religious conversion, and such impossibility in turn fixes dark skin as indelible” (Ibid.). In other accounts, such as George Best’s *True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie* (1578), the black colour was considered a “curse and infection of the blood” [...] transmitted by “lineal descent” (Loomba and Burton 2007, 15) in line with the biblical story of Noah’s curse upon Ham.

In the ST no mention is made on the title page of the topic because it was not considered of particular interest. The work had been commissioned by the Catholic Italian Bishop, Antonio Migliore, with the objective of relating ‘a singular, little-known account [...] of use to men of state, in-

¹⁸ The translation is mine.

¹⁹ For Belle and Hosington, title-pages were of “critical importance” where “writers – and, more often than not, publishers – could advertise the value of their work as being worth their reader’s attention and purchase” (2018b, 3).

²⁰ See Gadd 2004 for information on Wolfe’s importance in the late sixteenth century London book trade including his printing of many translated works of Italian authors such as Pietro Aretino and Machiavelli.

telligence, philosophers and geographers'.²¹ In contrast, in the English translation, despite Hartwell's dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury in which he refers approvingly of the missionary ideal, suggesting that such activity should be undertaken by protestant English missionaries too, the publication's commercial objectives need to be recognised.²² As the prospective readership of the ST was different from that of the TT, the paratextual content in the form of the title-page is different.²³ The highlighting on the English title-page of the topic of skin colour exemplifies the manner in which features of translational paratexts can "offer valuable insights into the presentation and reception of translated texts within the target historical and cultural climate" (Koş 2007, 59).

6. "The Translator to the Reader"

Hartwell's address to the "Reader" is placed after the book's dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The address is eleven pages long (unlike the dedication whose text has a larger print size and is five pages in length) and

²¹ "una historia singulare, à nostri poco manifesta [...] conueniente ad huomini di stato, & di grande ingegno, & à Filosofi, & Geografi" (my translation).

²² In the "Epistle Dedicatory" to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Hartwell writes that he "thought good thus to make knowen to my countreyemen of *England*, to the end it might be a president for such valiant English, as do earnestly thirst and desire to atchieue the conquest of rude and barbarous Nations, that they doo not attempt those actions for commodity of Gold and Siluer, and for other transitorie or worldly respectes, but that they would first seeke the Kingdome of God, & the salutation of many thousand soules, which the common enemie of mankinde still detayneth in ignorance". In expressing the interconnecting moral/ethical/religious and commercial aims of voyages, Hartwell was following common practice. See Burke 1985 and Hosington 2015a (especially 38-40) for how the interrelated objectives had become almost a tropos in the translations of voyages. An anonymous reviewer of my article has also pointed out that Hartwell's nationalist sentiment is very similar to Walter Raleigh's account of Guiana (1596), which he wrote for Elizabeth I.

²³ Following Coldiron 2015, Hosington writes that John Wolfe's trilingual edition of Castiglione's *Courtier* both includes and excludes paratextual materials so as to "shift emphasis and create a new focus, conditioning the reader's response and inviting him or her to embrace the world beyond England's shores" (2015b, 15).

informs the reader of his reasons for undertaking the translation, his approach to translating Pigafetta's text and translation in general, and what he considers are the "paradoxes that are maintayned in this Treatise", that is, the topics which appeared to contrast with established opinion. For the purposes of the present essay what are most interesting are his comments on translation, both general and specific to Pigafetta's text, which below are quoted in full:

[...] *and to come seriously and briefly to certaine faults, that some Readers may peradventure finde therein, I will do my best indeuor to satisfie them in such obiections as may be made. And first, they will except perhaps against the Methode of the Author, because he keepeth no continuuate Order in this Report, but leapeth from one Matter to another, without any coherence, like Marots Poeme, called Du Coq al 'Asne and so maketh a Hotchpot of it. But herein Pigafetta is not greatly to be blamed, who gathering this Report out of the tumultuarie Papers of Lopez, and from his vnpremeditated speeches, vttrerd by mouth at seuerall times, could not so well reduce it into so exact a forme and Methode, as curious wits do require. He is rather to be commended, that hauing so rude and undignified a Chaos to worke vpon, he could frame so handsome a little world of it as this. If happily it be further vrged, that the Translator should haue taken paines to cast him in a new Mould, and to mak members hang proportionately one vpon another: I must answere, that I neither do, nor euer did like of that kinde of course. I was alwayes of this opinion (and therein I do still dwell) that Authors should be published in the same Order, in the same Termes, & in the same Stile which they themselves used. For how know I, what moued them to obserue this Order or that Order, and to make choyce of one word rather then of another? Peradventure the reason of their so doing might proue to be so strong, as I doubt it would not easily be ouerthrowne. And touching Style, some are so scrupolous and so nice, that they cannot abide to haue old and auncient Writers to be published in Latin, vnlesse they do imitate one of the Triumuiiri of the Latin toung, Cicero, Cæsar or Salust. If all men should be of that humour, we should be bereaued both of singular Diuinitie, and antique Historie, which have been written by men of no great learning, as Monkes and Friers, whome (they were very simple and meane, yet) it pleased God in the times of ignorance, to use as meanes to preserve vnto us those Monuments of Antiquitie. And therefore I could wish, that they might be published in their owne Style, and (as it were) in Puris Naturalibus, yea though they write false Latin, as some of them do. On the other side, some of our Critikes are so Criticall and so audacious, that when they publish any of the foresayd Triumuiiri, or any other Classical Author, they will transpose, and omit, and foyst into the Text many words and many conceytes, whereof the Author neuer dreamed, as Eustathius and Seruius haue done vpon Homer and Virgill. But if algates some Enthusiasme haue come vpon our Critikes, that have reuealed vnto them tanquam ex antro Trophonij, the certaintie of the Authors writing and meaning, to be such as they haue confidently set downe, let me bold to intreate them, that they would muster their conceytes in the Margine (if the Margine will hold them: as I doubt it will not in this Hyper-*

criticall world) or else that they would reiect them (as some of them haue done) to the later end of their publications, vnder the title of Corrections, Castigations, Emendations, Animaduersions, Variae Lectiones, or such like, Vt suo quisque vetatur iudicio & sensu abundet, That euery man may vse his owne iudgement, and abound in his owne sense. But Maledicta Glossa quæ corruptit Textum. Cursed be that Glosse that corrupteth the Text. And sory I am, that some of our later Diuines haue erred in this point, even in translating the Holy Scripture.

In this address to the reader Hartwell is expounding what Gambier refers to as the translator's 'global strategy', that is, the translator's "planned, explicit, goal-oriented procedure or programme, adopted to achieve a certain objective" (2010, 412). In particular, Hartwell is explaining his approach to (a) the transposition of the argumentative structure of Pigafetta's text and (b) the translation of the general style of the ST. In both cases Hartwell explains that he will follow what is found in Pigafetta's text, his general justification being his preference for "Puris Naturalibus" (1597, Translator to the Reader). He admits that the retention of the argumentative structure of the ST might lead some critics to brand the translation, (as, indeed, implicitly the ST) a "Hotchpot" (Ibid.) but in justification of his strategy he writes that rather than condemning Pigafetta's narrative framework, readers should instead commend the Italian author for having managed to create "so handsome a little world" from the "Chaos" (Ibid.) of "the tumultuarie Papers of Lopez, and from his vnpremeditated speeches" (Ibid.). Hartwell acknowledges that some readers might wish "the Translator should have taken paines to cast him in a new Mould" (Ibid.) – i.e. Readers would have wanted him to restructure and better organize the ST and make a translation on the basis of this better organised text – but he decided against this because he "was always of this opinion (and therein I do still dwell) that Authors should be published in the same Order, in the same Termes, & in the same Stile which they themselves used" (Ibid.).

Hartwell's decision to adhere to the essential features of Pigafetta's text resulted from his belief that each individual text has its own quintessential characteristics that deserve attention and respect. The text that he was translating was neither literary nor classical but instead based around the loosely-structured conversations and memories of a traveller recounting his experiences in a foreign land. Rather than tidying up the ST, so that it con-

formed to the canons of literary and classical works, Hartwell is arguing in favour of the ST's own specific dignity as an exemplar of contemporary travel literature.

In the above quotation from his address to the reader, Hartwell also explains his views on the contemporary practise of 'glossing'. For him the term did not indicate the explanation or domestication in the TT of a ST expression but rather the decision to "Transpose, and omit, and foyst into the Text many words and conceytes, whereof the Author never dreamed" (Ibid.). Therefore, Hartwell objects to the manipulation of the ST by means of the transformation, omission and addition of words and ideas in the TT. In his opinion readers had the right to decide for themselves the meaning of the ST and those translators who deceptively substituted their own views for those of the ST author, especially in the case of religious texts, were indeed "cursed". (Ibid.)²⁴ In those circumstances where translators felt the need to comment on the ST, they could do this through paratextual supports such as margin annotations, "Corrections, Castigations, Emendations, Animaduersions" (Ibid.).

Taken as a whole, Hartwell's reflections on the purpose and practice of translation, and in particular travel translation, are interesting and worthy of greater recognition. To my knowledge, they have not been examined or published in any account of Tudor translation practice or theory.²⁵ As it is often stated that early modern translation was strong in practice but weak in theory, Hartwell's considerations can be considered a relevant contribution to our understanding of translation approaches of non-literary texts at that time. What is interesting is that in his approach Hartwell is adopting the same strategy as that followed by translators of foreign news of the ear-

²⁴ Glossing was particularly disliked because of the manner in which members of the Church of England, including Hartwell, believed it had been exploited by Calvinists and other religious groups to misconstrue the true meaning of the bible. For example, the 1560 English translation of the bible, which was published in Geneva by English Protestant exiles, was very strongly attacked by the Church of England for its misuse of glossing and annotation to promote the Calvinistic standpoint.

²⁵ Influential studies on Tudor translation include Morini 2006, Schurink 2011 and Rhodes *et al.* 2013 while the translation of early modern travel texts is examined in Kinney 2004 and Di Biase 2006.

ly seventeenth century. Often confronted with source texts whose contents could be unclear, they too preferred to accompany the translation with brief metatextual comment on the inherent comprehension difficulties of the ST.

The following two passages from news publications of 1622 and 1625 illustrate how the translator avoided manipulation of the TT but informed the reader prior to the text of eventual difficulties of comprehension.

But before I proceed any further, you must consider, that in all your Dutch Currantoes, this word Elsas is taken for the whole Countrey of Leopoldus, as much as for the Town it selfe, and therefore may bring confusion to the Reader, that he supposeth sometimes the Countrey is taken, when it is but the Towne, and the Towne is taken, when he is only marching in the Countrey. Another error ariseth from these Currantoes in confusion of time, by stilo nouo, yea by many antidates, and postdates, so that they place that first, which should be last, and that last, which had a passage of former time. Thirdly, [...] These things I thought good to certifie you of by way of transition, that you bee not altogether [...] confounded with transmutation of time and names [...]

News from the Palatinate (1622)

But before I come to the translation of them, which I will doe sincerely without any addition or diminution, as I doe other things, leauing the construction and censure of them to the Reader, I must let you understand, that there seems to be a contradiction in them, for the one letter of the first of January, relateth, that the Imperiall and Turkish Commissioners are met at Commorra, and the other of the same date reporteth that the Bashaes which are appointed for this Treaty, are yet at Ossen.

The Continuation of our Weekly News (1 February 1625)

As Hartwell was prepared to keep the structure of Pigafetta's ST, even if it was "without any coherence", so also were the above translators of news dispatches prepared to retain the inherent contradictions and incoherencies of the ST texts.²⁶ In all three cases the translators' role was not to smooth the style of the ST but rather to accurately report the information contained within the rather rough narrative framework of the original text.

²⁶ See Brownlees 2019 for metatextual comment in English news translations of the early seventeenth century.

7. *Marginalia*

The third paratextual feature I wish to examine regards Hartwell's use of marginalia. Unlike the ST, Hartwell's translation makes constant use of them. For example, the following marginalia are placed beside separate paragraphs and sections in Chapter 2.

The situation of Congo; The temperature of the kingdome; The complexion of the people; Small difference between their daies & nightes; Their winter & sommer; The winds in this Country in winter time; The cause of the encrease of *Nilus*, and other riuers in *Ethiopia*; The Riuer *Niger* or *Senega*, runneth westwarde. *Nilus* runneth northwarde; It neuer rayneth in *Egypt* but onely in *Alexandria*; Their winds in sommer time; No Snow nor ice in *Ethiopia* or *Congo*.

Usually at the beginning of paragraphs, the marginalia consist of noun phrases with occasional occurrences of simple or compound sentences. The information contained in the brief texts bears directly on the topic of the adjacent paragraph. Lacking any interpretative function, they are very different from much early modern print marginalia which “were a site at which crucial acts of translation and interpretation took place, and in which the matter of the text was unfolded, identified, and explored” (Smith 2018, 28). However, although their presence was merely informative, their use is undoubtedly significant. Through them Hartwell managed to give a greater order to the “hotchpot” TT (1597, Translator to the Reader) than would have been the case had the text been left totally free of such marginalia as occurs in the Italian version. Therefore, despite Hartwell's statement to the contrary in his address to the reader, Hartwell did in effect modify the narrative structure of Lopez's account. The alteration was not occasioned by the transposition of topics but more simply by the use of marginalia to signal the succession of themes as they were addressed page by page. In this respect they fall into that category which Tribble describes as marginalia that “might summarise, underwrite the main text block and thus tend to stabilize meaning” as opposed to the kind of marginalia used in polemical

texts that “might assume a contestatory or parodic relation to the text by which it stood” (1993, 6).²⁷

It is also through the paratextual resource of marginalia that on one occasion Hartwell does indeed provide personal comment on the text. The occurrence is found in the first chapter of the book when Lopez uses the word ‘Corsale’ (‘pirate’) in relation to Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish.²⁸

(Pigafetta 1591)

Et replicando io, che se hora gli Inglesi, i quali già per due fiate hanno pur penetrato in quei mari, l’una guidati dal Draco, & l’altra quest’anno 1588. condotti da vn’altro *Corsale* pur Inglese più valente di lui nomato Candise, il quale è ritornato pieno di ricchezze

In accordance with what he writes in his address to the reader, Hartwell does not gloss the translation in the sense of changing the ST meaning but rather uses the margin – a paratextual resource – to comment on his own translation. As he could not accept that ‘Draco’ (the Italian name for Sir Francis Drake) and ‘Candise’ (Sir Thomas Cavendish), two famous English sailors, explorers and patriots, were denigratorily referred to as ‘corsali’ (‘pirates’) by Pigafetta he added the following explicatory marginalia, thereby mitigating the effect of Pigafetta’s term.²⁹

(Hartwell 1597)

This slaunderous terme vsed here by this Portugal cannot impeach the credite of these two honourable gentlemen

And when I replyed, that the English had nowe twice entred into those seas, once vnder the conduct of *Drake*, and secondly this year 1588. vnder another Pirate, being also an English man and more valiant then hee, called *Candish*, who is returned home ful of great richesse

²⁷ For a monograph on Renaissance printed marginalia, see Slights 2001.

²⁸ Italics of ‘corsale’ is mine.

²⁹ Drake had not only completed the second circumnavigation of the world but had also played a major role in the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Cavendish had likewise circumnavigated the globe and fought and captured Spanish ships in the Pacific and Caribbean.

8. Conclusions

The above analysis of the the title-page, translator's address to the reader, and marginalia illustrates some important characteristics of liminal materials in the English translation. First, of the three paratextual features examined, only the title-page bears some direct relation to an equivalent paratextual component in the TT. The inclusion of printed marginalia and the translator's address to the reader is separate to the process of translation and therefore indicative of how through new paratextual spaces a printed translation can create its own separate identity. It is no longer a translation of the ST but in significant ways a new work. It incorporates the translation of the body text of the ST but important communicative and rhetorical functions embedded in the English paratextual spaces infuse the translation with a new dimension.

Analysis of the communicative and rhetorical functions of the English paratexts explains the second reason for their interest. Applying Burke and Christ's functional typology of the uses of printed paratexts (2013), we see that although the three English paratextual spaces contain all three functions identified by Burke and Christ – 'commercial', 'interpretative', 'navigational' – their relative weight regarding one another is significant. In the English translation, the title-page clearly embodies commercial aims while the translator's address to the reader sets our overarching interpretative functions. However, with one exception, the printed marginalia do not express an interpretative function (which was often the most predominant function of these marginalia) but rather a navigational objective. In this respect they replicate what Hartwell sets out in his address to the reader in which as translator he rejects the practice of authorial intervention and manipulation. By doing this, he is following the frequent practice of news translators of the time who concurred with his view that to comprehend a text "*every man may vse his owne iudgement, and abound in his owne sense*" (1597, The Translator to the Reader). Like Hartwell, news translators recognised that their STs also posed problems of comprehension but rather than attempt to facilitate the reader's task through textual intervention they too preferred to entrust the reader with the task of interpretation. As regards

future research, it would be interesting to investigate whether, first, Hartwell's approach is found in other travel translatorial metadiscourse of the period, and, if so, the extent to which the translators of travel accounts and treatises adopt the same translation strategies as early modern news translators.

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